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# THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

For the Study of the Church History of the United States

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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

### ARTICLES:

	PAGE
The Lost Province of Quivira - - - Rev. Michael Shine	3
Concanen's Election to the See of New York (1808-10), V. F. O'Daniel, O.P.	19
The Attitude of Spain During the American Revolution, Charles H. McCarthy	47
Episcopal Succession in the United States, Right Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D.D.	127
Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies, Rev. Edwin Ryan, D.D.	146
A Revaluation of Early Peruvian History, Rev. J. B. Culemans, Ph.D.	157
Catholic Education in Mexico (1525-1915), Rev. Gerardo Decorme, S.J.	168
Our Country - - - His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell	247
Following the Conquistadores, Thomas O'Hagan, Ph.D., LL.D.	258
The American Capitoline Hill and Its Early Catholic Proprietors, Margaret Brent Downing	269
Rise of the Hierarchy in the United States, Right Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D.D.	283
The Loss and Gain Problem (1800-1916), Right Rev. J. F. Regis Canevin, D.D.	377
Concerning Catholic Historical Societies - Waldo G. Leland	386
Juan de Las Cabezas - - - V. F. O'Daniel, O.P.	400
Catholicity in Virginia (1850-1872), Joseph Magri, M.A., D.D.	415

### Miscellany:

Notes on Some Convert Relatives of the Presidents - - -	66
Two Interesting Communications from the Archbishop of Milwaukee.	
1. The Rev. Anthony Penco, C.M. - - -	182
2. Some American Items from an Old Austrian Periodical - -	184
The Rev. Michael Nash, S.J., Army Chaplain (1825-95) - - -	188
The United States Catholic Historical Society, Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D.	302
The Spiritual Ancestry of Three Hierarchies, G. Roger Hudleston, O.S.B.	307
The Episcopal Ancestry of the American Catholic Hierarchy - -	427
A Frank Word about South American History - - -	433
Charles G. Herbermann - - -	436

<b>Documents:</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Beginnings of Catholicity in New York - - - - -	73
A Vanished Bishopric of Ohio - - - - -	195
The Jesuit Missions in 1773 - - - - -	316
First Episcopal Visitation in the United States (1606) - - - -	442
<b>Book Reviews, - - - - -</b>	<b>83, 205, 321, 460</b>
(For complete list see pages v and vi)	
<b>Notes and Comment, - - - - -</b>	<b>108, 227, 347, 478</b>
<b>Bibliography:</b>	
Auxiliary Sciences—	
I Philology - - - - -	119
II Chronology - - - - -	240
III Paleography - - - - -	367
<b>Books Received, - - - - -</b>	<b>123, 244, 373, 494</b>
<b>General Index of Volume II, - - - - -</b>	<b>498</b>

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

	PAGE
ALLEN—Iowa Official Register, 1915-1916 - - - - -	343
ANDREWS—Brief History of the United States - - - - -	460
ALVORD-CARTER—Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. x. British Series, Vol. i—The Critical Period (1763-1765) - -	89
AYER—The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630 - - - - -	223
BISHOP—Our First War with Mexico - - - - -	469
BRADFORD—Union Portraits - - - - -	212
BRYAN—A History of the National Capital - - - - -	334
CHAPMAN—The Founding of Spanish California. The Northwestward Ex- pansion of New Spain, 1687-1783 - - - - -	339
CLARK—The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan - - - - -	341
CLEVELAND—The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805 - - - - -	471
CROCKETT-WALLIS—North America During the Eighteenth Century - -	474
CUEVAS—Cartas y otros Documentos de Hernan Cortes novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla - - - - -	325
DASKINS—Reminiscences of Early Utah - - - - -	321
DOSTER—Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War - - - - -	475
DUNBAR—A History of Travel in America - - - - -	85
EDMONDS—Ulysses S. Grant - - - - -	98
GOLDER—Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850 - - - - -	207
GOODNOW—Principles of Constitutional Government - - - - -	461
HILL—Americanism: What It Is - - - - -	336
HOWLETT—Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx - - - - -	222
JOHNSON—The Swedes in America, 1638-1900 - - - - -	335
JOHNSTON—Nathan Hale, 1776, Biography and Memorials - - - - -	95
KING—The True Ulysses S. Grant - - - - -	100
McILWAIN—Wraxall's Abridgement of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751 - - - - -	211
MACCORKLE—The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti	83
MARSHALL—A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase (1819-1841) - - - - -	93
MORRIS—Famous Days and Deeds in Holland and Belgium - - - - -	219

	PAGE
NEWTON—The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans. The Last Phrase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain - - - -	205
O'HAGAN—Essays on Catholic Life- - - - -	343
OLCOTT—The Life of William McKinley - - - - -	217
PARKER—Personal Experiences among Our North American Indians - -	106
PLANCHET—La Cuestion Religiosa en Mexico, 6 sea, Vida de Benito Juarez	465
POWERS—Pastoral Letters, Addresses and Other Writings of the Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Trenton - - -	219
PRENDERGAST—Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia (1830-1851), later Archbishop of Baltimore - - - -	344
RETROSPECT—Three Score Years and Ten, Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary - - - - -	329
RICHARDS—Abraham Lincoln, The Lawyer-Statesman - - - - -	209
RIDDELL—The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec - - - - -	462
ROGERS—The Postal Power of Congress, A Study in Constitutional Expansion	215
SABIN—Kit Carson Days (1809-1868) - - - - -	102
SCROGGS—Filibusters and Financiers, The Story of William Walker and His Associates - - - - -	332
SUTCLIFFE—Robert Fulton - - - - -	103
TAFT—The Presidency—Its Duties, Its Powers, Its Opportunities, and Its Limitations - - - - -	207
THAYER—The Life of John Hay - - - - -	104
WASHBURN—Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career - - - -	221
WILLSON—The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O. - - - - -	327
WOLMAN—The Boycott in American Trade Unions - - - - -	87
WOODBURN-MORAN—Introduction to American History - - - - -	472



# The Catholic Historical Review

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NUMBER 1

## THE LOST PROVINCE OF QUIVIRA

Nebraska is located between the fortieth and forty-third parallels of latitude and the ninety-fifth and one-hundred-and-fourth meridians of west longitude, or between South Dakota and Kansas; and between the Missouri River and the eastern boundaries of Colorado and Wyoming. Whilst comparatively young among the States of the Union, its history reaches back to the days of Spanish conquest (1541), to a period within fifty years after the discovery of the New World by that sterling Catholic, Christopher Columbus. The name *Nebraska*, to designate this region, was used in the United States Congress as early as 1844 by the Hon. Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois, in his Bill "to establish the Territory of Nebraska." It was organized as a Territory on May 30, 1854, and as a State on March 1, 1867.<sup>1</sup> The name itself is derived from the incorrect pronunciation of the Omaha Indian word *Nibthaska* (*ni*-water and *bthaska*-flat or shallow), which means *The Flat* or *Shallow Water*, by which name the Omahas called the Platte River.<sup>2</sup> Who the original and first inhabitants of this region were, is still a mystery; but as far as we know now, the Skidi and Arikara nations, as early as the year 1400, were the first Indian tribes to dwell along the Platte and Loup Rivers and along the Missouri River in the northeast section of the State.<sup>3</sup> It is also certain that the Kansas nation of northeast Kansas, whose territory extended from the Kansas River into southeastern Nebraska, as far north as the Big Nemaha River, migrated to this region from the mouth of the Osage River

<sup>1</sup> MORTON, *History of Nebraska*, Vol. i, p. 135; JOHNSON, *History of Nebraska*, pp. 41-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association* (Vol. vi, p. 327).

<sup>3</sup> MORTON, *o. c.*, pp. 1-33. *Magazine of American History*, Vol. v, p. 321; *Twenty-seventh Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 74-75.

previous to the year 1541.<sup>4</sup> They are mentioned as early as 1601 by the Spanish explorer Oñate.<sup>5</sup> It appears that they were the third known tribe of Indians in the Nebraska region. The fourth tribe or nation to enter Nebraska were the Pawnees. They came in three divisions, namely, the *Kit-ke-ha-ki* or Republican Pawnees, the *Chawi* or Grand Pawnees, and the *Pita-hau-erat* or Tapage (*noisy*) Pawnees; and as Dunbar says, they arrived sometime between the years 1620 and 1650,<sup>6</sup> and dwelt along the Platte and Loup Valleys, where they formed a confederacy with the Skidi nation until 1876, when all were removed to the Indian Territory.

The next nation to occupy lands in Nebraska were the Otoes, who migrated from the headwaters of the Des Moines River to the Missouri River about the year 1700, and are shown on DeLisle's Map of 1718 as dwelling on the west side of it near the mouth of the Platte.<sup>7</sup> They now reside in Indian Territory. After these came the Omahas, Iowas and Poncas. The exact date of their arrival in Nebraska is not yet known, but it seems to have occurred some time between the years 1760 and 1777, for we are certain that the Omahas were here in the latter year.<sup>8</sup> The Iowas did not remain for any great period of time, and the Poncas, who had separated from the Omahas, at the mouth of White River in South Dakota, after wandering toward the Black Hills, returned and finally settled near the mouth of the Niobrara River, where they were discovered by the St. Louis trader, Jean Munier, in 1789.<sup>9</sup> A part of this latter tribe as well as the Omahas still reside in Nebraska. In 1778 a remnant of the Missouri nation united here with the Otoes, until the removal of both tribes to the Indian Territory.<sup>10</sup> In 1795 the Padoucahs, or Comanche nation, lived in western Nebraska on the north fork of the Platte

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<sup>4</sup> *Eighteenth Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 708, Map No. 41; MORTON, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 41 (map).

<sup>5</sup> *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. i, p. 653.

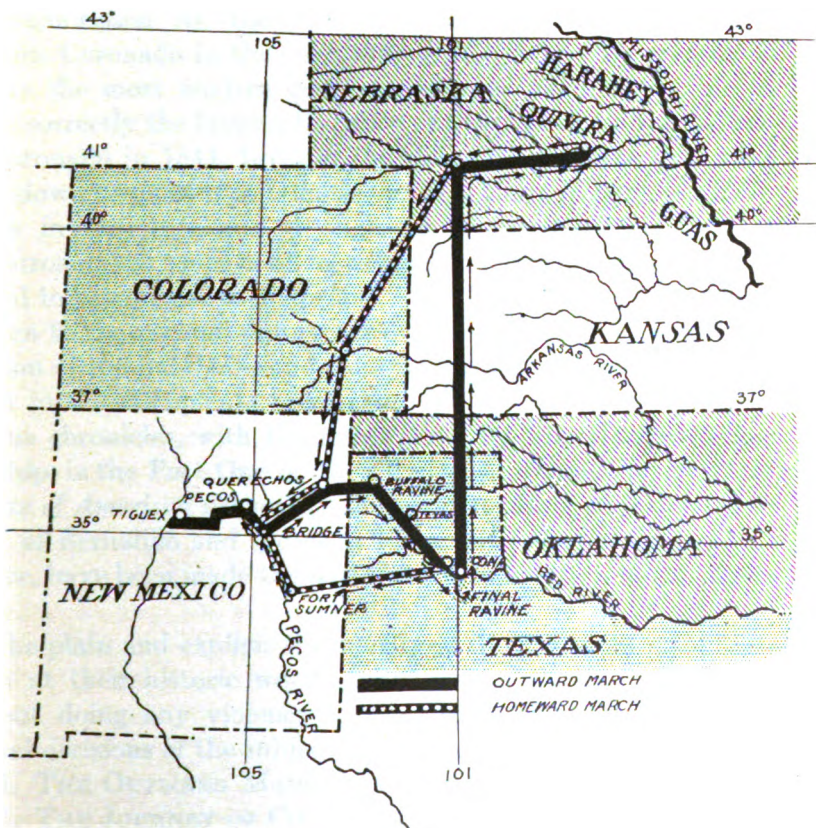
<sup>6</sup> *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. ii, p. 214; *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. x, p. 69, note.

<sup>7</sup> *Louisiana Hist. Coll.*, Vol. i, p. 71; *Margry Papers*, Vol. vi, p. 78; *South Dakota Hist. Coll.*, Vol. ii, pp. 44-50.

<sup>8</sup> *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xviii, pp. 360-362.

<sup>9</sup> *Twenty-seventh Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 49, 79, 85; *Missouri Hist. Soc. Coll.* (St. Louis), Vol. iv, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Nebraska Hist. Coll.*, Vol. xv, p. 8.





River, but some years later they moved on towards the South.<sup>11</sup> The Arapahoes, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux and Winnebagoes arrived during the last century, and all again withdrew during its latter half, except the Winnebagoes, who have a small reservation near the Omahas in northeastern Nebraska.<sup>12</sup> The Sac and Fox Reservation extends into southeastern Nebraska and the Santee and Oglalla Sioux occupy small strips of territory in northern Nebraska.<sup>13</sup>

The Catholic history of Nebraska, or—as it can now be properly called—*Quivira*, naturally begins with its first discovery and exploration by the Spaniards under General Francisco Vasquez Coronado in the year 1541. Heretofore the ancient as well as the most modern geographers have never been able to locate correctly the famous Province of *Quivira*, which was visited by Coronado in 1541, because the different accounts that have come down to us of that famous journey, through apparent difficulties in the texts and through an arbitrary presumption of an astronomical error with consequent misinterpretation, have proved to be a puzzle to historians. Yet, when due consideration is given to the various statements of these different accounts, the solution of the puzzle becomes simple and natural and is, indeed, found in the documents themselves. The translations of these various chronicles, with the notes given by Mr. George Parker Winship, in the Part One of the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1892-93), together with the acceptance of Bernalillo and Pecos as the ancient sites of Tiguex and Cicuye, have been made the basis for the following solution of the riddle.

The plain and explicit statements of the narrators have been taken at their historic worth, without any circumlocution and without doing any violence to the text. We have made two general divisions of the subject as follows:<sup>14</sup>

#### I. THE OUTWARD MARCH AND RETURN OF THE ARMY.

#### II. THE JOURNEY OF CORONADO TO QUIVIRA AND RETURN.

<sup>11</sup> *Missouri Hist. Soc. Coll.* (St. Louis), Vol. iv, p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> MORTON, *o. c.*, Vol. i, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>14</sup> In the subdivisions of each part the necessary portion of the text is given, followed by our deductions or conclusions, together with the line of march, and the points arrived at. The three figures found after a statement refer to the page in the *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (1892-93).

## I. THE OUTWARD MARCH AND RETURN OF THE ARMY

## 1. From Tiguex to the Bridge

CORONADO.—“I started from this province (Tiguex) on the twenty-third of April last.” (1541) . . . (580.)

“After nine days march, I reached some plains” . . . (580.)

CASTANEDA.—“The army left Tiguex on the fifth of May and returned to Cicuye, which as I have said, is twenty-five marches, which means leagues, from there.” . . . (503.)

“Five days from here (Tiguex) he (Alvarado) came to Cicuye.” . . . (491.)

“The army started from Cicuye. . . . Proceeding toward the plains, which are all on the other side of the mountains after four days journey they came to a river with a large deep current which flowed down toward Cicuye, and they named this the Cicuye (Pecos) River . . . (504.) They had to stop here to make a bridge. . . . It was finished in four days.” . . . (504.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—“They do not raise cotton, nor keep fowls (at Cicuye, or Pecos), because it is 15 leagues away from the river to the east toward the plains where the cows are.” . . . (575.) Alvarado . . . proceeded forward (from Cicuye) to these plains and at the borders of these he found a little river which flows to the southwest” . . . (576.)

JARAMILLO.—“Leaving this settlement (Tiguex) . . . we . . . in four days came to Cicuique. From there we came to another river, which the Spaniards named after Cicuique, in three days: if I remember rightly, it seems to me, that we went rather toward the northeast to reach this river where we crossed it.” (587.)

POSTRERA.—“Four days from this village (Cicuique) they came to a country as level as the sea, and in these plains . . . cows, that . . . are numberless” . . . (570.)

From the above statements we are justified in drawing the following conclusions: that Coronado's date, April 23, 1541 (580.), for the departure of the army from Tiguex (Bernalillo) is undoubtedly the correct one, as he wrote shortly after the events happened; and that the date given by Castaneda, who wrote at least twenty years later (470.), is evidently a mistake. Castaneda gives the year as 1542 instead of 1541. That it was approximately twenty-five leagues (65 miles) from Tiguex to Pecos, or Cicuye (491-503.), and four days' march (504.), or fifteen leagues (575.) to the other side of the mountains, to the river called Cicuye, which flowed southwest; and since Castaneda erroneously thought the Spaniards went northeast from Cicuique (587.), he naturally stated that it flowed down toward Cicuique. This Cicuique or Pecos River is a branch of the real Pecos River and

is now known as the Gallinas River; where the army crossed it, is not far from its junction with the real Pecos River, or about forty miles southeast from the village of Pecos.<sup>15</sup> Jaramillo's statement of four days from Tiguex and three days from Pecos to the river are evidently mistakes. The distance from Tiguex *via* Pecos to the river, where the Bridge was built, is therefore approximately forty leagues, or about one hundred and five miles. This journey occupied nine days, and consequently they arrived there on Monday, May 2, 1541, as Coronado relates. The average day's march was small on account of the rough country, and the direction taken from Pecos was southeast. The Bridge, or Crossing, was approximately about twenty-four miles north of the thirty-fifth parallel and about two miles east of the one hundred and fifth meridian.

## 2. From the Bridge to the Querechos

CORONADO.—“After seventeen days march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos.” . . . (580.)

CASTANEDA.—“The Bridge was finished in four days . . . and as soon as it was done, the whole army and the animals crossed. After ten days more, they came to some settlements, of people, . . . called Querechos in that region. . . . They had seen the cows for two days . . . (504.) It is 30 leagues from Cicuye to where the plains begin (526). It was more than 40 leagues from where we began to see the bulls to the place where we began to see cows” . . . (543.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—“So he (Coronado) started with the whole army and proceeded 150 leagues, 100 to the east and 50 to the south (note says southeast) . . . (577.)

JARAMILLO.—“After crossing this (river) we turned more to the left hand, which would be more to the northeast, and began to enter the plains, where the cows are, although we did not find them for some four or five days, after which we began to come across bulls . . . and after going on in the same direction and meeting the bulls for two or three days we began to find . . . cows, yearlings and bulls altogether. We found Indians among these first cows, who were . . . called Querechos. . . . We went on for eight or ten days in the same direction along the streams which are among the cows.” (587, 588.)

It was nine marching days (forty leagues) from Tiguex to the Bridge. It is evident, therefore, that Coronado's seventeenth

<sup>15</sup> BANDELIER, *Historical Introduction* (Arch. Inst. of America), American Series, Vol. i, p. 21; *Lieut. Whipple's Route, Reports and Railroad Surveys, 1853-4*, Vol. iii, Geological Map.

marching day was the eighth day after leaving the Bridge when he arrived at the first Querechos settlement. When we compare Castaneda's statement with that of Jaramillo's, we find that both of them practically agree with Coronado as to the eighth day, for while Castaneda says it was on the tenth day they came to the Querechos settlements, he evidently means the end of them, as he says they saw them for two days, and he also says that they saw the cows for two days before this. If we take Jaramillo's fifth day for meeting the bulls and his three days later for meeting the cows, we again have the eighth day; and he explicitly says that they met the Querechos with the first cows. Consequently, they all agree on the time and place of meeting the first Querecho settlement. Jaramillo makes the bulls and cows distant from each other only three days or fifteen leagues, while Castaneda says they were more than forty leagues apart. This is evidently an error, since the army was only forty leagues from the Bridge when they first saw the cows and Querechos. Coronado makes the plains begin at the Bridge (580.), while Castaneda says they begin thirty leagues from Cicuye or fifteen leagues beyond the Bridge; and Jaramillo says "after crossing the river . . . we . . . began to enter the plains" (587-588.). Here are two witnesses against one, so we must conclude that Castaneda is again in error.

Coronado had now marched from the Bridge for eight days or forty leagues when he came to the first Querechos settlement, Saturday, May 14, 1541. This was eighty leagues from Tiguex. This point of his journey is northeast of the Bridge and about twenty-one miles directly west from a point on the eastern boundary line of New Mexico, about thirty miles below the northern boundary of Texas.

### 3. From the Querechos to the Buffalo Ravine

CORONADO.—"I traveled five days more as the guides wished to lead me, until I reached some plains" . . . (581.)

CASTANEDA.—"For two days during which the army marched in the same direction as that in which they had come from the settlements, that is between north and east, but more toward the north, they saw other Querechos and . . . great numbers of cows. . . . Here Don Garcia broke his arm, and a Spaniard got lost. . . . The Turk said it was two days to Haya (Haxa). The general sent Capt. Diego Lopez with ten companions lightly equipped . . . to go at full speed toward the sunrise for two days to discover Haxa, and then return to meet the army



which set out in the same direction next day (505.). They (the army) came across so many animals . . . the advance guard killed a large number. . . . As these fled they trampled one another in their haste until they came to a ravine. So many of the animals fell into this that they filled it up, and the rest went across on top of them. The men on horseback fell in among the animals without noticing where they were going. . . . It seemed to the general that Diego Lopez ought to be on his way back, he sent six of his companions to follow up the banks of the little river, and as many more down the banks to look for traces of the horses (of the Lopez scouts), at the trails to and from the river. They were found by some Indians. . . . They got track of them a good league off. . . . They followed the river down to the camp, and . . . in the 20 leagues they had been over they had seen nothing but cows and the sky. (505.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—"He . . . proceeded 150 leagues, 100 to the east and 50 to the south." (577.)

MOTA PADILLA.—The note makes it five days to the first ravine seen. (504.)

Coronado had now marched for twenty-two days, or one hundred leagues, from Tiguex, or thirteen days or sixty leagues, from the Bridge, or five days or twenty leagues, beyond the first Querechos village. The day's march was only four leagues during these five days, probably on account of doubts and suspicions in regard to the guides' stories, and also to give the Lopez scouts time to return before the army had advanced far. The plains mentioned by Coronado do not exclude the fact that there were ravines in them, as we learn from Castaneda. The latter also implies that the ravine or little river ran from north to south, or almost at a right angle with his course going east, and with that of the Lopez scouts returning west, so he sent his searching parties up and down the river. As to Castaneda's statement that Don Garcia broke his arm here, for which a different time and place is given in the *Relacion Del Suceso* (577.), we must conclude that one or the other narrator is mistaken in respect to the time and place. It is well to remark here that the course of the journey had turned from the northeast to east at the end of the Querechos settlements, or ten days' march from the Bridge. It again changes three days later at the one-hundredth league camp, or Buffalo Ravine, from east to southeast. The end of the Querechos villages and the point where the Lopez scouts were sent east will be on the one-hundred-and-third meridian, or on the eastern boundary line of New Mexico, about twenty-four miles below the northern boun-

dary line of Texas. From this point the army went east for three days or twelve leagues, or about thirty-one miles, to this small stream or ravine in Texas, which we have called the Buffalo Ravine.

#### 4. From the Buffalo Ravine to the Second or Teyas Ravine

CORONADO.—“And while we were lost in these plains, some horsemen, who went off to hunt cows, fell in with some Indians . . . who are called Teyas.” (581.)

CASTANEDA.—“The general sent Don Rodrigo Maldonado . . . forward from here he traveled for four days and reached a large ravine . . . in the bottom of which he found a large settlement. . . . He sent some of his companions to guide the army to that place, so that they should not get lost” . . . (505.)

While . . . resting in this ravine . . . a tempest came up one afternoon, with a very high wind and hail, and . . . a great quantity of hailstones, as big as bowls or bigger, fell as thick as raindrops.” . . . (506.)

JARAMILLO.—“We went for eight or ten days in the same direction along those streams which are among the cows.” . . . (588.)

MOTA PADILLA.—Note gives Ascension Day, 1541, as the date of the hailstorm . . . (506.)

The Indians called Teyas by Coronado are evidently the same ones found by Maldonado, after a four days' march, in the second ravine. Jaramillo's statement implies that they followed the direction of the little river for a day or two at least; that is, they were going toward the south or southeast. Castaneda shows that the army also reached this ravine, and that there they experienced a severe hailstorm, which (according to Mota Padilla) occurred on Ascension Day, or Thursday, May 26, 1541.<sup>16</sup> While it is possible that there were two hailstorms, the one Castaneda refers to certainly took place in a ravine; and if it occurred in this second ravine, then it happened on Monday, May 23, 1541, and Mota Padilla's date is wrong. If it really occurred on Ascension Day, then it took place in some ravine among the settlements of Cona, along the Olcot Fork of the Red River, and Castaneda errs as to its time and place. The army had now reached the Teyas Ravine on the Canadian River on Monday, May 23, 1541, and it was thirty days distant, or twenty-six days' march from Tiguex, or seventeen days' march from the Bridge. The total distance from Tiguex was about one hundred and twenty-four

<sup>16</sup> REV. WM. F. RIGGE, S.J., *Dates of Easter for 2,000 years*. Omaha, 1898.

leagues, or three hundred and twenty-six miles. They had gone twenty-four leagues or about sixty-three miles southeast from the one-hundredth league camp in the Buffalo Ravine. This last camp was on the Canadian River near the center of Potter County, Texas.

#### 5. From the Texas Ravine to the Third or Final Ravine

CORONADO.—“I obtained from these (Teyas) an account of the country, where the guides were taking me, which was not like what they had told me. . . . Here the guides confessed to me, that they had not told the truth . . . and because they (Teyas) made it out more than forty days’ journey from where I fell in with the Teyas, to the country where the guides were taking me . . . It seemed best to me . . . to go forward (*i. e.*, north) with only thirty horsemen.” . . . (581.)

CASTANEDA.—“From here, the general sent out to explore the country, and they found another settlement four days from there. . . . These village settlements extended for three days. This was called Cona. Some Teyas, as these people are called, went with the army from here and traveled as far as the end of the other settlements . . . and then they gave them guides to proceed to a large ravine where the army was. . . . They . . . did not receive the same statements from these as they had from the others. These said that Quivira was toward the north, and that we would not find any good road thither. . . . The ravine which the army had now reached was a league wide from one side to the other, with a little bit of a river at the bottom. . . . The army rested several days in this ravine and explored the country. Up to this point they had made thirty-seven days marches, traveling six or seven leagues a day. . . . They found it was two hundred and fifty leagues to the settlements. When the general . . . realized this and saw that they had been deceived by the Turk, heretofore . . . he called the captains and ensigns together to decide on what they thought ought to be done. They all agreed that the general should go in search of Quivira with thirty horsemen . . . and that Don Tristan de Arellano should go back to Tiguex, with all the army. (507-508.) In traversing two hundred and fifty leagues the other mountain range was not seen, nor a hill nor a hillock which was three times as high as a man . . .” (527.)

JARAMILLO.—“From this settlement of Querechos he led us off more to the east . . . I believe we had been traveling twenty days or more in this direction, at the end of which we found another settlement of Indians. . . . At this settlement the general, seeing our difficulties, ordered the captains and the persons whose advice he was accustomed to follow, to assemble so that we might discuss with him what was best for all. We all went forward one day, to a stream which was down in a ravine in the midst of good meadows to agree on who should go ahead and how the rest should return.” (588-589.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—"He . . . proceeded one hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred to the east, and fifty to the south . . . and one confessed that what the Indian said was a lie, except that there was a province which was called Quivira . . ." (577.)

The army moved on in a southeasterly direction for four more days or twenty-four leagues, to the end of the Teyas settlement of Cona, along or through which they had passed for three days, probably camping on the same creek or ravine where these settlements were, or Olcot Fork of the Red River. Here Coronado was convinced that *Quivira* was more than forty days' journey to the north, or opposite to the direction in which he was going. After holding a council here, they went forward one day's march to the Final Ravine on the Red River, in Texas. Jaramillo's twenty days or more in this direction evidently means the direction out from the Bridge; for they had, in fact, marched just twenty-one days from the Bridge to the end of the Teyas settlement of Cona, where the captains were ordered to assemble for a council. Jaramillo alone mentions the march of one day, or the remaining two leagues or five miles, to the stream which was down in a ravine where the real division of the army took place. The army arrived in this ravine on Saturday, May 28, 1541. This was exactly twenty-two marching days from the Bridge. When we add the nine marching days from Tiguex to the Bridge, we have a total of thirty-one marching days for the one hundred and fifty leagues. The four days spent at the Bridge would bring the total time consumed on this outward journey up to thirty-five days; this exactly corresponds with Coronado's statement (581-582). Castaneda's thirty-seven days undoubtedly means up to the time Coronado left them for *Quivira* (May 31, 1541). The two days were, perhaps, used in making preparations for that journey. His two hundred and fifty leagues to the settlements is either a slip of his pen or the mistake of a copyist, or he evidently includes the whole distance out and back to the Bridge, as he does when he says: "In traversing two hundred and fifty leagues the other mountain chain was not seen (527.)." Otherwise it is an error, for we have shown that there were only thirty-one marching days and even these at seven leagues a day would make only two hundred and seventeen leagues. His six or seven leagues a day, therefore, must necessarily refer to the homeward march of the army. This final ravine

or camp was distant, by the way they came, just one hundred and fifty leagues, or about three hundred and ninety-five miles from Tiguex, and was located in Texas on the Red River at the point where the one-hundred-and-first meridian crosses it. It must be understood, of course, that we cannot claim these routes and camps to be the exact and identical spots Coronado traversed; they are simply approximations, and the exact route may be a few miles on either side of it.

#### 6. The Army's Homeward March

**CASTANEDA.**—"They all agreed . . . that Don Tristan de Arellano should go back to Tiguex with all the army. When the men in the army learned of this decision, they begged their general not to leave them . . . but declared that they all wanted to die with him and did not want to go back. This did not do any good although the general agreed to send messengers to them within eight days, saying whether it was best for them to follow him or not. (508.) The guides ran away during the first few days and Diego Lopez had to return to the army for guides, bringing orders for the army to return to Tiguex to find food and wait there for the general. The army still had some hope that the general would send for them, and sent two horsemen, lightly equipped and riding post, to repeat their petition. . . . The army waited for its messengers and spent a fortnight here, preparing jerked beef to take with them. . . . The messengers whom the army had sent to the general returned . . . and as they brought no news except what the alderman had delivered, the army left the ravine and returned to the Teyas . . . who led them back by a more direct road. (509.) In this way they covered in twenty-five days, what had taken them thirty-seven days going, besides stopping to hunt cows on the way. (510.) On its return the army reached the Cicuye River more than thirty leagues below there, I mean below the bridge they had made when they crossed it, and they followed it up to that place . . . (510.) As I said the army followed the river up as far as Cicuye. . . . From there they went on to Tiguex . . . (510.) Don Tristan de Arellano reached Tiguex about the middle of July, in the year (15) '42" . . . (510.)

**Relacion Del Suceso.**—"Don T. de Arellano returned to the river with the army. On this journey they had a very hard time, because almost all of them had nothing to eat except meat, and many suffered on this account." (577.)

The army was to wait for one week at the final ravine after Coronado left, for his decision about following him. The guides, however, it seems, deserted Coronado on his third day out (June 2), at the end of eighteen leagues. His messenger, Diego

Lopez, returned with the decision and for new guides on June 4. Then the two special messengers of the army started out with him the next day and overtook Coronado on June 9, when he had reached his sixtieth league. The special messengers made this same distance in five days at twelve leagues a day. They returned, however, at six leagues a day, in ten days reaching the army again on June 19, thus accounting for the two weeks the army waited for them. On June 20, the homeward march of twenty-five days began. This would make their arrival at Tiguex occur on July 14, which practically agrees with the date of Castaneda (510). The army went back two leagues to the Teyas at Cona, then marched in a southwesterly direction below the Red River for sixty-eight leagues to about Old Fort Sumner on the Pecos River, and then about thirty-two leagues up to the Bridge. The return trip to the Bridge was about one hundred and two leagues, and to Tiguex about one hundred and forty-two, or about eight leagues less than the outward one.

## II. JOURNEY TO QUIVIRA AND RETURN

### A. From the Red River to Quivira

CORONADO.—“With only thirty horsemen . . . I traveled forty-two days, after I left the force . . . (581.)

After having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me . . . (582.) The province of Quivira is nine hundred and fifty leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree” (582.)

CASTANEDA.—“The general . . . reached Quivira, which took forty-eight days’ marching on account of the great detour they had made toward Florida . . . (509.) Quivira is to the west of those ravines in the midst of the country, somewhat nearer the mountains towards the sea, for the country is level as far as Quivira, and there they began to see some mountain chains.” (528.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—(Coronado), “set out across these plains in search of Quivira . . . and after proceeding many days by the needle (*i. e.*, to the north) it pleased God that after thirty days’ march we found the river Quivira which is 30 leagues below the settlement.” (577.) In going by the way we went, we traveled 330 leagues, and it is not more than 200 by that by which we returned. Quivira is in the fortieth degree and the river (Tiguex) in the thirty-sixth . . . ” (578.)

JARAMILLO.—“We pursued our way, the direction all the time after this being toward the north, for more than thirty days’ march, although not long marches, not having to go without water on any one of them, and among

cows all the time . . . so that on St. Peter and Paul's day (June 29) we reached a river which we found to be there below Quivira. When we reached the said river the Indian recognized it and said that was it, and that it was below the settlements . . . " (590.)

The author of the *Suceso* says that *Quivira* was three hundred and thirty leagues from Tiguex, in going the way we went. Now, since they went one hundred and fifty leagues to the Red River, this would leave one hundred and eighty leagues as the distance traveled north by the needle. To cover this distance at six leagues a day would require just thirty days, which coincides exactly with the time given both by Jaramillo and the *Suceso*. These one hundred and eighty leagues would make about four hundred and seventy-three miles, and if we go straight north on the one-hundred-and-first meridian from the Red River in Texas to the Platte River in Nebraska, we find the distance to be about four hundred and sixty miles, or one hundred and seventy-five leagues. This would leave five leagues or thirteen miles as a margin in the whole distance for deviations and detours in the route, for water, and for delays at the many ravines and gullies. In regard to the latitude of forty degrees given both by Coronado and the author of the *Suceso*, they certainly knew what they were speaking about, as they evidently took precautions to avoid making any mistake.

If an astronomical observation was made in *Quivira*, it is not recorded; and it is more probable that the calculation was made by dividing the total number of leagues traveled north (180) by the number of leagues in a degree of latitude (about 26), which gave them over six degrees. Now, they knew that they had gone over thirty leagues or a part of two degrees below the latitude of the river (36), or Tiguex, which would consequently take them into the thirty-fourth degree, and thus adding the six degrees to this would make them very sure of having arrived in the fortieth degree. Therefore, since the correct latitude of Tiguex or Bernalillo is in the thirty-fifth degree, we know now with certainty that Coronado in reality arrived in Nebraska, and that it was in the forty-first degree that he found *Quivira*. His estimated distance from Mexico is, of course, in accordance with the route he traveled himself. Castaneda's forty-eight days is probably based upon the time of the return trip; that is, forty days from

*Quivira* to the Bridge and eight days from there to Tiguex; otherwise it is an error. Castaneda's remarks about the ravines in the midst of the country refer to the great valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers; his location of *Quivira*, therefore, is correct. His mountain chains are those parts of the Rocky Mountain chain they saw on their return trip. As thirty days of Coronado's forty-two were employed in reaching the Platte River, the remaining twelve were used in reaching the end of *Quivira*.

#### B. The Province of Quivira

CORONADO.—"There are not more than twenty-five villages of straw houses there. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond . . . " (582-583.)

CASTANEDA.—"There are other thickly settled provinces around it containing large numbers of men. They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas, who were their enemies. The great river of the Holy Spirit (*Espiritu Santo*) . . . flows through this country. It passes through a province called Arache. . . . The sources were not visited, because . . . it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South sea . . . " (529.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—"These (houses) are of straw . . . in some villages there are as many as 200 houses; they have corn, and beans and melons . . . (577.) (Coronado) went 25 leagues through these settlements to where he obtained an account of what was beyond, and they said that the plains came to an end, and down the river there are people who do not plant, but live wholly by hunting. (577.) They also gave an account of two other large villages . . . with straw houses at Tareque, and at Arae, some of straw and some of skins." (577.)

JARAMILLO.—"We crossed it (the river) there, and went up the other side on the north, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after . . . three days we found some Indians . . . going hunting . . . their village was about three or four days still farther away from us . . . we proceeded . . . until we reached the settlements, which we found along good river bottoms, although without much water, and good streams which flow into another larger than the one I have mentioned. There were if I recall correctly six or seven settlements at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and another. We reached . . . the end of Quivira. . . . Here there was a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others . . . beyond was Harahey . . . the same sort of a place . . . " (590.)

The twelve days, or seventy-two leagues, required to go to the end of the *Quivira* settlement would mean about one hundred and



ninety miles. This distance would bring them to the junction of Beaver Creek with the Loup or Wolf River near the boundary line of Platte and Nance Counties. This locality was a part of the last Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska. They found the first village thirty leagues beyond the crossing, in the vicinity of Georgetown, Custer County, on the South Fork of the Loup River. Proceeding from there in a northeasterly direction, they would cross all the large tributaries of the Loup River which were the favorite village sites of the Pawnee Confederacy. All the descriptions given of *Quivira* apply so perfectly to this region that it is not necessary to repeat them. The twenty-five leagues through these settlements means the distance north or northeast to the Elkhorn River, beyond which was indeed the real Province of Arache, Tareque or Harahey, which means nothing else than the Country of the Ariki-ra, or Horn people, so called because of their peculiar head dressing. To the southeast of *Quivira*, or down the river, were the Guas, or the Province of Arae (evidently a misprint for *Guas*), who are none other than the Kansas Indians, later on called Quans and Kaws by the French. The meaning of the word *Quivira* and its derivation now become plain and simple, for it is nothing else than the Spanish pronunciation of the name of this Indian nation, the Skidi-ra, or Wolf people. Coronado arrived here on July 11, 1541, the forty-second day from the Red River and the twelfth from the Platte crossing. He remained here until August 6, when the return trip began. It required twelve days to reach the crossing; they arrived there on August 17, 1541. On this return trip a cross was raised and an inscription, made with a chisel, was placed at the foot of it. I am inclined to believe that this inscription was cut on a stone that is located somewhere within a radius of fifty miles around St. Paul, Nebraska.

### C. From Quivira to Tiguex

CASTANEDA.—“It took him forty days to return traveling lightly equipped.” (512.)

*Relacion Del Suceso*.—“We went back by a more direct route . . . it is not more than 200 (leagues) by that which we returned.” (578.)

JARAMILLO.—“We took five or six Indians from these villages to lead and guide us to the flat roof houses. They brought us back by the same road as as far as . . . a river called St. Peter and Paul’s (the Platte), and here we left that (road) by which we had come, and taking the right hand

(i. e., toward the west) they led us along by watering places. . . . At last we came to . . . where I said we found the first settlement (of Querechos) where the Turk led us astray from the route we should have followed. . . . We reached Tigux . . . (591-592.) If I remember rightly, it was after the middle of August, and because there was little to winter there for . . . it seemed to us all that his grace ought to go back." (590.)

Leaving the Platte River, near the one-hundred-and-first meridian, on Thursday, August 18, they went southwest to the junction of the Purgatoire and Arkansas Rivers in Colorado, a distance of two hundred and forty miles, or ninety-two leagues, from there, still going southwest to the first Querechos village, was about one hundred and thirty-two miles, or fifty leagues, and from there to the Bridge was forty leagues, a total of one hundred and eighty-two leagues. Adding the fifteen leagues to Pecos gives one hundred and ninety-seven leagues, the distance from *Quivira* to the flat roof houses, which agrees with the statement of the *Suceso*.

*Thus we have solved the famous Quivira puzzle.*

Having shown that Nebraska is the real land of *Quivira* and Harahey, we know now that the first footprints made there by white men were those of Spanish Catholics, under the leadership of Coronado, in July and August, 1541. These visitors were accompanied by a Franciscan priest, Father Juan de Padilla, who, according to the Catholic custom, erected a large cross, the emblem of Christianity and Salvation, in one of the villages. He most certainly celebrated Holy Mass, if not every day, at least on the seven Sundays that were spent there, besides the feasts of Saint James (July 25), the Patron of Spain, and that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (August 15). Thus the first Christian services held in Nebraska were those of the Catholic Church. Father Padilla returned to *Quivira* with several companions in the spring of 1542, and began his missionary work there. While on his way later to visit the Guas, or Kansas Indians, he was murdered by some roaming Indians, and thus Nebraska's fertile plains were baptized with the life-blood of America's first Christian Martyr.

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## CONCANEN'S ELECTION TO THE SEE OF NEW YORK (1808-10)<sup>1</sup>

Father Concanen's busy career in Rome had extended over a period of more than thirty years, when Bishop Carroll—encouraged to such a step by Propaganda—petitioned for the division of his vast Diocese, which then embraced all of the United States.<sup>2</sup> The pious and zealous Dominican was most favorably known among the ecclesiastical circles of the capital of Christendom. He had already rendered conspicuous services to the Church in the various countries whose affairs he administered at the Papal court. Concanen was greatly loved by the Seventh Pius. He was an ecclesiastic of much executive ability and profound learning and endowed with a prudence that had been matured by long experience. His humility alone had

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<sup>1</sup> For the sources from which this sketch of Bishop Concanen is drawn, see note 1, *THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. i (1916), pp. 400-401. Additional materials will be found as follows: I. Sources (Printed): *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xviii (1907), pp. 291-93. II. Works: HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal, Documents*, Vol. i, Part II, pp. 830-31, 978-79, 982, 991-92, 1148-53. Cleveland, 1910; *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son Jubilé de 50 Années de Professorat à l'Université de Louvain*, pp. 526-555 (Louvain, 1914)—article: *Les Nominations Episcopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat américain*, by F. J. ZWIERLEIN; SPALDING, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*. Louisville, 1844. For the first part of this biographical sketch, see the January issue of this *REVIEW*, Vol. i (1915-16), pp. 400-422.

<sup>2</sup> A fairly clear idea of the gradual advance towards the formation of a hierarchy in the United States may be obtained from Carroll's letters to the Prefect of Propaganda, February 10, 1802 (*Propaganda Archives, America Centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 135-137); November 27, 1802 (*ibid.*, fol. 146-47); February 14, 1804 (*ibid.*, fol. 162-63); November 22, 1806 (*ibid.*, *Congregazioni Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 102-105); June 17, 1807 (*ibid.*, *Congregazioni Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 106-108); and from the minutes of the session of Propaganda in 1814, in which there is given a recapitulation of previous acts of that Congregation in regard to the Church in the United States (*ibid.*, *Atti* of 1814, fol. 183 ff.). Bishop Carroll, it would seem, desired at first at least the establishment of but one Diocese in addition to that of Baltimore; but Propaganda wished to have more, for it was felt that a number of new Sees would more effectually advance the cause of religion. Other documents containing the diplomatic negotiations and ecclesiastical proceedings which culminated in the appointment of Rev. John Carroll as our first Bishop, may be found in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xxi (1910), pp. 177-236, and in *American Historical Review*, July, 1910, pp. 801-829. The latter *Review* gives the documents in the original Latin, Italian and French, while the former gives us an English rendition of them.

prevented him from becoming a Bishop at an earlier date. He had shown a keen, affectionate interest in the progress of the Church in the United States. As was known at Rome, from a correspondence covering several years, a strong bond of friendship and mutual esteem had arisen between Concanen and Baltimore's venerable Ordinary, whom it was now proposed to raise to the rank of Archbishop. Doctor Carroll had assigned as the reason for not naming a clergyman for the See of New York the fact that there was no one in that city who was suited in his judgment for so important a post.<sup>3</sup> From the same source Propaganda was aware of the sad need of priests on our missions. The strained relations between the Holy See and Napoleon Bonaparte gave every reason to fear that Pius VII would suffer the lot of his predecessor—imprisonment and exile; and the Holy Father was anxious to fill all vacant bishoprics in the Church and to establish an organized hierarchy in the United States before such a calamity should overtake him. That these were the considerations which urged the appointment of the first Bishop of New York there can be no doubt, it seems to the writer, to anyone who has studied the problem from first-hand information in the documents themselves.

With no thought of the episcopal dignity for which he had a strong aversion, Father Concanen set to work on the commission entrusted to him by Doctor Carroll and sought to have his friend's plans for the American Church carried out in detail.

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<sup>3</sup> Bishop Carroll to the Prefect of Propaganda, November 22, 1806, and June 17, 1807, as in preceding note; same to Rev. Richard L. Concanen, Rome, June 17, 1807. (*Archives of the Dominican Master General, Rome, Codex XIII, 731.*) In his letter of November 22, 1806, to the Prefect of Propaganda, Bishop Carroll writes: ". . . It seems to me that at least four new dioceses could be established in the United States with great fruit to souls. . . . The second can be placed at New York, which can take in all the very large state of that name and the eastern part of New Jersey which adjoins it. . . ." In the document of June 17, 1807, proposing the names of clergymen from whom selection of the bishops of the intended sees should be taken, he says: ". . . It seems necessary that in the beginning the bishop of Boston should exercise jurisdiction over the territory in which, in my previous letter, I included the diocese to-be of New York. For none of the priests residing in that territory appear to me suited for the episcopacy. I therefore refrain from recommending anyone for that responsible post. (Necessarium enim videtur, ut episcopus Bostoniensis initio jurisdictionem exerceat intra illos limites, quibus futuram diocesim Neo-Eboracensem prioribus litteris comprehendi. Namque inter sacerdotes illic constitutos nullus mihi videtur satis episcopatui capessendo idoneus; itaque supersedeo cuidam ad tam grave ministerium commendando.)"

Perhaps, indeed, our friar's urgency was almost as potent a factor as the political aspect of Europe at that period in inducing Propaganda to meet in special session (March 4, 1808) to act on Carroll's petition that episcopal Sees should be erected at Boston, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and New York, and that over the first three, in the order named, Revs. John Cheverus, Michael Egan, O.S.F., and Benedict J. Flaget, S.S., should be placed as their respective Ordinaries.<sup>4</sup>

Doctor Carroll, as has been seen, proposed no one for the See of New York, for the reason that there was no suitable episcopal material in its territory. The Cardinals, therefore, began to cast about for some clergyman to be made the head of that bishopric. All eyes seem to have turned to Father Concanen, whose high character and zeal and whose amicable relations with the Bishop of Baltimore were known to all. Rome could choose no other clergyman, it was decided, who was better fitted to adorn that nascent and promising Diocese with his many virtues and attainments, or who would be more acceptable to our great proto-American prelate. All this is evident from the documents of the case. In the minutes of the Sacred Congregation, when discussing Carroll's promotion to the dignity of a metropolitan, the erection of the new American Sees, and the appointment of their Ordinaries, it can easily be seen that Concanen was Propaganda's first choice for the bishopric of New York which Rome did not wish to leave without a resident spiritual head. The important documents which follow show this very clearly. For the reasons assigned, Concanen was the choice not only of the Cardinals, but of Pius VII, who selected

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<sup>4</sup> The minutes and notes of the special session of Propaganda held March 4, 1808, show both Father Concanen's activity in urging Bishop Carroll's proposals, and the various questions, persons, and plans then discussed in this connection. These affairs are scattered through (but often separated by other documents) Vol. cxlv of *Congregazioni Particolari* of the Propaganda Archives from about folio 79 to folio 198. The minutes proper run from folio 166 to folio 177. Shea (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 664), tells us that Concanen's appointment to New York was chiefly due to Archbishop Troy. But nowhere in these lengthy minutes of Propaganda is the name of the great metropolitan of Dublin mentioned. Other documents mentioned in this article show that all communication between Ireland and Rome at this period had been interrupted by the enmity between France and England, and that Troy had no idea of his friend being appointed Bishop of any place. (See also on this point document referred to in notes 11, 12, and 13 of this article.)

him personally, and who in the Brief of his appointment (*Apostolatus Officium*) tells him that, on discussing the selection of an incumbent for the church of New York: "We immediately turned Our eyes upon you."<sup>5</sup> Although the Dominican's strong aversion to such a post of honor was well known, it was thought that, on account of his love for America and his friendship with Doctor Carroll, he "might be induced to accept that new episcopal See."<sup>6</sup>

The reason for the selection of Father Concanen as Bishop of New York could not be stated more clearly or positively than in the following letter from Propaganda to Carroll:

"When, in 1808, the diocese of Baltimore was raised to the rank of a metropolitan see, and four new suffragan bishops were nominated and placed under its jurisdiction, the Sacred Congregation wrote, May 24, 1808, as follows to the newly created archbishop: 'How great the faith, and how implicit the confidence, the Holy Father, Pius VII, and this Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide repose in Your Grace's zeal and prudence, is shown by the late proceedings and recent decisions which the Apostolic Briefs accompanying this letter will clearly make known to you. For Your Grace will see that in accordance with your wish and petition four new episcopal sees have been erected in the United States, that you have been honored with metropolitan rights and dignity, and that the three ecclesiastics have been appointed bishops of the infant dioceses for which you recommended them so highly in your letter. But as Your Grace did not propose for New York any clergyman whom we could place over that diocese as its prelate, the Holy Father himself chose for this position a man whom long experience and the high esteem of all Rome prove to be most worthy of so exalted a dignity, and whom

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<sup>5</sup> Minutes and notes of Propaganda as in preceding note; letter of the Prefect of Propaganda, May 24, 1808, to Carroll (in *America centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306-307); and the Brief, *Apostolatus Officium* (*ibid*, fol. 270). The *Apostolatus Officium* reads: "Quumque de praeferendo ejusmodi Sedi personam utilem ac fructuosam cum ven. fratribus Nostis S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus Congregationi de Propaganda Fide praepositis deliberationem habuerimus diligentem, statim ad Te, qui . . . et de cujus vitae munditia, morum honestate, prudentia, doctrina ac praesertim Catholicae Fidei zelo luculenta apud nos perhibentur testimonia, direximus oculos mentis Nostrae, teque propterea a quibusvis etc. censentes, eandem Neo Eboraci Sedem Episcopalem de persona tua Nobis ac memoratis Cardinalibus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de ipsorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium providemus. . . ."

<sup>6</sup> *Congregationi Particolari*, Vol. cxlv, fol. 192. The way in which Father Concanen is brought into the discussions of this special session of Propaganda leads one to believe that the unhappy state of Rome at this period had so afflicted him that the Cardinals thought he could be induced to accept an American Bishopric.

Your Grace has time and again shown to be very dear to yourself—Richard Luke Concanen, of the Order of Saint Dominic, and one of the theologians of the Casanate.' ”<sup>7</sup>

Father Concanen was perhaps the only man in Rome surprised at his being appointed again to a bishopric. Again he strongly declined the proffered honor, and urged the nomination of his friend, Father John Connolly, whom he considered agreeable to the American hierarchy. But the good man's protests were of no avail, and he was obliged to bow to the will of the Holy See.

That his friend's appointment to the see of New York was gratifying to Doctor Carroll appears certain from Concanen's letter to him on August 9, 1809:

“After the series of trials and disappointments that I experienced ever since my unfortunate appointment to the See of New York, the greatest consolation I felt was that of receiving your Grace's inestimable letter of 20 January last. The pleasure and approbation you so kindly express at my promotion; the satisfaction shown on that occasion by our beloved Catholics of New York; and the pleasing account you give of the present state of that Church, are to me objects of the highest estimation.

“I have ever had a sensible predilection for the Americans, and a desire (which obedience only rendered ineffectual) of serving in that mission; but never indeed had I the ambition of appearing there in quality of a Bishop; especially in my advanced age and weakened by my late infirmities. Now that I am bound to undertake the arduous charge, you may imagine what concern and affliction it gives me to be sequestered here so long, spectator to tragic scenes, which cannot be unknown to you; and wasting the remnant of my life, which ought to be employed in the service of my beloved flock. . . .

“I shall execute to the utmost of my power all your commissions received, and to be received. All the literary works you described, and published in Italy within the last fifteen years, are written in Italian. There is amongst others, a capital work, written in Italian by a Spanish Jesuit, Père Andrez, on the origin, progress, and actual state of all literature, which you shall have. You will also have a copious supply of relicks. The Pontifical *Cappa* is a large robe, with a long train made of serge (purple) according to the Ceremoniale; or of silk, according to custom. Mine will serve as a pattern. The purple serge can be easily

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<sup>7</sup> *America centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306-307. For the original Latin and Italian of this document see Documents, pp. 77-78. This letter, but little known in the United States, throws much new light on the appointment of Doctor Concanen to the See of New York. For Concanen's selection by Pius VII himself, see also *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 145, fol. 171.

had; and the ermine which covers the breast and shoulders, is cheaper there than in these parts. . . .”<sup>8</sup>

Obliged to accept the episcopal dignity for which he not only had no desire but rather a strong aversion, the Bishop-elect, although suffering from a severe illness, hastened to communicate what was to him the sad tidings of his appointment to New York, to Archbishops Carroll and Troy.<sup>9</sup> But, as there were no vessels sailing from Italian ports for America, he was obliged to send word of what had been done at Rome for the Church in the United States to the metropolitan of Baltimore through the metropolitan of Dublin.

“You must undoubtedly be astonished [he writes Doctor Troy, March 25, 1808], if you have received my letters of the eighth and thirtieth of January, to hear that instead of being now in my grave, as my most severe and long illness then threatened, I am appointed Bishop of New York, in North America. Doctor Carroll after many years’ deliberation, and often encouraged by Propaganda, has at length parcelled out his vast continent into six Dioceses, for the present. These are Maryland, the metropolitan See of which he is to be Archbishop, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Kentucky, and Luigiana [Louisiana]. The worthy Doctor proposed three subjects for three of the new Bishopricks, who consequently have been chosen by the Sacred Congregation, Monsieur

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<sup>8</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). The following words, also found in this document: “I shall be happy to see, at his house, young Mr. McHenry and his worthy family. They have my best wishes and compliments. I am sensible of their goodness, and when I come to the splendid function, to be performed at Baltimore, I shall profit of their hospitality,” are but one of many similar passages in our friar’s letters indicative of his benevolent character and affectionate appreciation of friends. This letter is published in full in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxiii (1906), pp. 170–173.

<sup>9</sup> Doctor Concanen was authorized on March 9, 1808, by the Father General to accept the bishopric of New York. This would indicate that he had then received the appointment. (*Archives of the Dominican General, Regesta Rmi P. Fr. Joseph Gaddi*, Codex IV, 260, p. 5.) The manuscript copy of the Brief of his appointment, *Apostolatus Officium*, in the *Propaganda Archives (America centrale*, Vol. 3, fol. 270), bears the date of September 8, 1808. But this is certainly an error, as is the same date given in some manuscript copies of the Briefs *Pontificii Muneris* erecting Baltimore into an Archbishopric, and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* establishing the four Sees of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. It is generally admitted and published in the various *bullaria* that the correct date of the last two documents is April 8, 1808; while it is expressly stated in the *Apostolatus Officium* that it was issued on the same day as these. The cause of this error and confusion was probably the state of turmoil that reigned in Rome at the time owing to the French occupation. For the Latin and the English translation of the *Apostolatus Officium* see Documents, pp. 74–76.



Cheverus, a Frenchman, for Boston, Father Egan, a Franciscan, for Philadelphia, and Monsieur Plaget [Flaget], another French Priest of St. Sulpice, for Kentucky. Unfortunately his Grace, Doctor Carroll, had nobody to propose for the Church of New York, and only recommended a Flemish Priest, Mr. Nering [Nerinckx], as temporary administrator of Luigiana [Louisiana]. The Sacred Congregation, now anxious to fill up all vacant Sees, unanimously elected myself, though I had strenuously recommended Father Connolly, for New York. And His Holiness confirmed the election before I knew their intention, or could dispose of my consent. Cardinal di Pietro came to my bedside, I being still unable to rise up, to tell me in the name of the Pope, that I must accept of the great charge. I acquiesced, and my consecration is probably to take place the twenty-fourth of April. Cardinal di Pietro is to be my consecrator; and had I asked the Pope, and had not dreaded the expenses, he would most readily perform the solemn function himself; for you cannot conceive what joy and satisfaction it gives him, even in these days, to have erected the New Episcopal Sees. He speaks of it to all that go to see him, and mentions Doctor Carroll's hopes and expectations of soon marking out more new Dioceses in North America. . . . Archbishop Carroll is to have the use of the Pallium with which I am to invest him. Now, my dearest friend, you will say that too late, and in the decline of life have I undertaken such a charge, at every time superior to my abilities, with the labors, cares and dangers attending it. It is very true, but remember that obedience to the Church has alone made me change an easy, quiet and comfortable state of life for a disastrous one. I most earnestly request you will communicate, *as soon as possible*, all the news to the most worthy Doctor Carroll. Pray his Grace to dispose matters and recommend me to the people of New York. . . . I can find no means for conveying a letter to Doctor Carroll. There are some American vessels at Leghorn and Genoa, but an embargo is laid on them. This will render my departure from here very difficult, and I fear the only way I shall have is to attempt getting to Palermo, and there embark on an American ship, or in one bound for England;<sup>10</sup> in which latter case I would enjoy the extreme pleasure of visiting you and my other friends in Ireland once more before my death. . . . I have a bundle of Rescripts for you, and other Prelates in Ireland, England, and Newfoundland, but have no means of forwarding them. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The way to Palermo was also closed to him by the French stopping all communications between Italy and Sicily.

<sup>11</sup> *Dublin Archives* (in book form, but not paginated or folioed). This document and that which immediately follows are proof conclusive that Archbishop Troy of Dublin had nothing to do with Concanen's appointment to the see of New York. Yet, strange to say, Shea (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 623) refers to these two letters; and then (*ibid.*, p. 664), states emphatically that Concanen's nomination to that post was "chiefly on his [Troy's] recommendation." (See also documents referred to in notes 4, 12, and 13.) It is but fair to Shea's memory to

Writing to the same noted churchman, on May 21, 1808, the bishop-elect says:

"My last letter, dated 25th March, announced my promotion to the Bishopric of New York. An event which seems as strange to myself as it must have appeared to you. I was scarce arising from my mortal illness, when Cardinal di Pietro came to my bedside to compel me to accept of the great charge. The adieu I had given to the world in my illness, and the present state of affairs here, induced me to a compliance with the Pope's will and that of the Sacred Congregation. My consecration was performed by Di Pietro and two Archbishops assistants, with great pomp, the twenty-fourth ultimo in the church of the Nuns of St. Catherine's. I would have set off for my destination long since, had not the American vessels at Leghorn been sequestered, because visited on their voyage by the English. They soon expect their sentence from Paris of being released, and will then immediately depart for America. I am tempted to go immediately to Leghorn, and there wait an opportunity for my long voyage. . . . It would grieve me if you should not receive the mentioned letter of the twenty-fifth March. Doctor Carroll has not, nor could he receive from hence any information of all that has been done for the Church of North America. I therefore prayed you to acquaint him by some vessel from that Kingdom: that Baltimore is to become an Archiepiscopal See, and that I am to decorate him with the sacred Pallium. Father Egan, the Franciscan, is appointed

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suppose that he had at his disposal only partial or imperfect copies of these documents; for he could hardly have written as he did, had he seen the originals. His bias, however, against the first two Bishops of New York and the great metropolitan of Dublin seems to have made it impossible for him to write fairly of them. Documents in our possession show just as clearly that Doctor Troy had no more to do with the appointment of Father John Connolly as New York's second Bishop than he had to do with the appointment of its first, and that the great churchman in no way deserves the sweeping accusation of interference urged against him by various authors, and especially by Shea in *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (pp. 664-665). It is possible that Shea imbibed his prejudice in part from certain letters of the Rev. Charles Plowden to Archbishop Carroll. These unfavorable letters begin with April 30, 1808, and continue through the next two years. They were written under the influence of a controversy, and thus naturally give a rather *ex parte* statement of matters. In his letter of December 23, 1809 (*Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame University—in the Archbishop Carroll documents), Father Plowden says: "I wish you to understand, that my apprehensions with respect to that prelate [Concanen] were grounded solely on the circumstance of his being agent of the Archbishop of Dublin with the Propaganda, and of course (I concluded) a favourer of the pretensions of the Prefect, Cardinal di Pietro. . . ." Later, when the unpleasantness had passed away, Father Plowden shows no little gratitude towards and appreciation of Troy, whom he regards as a valuable friend. (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, from Q 7 to R 7.) HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America—Documents*, Vol. i, Part II, pp. 830-31, 1148-1153, touches on this controversy, which he says (p. 1151) was based on "a misconception at the origin."

Bishop of Philadelphia; Monsieur Cheverus Bishop of Boston; Monsieur Plaget [Flaget] Bishop of Kentucky, and Mr. Nering [Nerinckx] Apostolical Administrator of the Church of Louisiana, should it please his Grace, Doctor Carroll, who is empowered to appoint an Apostolic Delegate or Visitation for the Antillae and Lucayan Islands [i. e., the Antilles and Bahama Islands]. Most ample faculties will be soon granted to you and to the American Archbishop. I shall take care that these be communicable to Newfoundland. . . ."<sup>12</sup>

It was not until July 4, 1808, that Bishop-elect Concanen's letter of the preceding March to Doctor Troy reached its addressee. As a faithful friend of both Carroll and Concanen, the venerable Archbishop of Dublin copied at once and forwarded to Baltimore that portion of it which concerned our American Church:

"Most Reverend and ever dear Lord [he writes on that date]. The usual communication with the European Continent being interrupted, I had but one letter from Doctor Cocanen of Rome since last July, until this day when the packet brought me another from him of so old a date as March 25 last, of which the following is an extract. . . ."

He then proceeds to quote Concanen's letter, and thus congratulates Carroll on his promotion to the rank of metropolitan:

"Allow me now, my dear Lord, to congratulate your Lordship and venerable Brethren on the accession of dignity to the North American Catholic Church, of which I may say you are the Apostle and Founder. May the Lord preserve you to witness the happy effects of your apostolic zeal and exertions. . . ."<sup>13</sup>

Doctor Troy's letter was received at Washington on the twenty-fifth day of September, and brought the following prompt reply from the father of our American hierarchy:

"Washington, September 28, 1808.—Most Reverend and Highly Respected Lord.—Three days ago your Grace's most esteemed favor of

<sup>12</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, May 21, 1808. (*Dublin Archives*, ut supra.) This document is another conclusive proof of Shea's error, when he attributes Concanen's episcopal nomination to any other influence than Concanen's own merits. It also sets aside Shea's assertion (*Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 623), that "He [Concanen] seems to have obtained considerable donations in money, vestments, plate, etc., for his diocese, filling cases which greatly impeded his travelling at a time when every moment was precious."

<sup>13</sup> Troy, Dublin, to Carroll, Baltimore, July 4, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8, N. 2). The interruption of communications between Ireland and Rome noted in this document makes it quite impossible for Doctor Troy to have had any part in the appointment of Father Concanen to New York.

July 4 was received by me at this place and brought the first intelligence of those resolutions so interesting to this portion of the Church, which have been formed and carried into effect in Rome, according to your extract from Right Rev. Doctor Concanen's letter. To your Lordship I am highly indebted for immediately forwarding the advices you had received, which are so far truly gratifying, inasmuch as they open a prospect of my relief from a great part of that burden which I could no longer bear. They moreover afford consolation on account of the known virtue of the newly appointed Prelates, who will have their zeal confined to objects nearer to them and more within the sphere of their activity. In a word, I promise myself many excellent effects from the measure adopted by the Holy See, and the complete establishment of an ecclesiastical province. I give myself no credit for being at the head of it; for it was in some sort the result of prior circumstances. Respecting the arrival of the new Bishop of New York, my hopes and fears are nearly balanced. The detention of American merchantmen in the continental ports of Italy and elsewhere afford no grounds to expect that he can procure his passage by that route; but I hope that he may succeed by way of Sicily. He probably has with him the official documents for the erection of the new Episcopal Sees, and it is much to be wished that he may have left Rome before its occupancy by the French army. If his Lordship should chance to be in Ireland, may I pray your Grace to present to him my cordial congratulations, to assure him of my esteem and respect, and of my earnest wish for his arrival. Already I have sent notice to New York of his appointment, and requested that every suitable preparation be made for his reception. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

Although Doctor Concanen did not believe that a letter sent from Italy would reach Baltimore, on account of the political situation of Europe, he did not neglect the attempt to send Archbishop Carroll first-hand information of all that had been done by Propaganda for the Church in the United States. Moreover, as soon as he saw a chance of sailing, although not yet recovered from his illness, he hastened to the port of Leghorn, but the embargo on American ships held him there. He then thought of attempting to pass through France; but, as will be seen in the course of this article, his weakened state of health and advanced years made him shrink from the long overland journey of a thousand or more miles, by the primitive method of travel then in vogue. Besides, the practical certainty of being made a prisoner of war and of losing the many important official documents entrusted to his care by Propaganda, forbade him to

<sup>14</sup> *Dublin Archives*, ut supra. This letter is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xv (1898), pp. 130-131.

venture into a country which was then so antagonistic to the Holy See and was at war with England of which he was a subject.

From Leghorn the saddened prelate wrote to Doctor Carroll, on July 23, 1808:

"This is the third time I venture to give you an account of what has been done at Rome for the benefit of our holy religion in North America; of the high esteem and credit your Grace is justly held in by that court; and the honourable deference and attention paid to all your proposals. I am confident you will be fully satisfied when you receive the important papers, whereof I am the bearer, except in one point, which is the unhappy choice made in my person for the See of New York. I mentioned, in my former letters, what a sacrifice I have made, and how reluctantly I accepted of the awful charge; tho' otherwise desirous, were I not so advanced in years, of serving, in a lower rank, the mission in the United States, where there is such a pitiful want of laborers; but I was forced to obey the will of the Holy Father. And tho' scarce recovering from a long and dangerous illness, after having been consecrated at Rome, I set off from that city the third of last month, and am here waiting ever since an opportunity of embarking for some port of North America. There is a ship here ready to sail for New York, but she is detained, and with utmost regret, I fear I cannot start from hence before the next Spring. I felt the strongest impulse to venture thro' France to profit of the parliamentary vessel that is to sail from Port Orient, but after consulting many prudent and intelligent persons, I find it would be too probably risking, either my person to be seized, or at least, my papers, matters being now on a bad footing with Rome. The loss of these papers would be too sensible to you, to me, and to the interest of all the Catholic Church in North America. I must therefore wait with patience till an occasion may offer of sailing from some Italian port. In my letters of last March, I acquainted your Grace, that the persons you recommended, were promoted. Doctor Michael Egan to the See of Philadelphia, which takes in Delaware, and a part of New Jersey. Doctor John Sheverus [Cheverus] to Boston and the provinces of New England; and Doctor Plaget [Flaget] to Bardstown, comprehending the provinces of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the great extent near the Ohio, just as you marked out in your last letter to Propaganda. New York takes in the eastern part of New Jersey. And to the metropolitan See of Baltimore are incorporated, for the present, all the provinces of the East down to Georgia inclusively. I say, *for the present*, because Propaganda expects there will be other new Episcopal Sees soon erected, and therefore a reservative clause is inserted in the Bulls, regarding the adnexed provinces. You and your Successors the Archbishops of Baltimore are to enjoy the use of the Apostolical Pallium *in perpetuum*. I carry with me yours and flatter myself the honour, next September or October, of assisting at a splendid function in investing you with that sacred ensign, and the consecration of three new Bishops. Rev. Charles Nerink [Nerincx] is

appointed ministrator Apostolicus of the See of New Orleans, provided you think proper, with ample faculties you can communicate to him. Amongst them [is] that of conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation. I have some private instructions both for him, and your Grace. As no account has come to Rome, for many years, from the Missions in the Antillae and Lucayan Islands, you are empowered to constitute one or more Apostolic Delegates or Visitators for said places with ample faculties for each of them, which I hold with the other papers. All your spiritual faculties have been confirmed and greatly amplified. Do the charity to acquaint per letter Doctor Lambert of Newfoundland that I have got his spiritual powers renewed and encreased. He can appoint any Priest he chooses to administer Confirmation within his District. I haven't heard from my old confreres of Kentucky, for a year or more. It will be agreeable to them to know that the General of the Dominican Order, with a special Rescript and Indult of the Pope, has delegated to me all his jurisdiction, powers, and faculties both ordinary and extraordinary over all the Dominicans of North America, and of the Islands, and even of the Spanish and Portuguese Continent, that cannot easily communicate with Rome. . . ."<sup>15</sup>

As the reader cannot fail to have noticed, Concanen's letters both as priest and Bishop reveal, not only an amiable disposition and a noble character, but a strong desire to aid the Church in every possible way. But the effect of his zeal was felt especially in those parts where, as agent of their Ordinaries, his influence was requested and his good-will given fuller play. Now that the Seventh Pius and the Sacred College were threatened with imprisonment and exile and Rome's communication with a large part of the Christian world was on the verge of a long interruption, our saintly friar prelate used all his prestige at the Papal court to procure the most extraordinary faculties for those Bishops for whom he was authorized to act.<sup>16</sup> The Most Rev. Pius J.

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<sup>15</sup> *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1. This letter is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxvi (1900), pp. 245-47. The two letters which it tells us Concanen wrote Carroll in the previous March are not in the *Baltimore Archives*. No doubt they were written immediately after Concanen's appointment to New York. Doubtless they were lost, as he feared they would be, on the way, probably falling into the hands of the French and destroyed.

<sup>16</sup> See also, besides Concanen's Letters to Carroll, as noted in this article, those to Troy from March 25, 1808, to June 3, 1810. There are twelve of these latter documents in the Diocesan Archives of Dublin. We have not been able to find any letters from Concanen to Troy prior to that of March 25, 1808, although there can be no doubt that there are many such documents somewhere. See also Bishop Milner, Wolverhampton, to Archbishop Carroll, Baltimore, May 4, 1811 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case C Special, p. 1).

Gaddi, Master General of the Dominicans, and the heads of the other religious Orders were also menaced with an exile that was soon put into effect. It was impossible to foresee the calamities that might befall the Pope or the Church, the Fathers General or their Orders. It was in these straits that Father Gaddi resorted to that exceptional measure of seeking Papal authority to entrust the government of his Order in all the New World to Doctor Concanen, which is mentioned at the end of the above quotation.<sup>17</sup> Gaddi's action is all the more remarkable because Concanen, as a Bishop, was no longer under the Order's jurisdiction. It was an act that required apostolic authorization, being beyond the power of the Father General. But Concanen's long and conspicuous career in Rome and his twenty years odd spent as assistant to successive heads of his Order had made known to both Pius VII and to Father Gaddi his zeal, learning, prudence, and good judgment. The Father General was anxious, under the existing circumstances, to place his Order in America in such safe and wise hands, and he readily disposed His Holiness to grant so singular a petition. In many respects Gaddi's action is probably without a parallel in the seven hundred years of Dominican history.<sup>18</sup> Certainly the implicit confidence reposed in the first Ordinary of New York by Pius VII, by the Sacred Congregations—especially that of Propaganda with which he came into more frequent and immediate contact, and by the highest authorities in his Order, is no less a proof of his sterling worth than of the high esteem in which he was held in the Eternal City. It contains an encomium greater than which the most faithful ecclesiastic could hardly hope for.

Continuing his letter to Doctor Carroll, the new Bishop says:

"How much do I wish to know what articles you'd like to have from Europe, that I might supply you with them. How many things

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<sup>17</sup> We advisedly extend Doctor Concanen's authority to all the Dominicans in the New World, because this seems to be justified by the extraordinary paper published in the original Latin with an English translation in Documents, pp. 78-82; the Bishop's letter, however, does not assume such wide powers.

<sup>18</sup> Father Gaddi's testimony that he obtained orally (*vivas vocis oraculo*) the authorization of Pius VII to bestow such singular powers upon Bishop Concanen, and a copy of the letters patent conferring them, are in the Archives of the Dominican Master General (*Regesta Magistri Generalis Rmi P. Fr. Josephi Gaddi*, Codex IV, 260, p. 5). They are also published, as stated in the preceding note, in this issue of the REVIEW.

may I want myself, after my arrival in America, which I don't now think necessary? I have however, purchased a competent assortment of Pontifical Robes, books, and sacred vessels, and church ornaments, all which I have already destined, by *will*, for the Bishop, *pro tempore*, of New York. I requested your Grace, in the former letters, to be pleased to arrange matters in the best manner you can for my settlement in that Diocese, and appoint a Vicar with all the necessary powers that you and I can delegate to him. [I had] the pleasure of a letter dated last April, from my dear Sir Daniel McHenry. Be pleased to tell him that I'll insist on the payment of the *quarter of oysters* he promised to regale me with at Baltimore; for which with a prophetic spirit he pledged himself, when taking our walks together near the beautiful Cascades at Tivoli. I cannot, by this occasion, write to my old friend and companion, Rev. Mr. William O'Brien, as I would earnestly wish to do; but wish you to assure him of my regard and affection. I am under many obligations to the Messrs. Purviance, who, on your account, use me many civilities. I am to dine with them this day; and they do me the agreeable favor of forwarding to Port Orient this letter. I dared not trouble them with another for Rev. Mr. O'Brien. You would scarce believe what joy and comfort it has given the poor Pope, circumstanced as he is, to have erected the new Episcopal Sees in North America. I am to give you his compliments and benediction. I entreat yours and your good prayers, that I may arrive one day to assure you in person how respectfully I am, My Most Honoured Dear Lord, your affectionate and obedient Servant. Richard Luke Concanen."

Three days later the anxious and desolate prelate wrote a lengthy and beautiful letter to his American metropolitan, in which he gives again the reasons that forbade him making the foolhardy venture into France in the desperate hope of reaching the United States from that country. His age, his weakened state of health, the imminent danger of being made a prisoner of war and of losing his precious bundles of pallium and official documents, the prospects of a still longer delay, the insistent advice of his friends and well-wishers of the American Church—all these stood out boldly against such a reckless attempt.<sup>19</sup> For four months Concanen remained at Leghorn in the vain

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<sup>19</sup> Concanen, Leghorn, to Carroll, Baltimore, July 26, 1808, *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). In no other letter does Bishop Concanen give so clearly and so strongly the reasons which forbade him to attempt to reach America by the way of France. This document is published in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xxvi (1909), pp. 247-49.



hope that some vessel might sail for America. Since the Dominican monastery in that city had been confiscated by the French authorities, he was forced to live in a hotel. His active spirit would not permit him to remain long idle. This, together with the necessity of husbanding his meager resources and of gaining his livelihood, at length compelled him to return to Rome; but before his departure he carefully arranged Doctor Carroll's pallium and the official papers for the Church of America which had been placed in his hands, and left them in charge of Messrs. Anthony and Philip Filicchi, two exemplary Catholic merchants of Leghorn and New York and friends of Carroll, so that, in case a safe opportunity offered itself, they might be forwarded to their destination.<sup>20</sup>

While Bishop Concanen's absence from New York was a great loss to the Church there, his presence at or near Rome was an undisguised blessing to that of the Eternal City. The Holy Father and many of the Cardinals and prelates were soon sent into exile by the French authorities, and Rome was greatly in need of Bishops. After his return there, Doctor Concanen spent his time between that city and Tivoli, some twenty miles away, and was in constant demand for episcopal functions. Thus he tells Archbishop Carroll: "I have exercised all the Pontifical functions in the Cathedral and other churches here." To Doctor Troy he writes: "There remain but seven Bishops in the City. For this reason I am daily employed, as you'll remember was formerly M. Piccolomini, Bishop of Pienza, in going about confirming children, in Pontifical M.M. [masses], Benediction, etc."<sup>21</sup> These occupations, as we learn from his letters, did not deter him from discharging a great amount of business for prelates and ecclesiastics of Ireland and other countries. Nor did he forget, as has been seen, the commissions of his American metropolitan. Yet, with all his busy life at Rome, he kept in touch with the

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<sup>20</sup> Concanen, Florence, to Carroll, Baltimore, September 26, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8a, E 2); Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*ibid.*, Case 2, T 1); Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, November 19, 1808, and May 20, 1809 (*Dublin Archives*, *ut supra*).

<sup>21</sup> Concanen to Carroll, August 9, 1809, as in note 20; Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 10, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*).

reports from the various Italian seaports that he might miss no opportunity of reaching his beloved flock in New York.<sup>22</sup>

Keenly alive to the interests of his Diocese and aware of its great need of missionaries, he cast about in search of worthy clergymen whom he might take with him to America, and sought to learn what chances there were of getting means from New York for their transportation. In this connection he wrote to Archbishop Carroll:

"I eagerly wish to be instructed by you concerning a very interesting object. I well know the great want there is of zealous missionaries for the United States. Numbers of Italian, and some Irish Ecclesiastics have offered themselves to accompany me to America. Out of these I could select six, or eight, on whose zeal, probity and capacity I might depend. But how to manage for the expences of their voyage, is the question. Nothing is to be expected from Propaganda, which has lost the greater part of its revenues. I haven't had one farthing from it, or from any other quarter, to defray the great expences I have been at; or those that I am to undergo in my future journey. I expect you'll have the goodness to let me know if there be any means, or any provision, by a collection, etc., for defraying the charges of the voyage from Leghorn to some port of North America, for any determined number of Priests, that I could safely depend upon for the service of that mission. . . ."

Again he writes the same churchman, August 9, 1809:

". . . I mentioned in some former letters, my desire of knowing what provisions there may be and what supply to defray the expences of the voyage of two or more missionaries, whom I can depend upon, and would conduct with me to labour on the mission. Nothing is to be now expected from Propaganda. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Letters of Concanen to Troy (as in *note* 16). As may be seen from these documents, the vexing question of the veto by which the English government sought to gain control of the appointments to the Catholic hierarchy in the British Isles claimed much of Concanen's time at this period. Father Louis Nolan, O.P., who has made a close study of this question, tells us (*o. c.*, p. 43), that on this and other matters relating to the Church in Ireland, Propaganda frequently requested Concanen's views. "Far away himself from the scenes and heats of the excitement of that troubled time in Ireland [continues Nolan], and being kept well informed of all the events as they occurred, Father Concanen, aided by these advantages as well as by his great tact and sound judgment, wrote reports for Propaganda which not only make interesting reading today but also throw much and valuable light on certain events of the period." See also Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809; February 12, and March 26, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2, 3, 4); and March 13, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 21a, A 4).

<sup>23</sup> Concanen, Florence, to Carroll, Baltimore, September 26, 1808 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 8a, E 2); same, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*ibid.*, Cases 2, T 1).

To Archbishop Troy the anxious prelate writes on the same topic:

"You will do me a singular favour in procuring for me some news from Doctor Carroll of Baltimore. Let him know I wrote to him several times since my unfortunate appointment. I wish to know from him what articles and commissions he would wish to have from Europe. I know the great want there is of Missionaries in the United States, and eagerly wish to be informed what encouragement there would be for the passage and settlement of some choice Italian Priests, who learned the English, and whom I could take over with me. Doctor Carroll never mentioned in any of his letters, what assignment there is for the support of the new Bishops. If you can give me instruction about these points before my departure (which will be God knows when), you will greatly oblige me. I beg you will also write a letter for me to our Father O'Brien of New York, as I fear he will not have received mine. . . ."

In all his trials and tribulations Bishop Concanen never relaxed his efforts to serve the great metropolitan of Baltimore and the interests of our missions. Thus we find him writing from Florence:

"My Dear and Honoured Lord: This is the sixth time I do myself the honour of writing to you, after my promotion to the See of New York. In my last, dated at Leghorn, I acquainted you with the disappointment I met with in not being permitted to embark from that port for America. After a loss of much time, and money, finding that no American vessel will be permitted to sail from the ports under the French influence, I determined to return to Rome, where I must wait, till Providence will open some way for arriving at length at my destination. As a considerable time, I fear, may pass before I can have this happiness, you will have ample space to let me know your commands and commissions for whatever you may wish to have from Italy. I shall, with great pleasure, execute them all. . . ."

In another letter he observes further:

". . . There are some hopes that before next Spring, American vessels will be permitted to sail from Leghorn. If so, I shall have a place in the first of them; and take with me my books, Pontifical utensils, sacred ornaments, etc., without which I should be greatly distressed arriving in America. Some of my friends pointed out to me the plan of going through France, and waiting there in some port for an opportunity of sailing. This would be attended with innumerable difficulties, besides the impossi-

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<sup>24</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, November 19, 1808 (*Dublin Archives*). The same subject is also keenly discussed by Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28 and November 30, 1809, and February 12, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2 and 3).

<sup>25</sup> The letter of September 26, 1808, as in *note 23*.

bility of taking with me my baggage, and the danger of losing, in the frequent perquisitions, the Bullas, the Pallium, and numerous official papers. At my departure from Leghorn last Summer, I left all these papers sealed up in separate bundles, in the care of Messrs. Filicchi, with directions to forward them immediately to your Grace, if ever a safe occasion offered. They wrote me from time to time, that this happy opportunity never presented itself; and that probably I must be the bearer of the interesting acts. Before we lost the presence of our Holy Father, I took care to signify to him what you mentioned concerning Doctor Plaget's [Flaget's] reluctance to accept of the Bishoprick of Bardstown. His Holiness expressly ordered, and commanded in virtue of holy obedience, this worthy Gentleman to acquiesce, and accept of the charge imposed on him. I have the authentic act. And your Grace will be pleased to communicate to Doctor J. Plaget the will and command of the supreme Pontiff, that he may prepare himself for the solemn ceremony, at which, I hope in God, I'll have the comfort of assisting at next Pentecost. On this subject permit me to add, and assure your Grace, that no appointment, no arrangement of any importance, regarding the Churches of the United States, will be adopted by the Holy See without your previous advice and consent. This I have taken special care to have determined on. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

Now that Concanen had been consecrated Bishop of New York, that See was no longer under the jurisdiction of Baltimore. For this reason, seeing no prospect of getting to America in the immediate future and not wishing his beloved people to be deprived of the guidance of a resident spiritual head, he wrote on July 23, 1808, as has been seen, to request and authorize Doctor Carroll to appoint to the new Diocese a Vicar General with all the authority that the conjoint power of the Archbishop and Bishop could bestow on him.<sup>27</sup> On the receipt of this

<sup>26</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1). A further testimony of Concanen's fruitful zeal in aiding those prelates who sought his assistance comes from Bishop Milner. ". . . This leads me to the second object of my letter, which is to enquire whether the Irish Prelates and myself may not hope to be able to carry on some communication with our Holy Father through your Grace. We British subjects are not allowed by [the French?] to send a letter to any person and least of all to the Pope; but you American subjects, I presume, have all the facilities for this purpose which the French themselves have. Since the death of my lamented friend and agent and your suffragan, Doctor Concanen, neither I nor any of the Irish Bishops has been able to hold the least communication with the common father. Doctor Troy has written twice over, but in vain, to Leghorn and Palermo to learn if there be any channel for the communication in question. . . ." (Bishop Milner, Wolverhampton, to Carroll, Baltimore, May 4, 1811.) (*Baltimore Archives*, Case C Special, P 1.)

<sup>27</sup> *Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1. A note in the handwriting of Archbishop Carroll on this letter says that it was received on October 11, 1808.

letter (October 11, 1808), the venerable prelate of Baltimore appointed Rev. Anthony Kohlman, S.J., to this position. Father Kohlman took with him to New York his zealous and charming fellow Jesuit, Rev. B. J. Fenwick, afterwards second Bishop of Boston. Carroll communicated this news to Concanen, who wrote in reply:

" . . . I dare say, I fully comprehend the nature of the disposition you have taken to remove the disagreeable circumstances that had arisen in the Church of New York, and which you could not commit to paper. I thank you for them; and I am sure that thereby you have spared me a disagreeable office. I beg you'll assure Messrs. Kohlman and Fenwick of my regard and affection. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

When this point had been settled, the zealous and far-seeing Ordinary of New York began to plan some way for the education of young aspirants to the priesthood in his episcopal city. In this connection, as well as in regard to the needs of the American missions and the means of doing some favors for Carroll, he opened a correspondence with Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, S.S., then rector of a Seminary at Lyons, France, but who had been in the United States and was a close friend of Carroll. On Maréchal's advice, Concanen determined to establish a small College and Seminary in the city of New York; and, on learning from Baltimore that he could expect no aid from America to carry out his cherished design of bringing a number of missionaries to his Diocese, he engaged two Franciscans to take charge of his projected educational institution.<sup>29</sup> Shortly after he had contracted with these men, however, he was informed by Archbishop Carroll that Father Kohlman had opened a College in New York, an arrangement which rather upset his plans. The Bishop intended to use the proceeds from his College to educate his clerical students; and, as he understood that Father Kohlman had established in the name of the Society of Jesus what was later known as *The New York Literary Institution*, and had associated with this school the only church then in the city, after the news of his (Concanen's) appointment to that See had reached America, the good man, mild as he was, was somewhat indignant that such

<sup>28</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1).

<sup>29</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, October 28, and November 30, 1809, and March 26, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 1, 2 and 4), and March 13, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 21a, A 4).

a step should have been taken without his knowledge and consent. In a letter to Archbishop Troy he expressed himself on the subject in rather strong language.<sup>30</sup> Later, however, when he heard from Doctor Carroll himself that he had been misinformed on these matters, his wrath was turned into satisfaction—a sure token of a noble character and of much confidence in our great American prelate. He then writes to Maréchal, possibly by way of apology:

“ . . . Our good friend, Mr. Plunkett of Leghorn, pre-informed you of the news I'd have here to communicate; to wit, that since my last to you, I received two letters from Doctor Carroll, wherein his Grace acquaints me, that there is already a Catholic School or Academy opened at New York, under the direction of Mr. Cohlman [Kohlman], a Jesuit come from Russia, some years back, who is appointed Vicar General and Parish Priest of that Church. This Academy, the Doctor says, is served by young men sent from the College of Georgetown, and was erected, as he informs me, *before he heard of my appointment to that See*. He gives me moreover, the pleasing news of the thriving state of Religion in my Diocese, and that there is also a Catholic School opened at New York for female children. . . . Had I known before of the establishment of the new Academy at New York, I probably would not have engaged the two young Franciscans to accompany me. The younger, Father Hayes, has had many invitations elsewhere. I'll expect the favour of your sage and respected counsel. It will give me some pain not to be able to take with me in passing through France the various commissions I am honoured with by Doctor Carroll. Another piece of news that Doctor Carroll gives me is, that there is a new Church now a building at New York, which is to be dedicated to St. Patrick. . . . I have no means of writing to Doctor Carroll. You'll be pleased to supply for me. You know my situation, and all I'd have to say to him. . . .”<sup>31</sup>

Much of this document, as well as all Concanen's letters to Maréchal, show that, in spite of the short-lived misunderstanding which arose on account of the Jesuit College at New York, our friar lost none of his former love and esteem for his friend, Archbishop Carroll. Bishop Concanen made numerous efforts to forward to Doctor Carroll the papal documents concerning the

<sup>30</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*).

<sup>31</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, February 12, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 3). This letter, and those referred to in note 29, and that of Concanen, Naples, to Maréchal, Lyons, June 15, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 5) clearly refute Shea's charge of unrighteous wrath on the part of Concanen against Archbishop Carroll for having sent the Jesuit Fathers to New York. (SHEA, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 628, and *A History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States*, vol. 3, p. 162.)

American Church. These efforts, as well as the good man's ardent desire to get to his diocese, were frustrated by Napoleon Bonaparte. His own judgment and the advice of prudent friends told him that in all probability it would be disastrous to himself to venture through France on his way to America; there was, moreover, the danger of losing the pallium and official papers in his charge, whether he carried them in person or entrusted them to the mails. Though a man of strong will, his spirits were so cast down by trials and disappointments at times, that he would gladly have resigned his See, had not his keen sense of obedience and duty forbidden it. Although he ever regretted his episcopal appointment and knew well through the letters of Carroll and Maréchal the poverty, the privations and the labors awaiting him in New York, he could not be induced to consider even the hopes that were held out to him to exchange his American diocese for the Archdiocese of Tuam in his native land—a circumstance which speaks well for his humility and courage, his love of America, his obedience and his apostolic spirit.<sup>32</sup>

Growing weary with this long and painful delay, the grief-stricken prelate finally determined in the fall of 1809 to have authentic copies made of all his American documents; and if no favorable opportunity offered itself in Italy by the following spring, to go at all hazards into France with these copies in the desperate hope of sailing from some port of that country. In this purpose he was encouraged by two Sulpicians, Fathers Emery and Maréchal. Maréchal, indeed, generously took up a collection in Lyons to be given to the Bishop when he reached

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<sup>32</sup> Concanen to Maréchal, as in note 29; same to Troy from May 20, 1809, to June 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives, ut supra*); and Troy, Dublin (?), to the Prefect of Propaganda, September 9, 1809 (*Propaganda Archives, Irlanda*, Vol. xix, fol. 319). In his letter to Troy, May 20, 1809, Concanen says: "Would to God! I could decently renounce my American station, and every other of that nature . . . Propaganda has too great an idea of the good they think I may do in America. . . . And the fact is I may finish my days here. For there is not the remotest appearance of getting off, and if I pass another year in Italy, I shall, at all events, renounce my station. . . ." To the same churchman he writes on April 18, 1810, in regard to the proposal to exchange the Diocese of New York for the Metropolitan See of Tuam: ". . . I can safely say, that were Paul (*a name used for prudence' sake to designate Pius VII*) here, and that I were to move for myself, the business would be done. . . ." But he would neither do this nor consent to the change. His determination seems to have been that if, against his own will, he must be a Bishop, he would be one only where obedience had placed him.

that place, to help him pay his own transportation and that of the missionaries whom he hoped to take with him to New York. Fathers Emery and Maréchal, as Frenchmen, were imbued with a little of that national bias which is so natural to us all, and were inclined to look with a favorable eye on their countrymen. They could see no danger to the Bishop in a journey through France. But Concanen had been an eye-witness of the French outrages in Italy and knew that English subjects in France were being held as prisoners of war. Consequently, he dreaded such a step. At first Emery insisted that Carroll's pallium and the original papal documents should be forwarded to the notorious Cardinal Fesch, even without copies being made of them. But this the Bishop was not disposed to do; and Father Emery himself later advised against such a step as rash in the extreme.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, in October, 1809, through Rev. James Whitfield, Concanen solicited Maréchal's good services in procuring "a letter of recommendation to his Excellency, Mr. Degerando," through

<sup>33</sup> Concanen to Maréchal as in note 29; same, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, January 25, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Lyons, June 8, 1811 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 6). In this letter to Troy Concanen says: "The Sulpician Priests of France are very impatient I should set out for America, and propose my going to Paris, and there wait till an American parliamentary Ship come to some Port of France. I look upon the plan to be desperate; yet I believe I must adopt it, if I get the passports. Here I cannot long maintain myself. . . ." And to Maréchal he writes on November 30, 1809, half jocularly and half in earnest (referring to his correspondent's generous offer of financial aid): "From an Irish Priest at Paris, Mr. McNulty, I am informed of Mr. Emery's impatience, for my not having gone to America, or not having sent the Bulls and official papers. He adds affliction to the afflicted. If I'm not gone, the fault is not mine. Messrs. Filicchi, Purviance, and Sartori can witness how often I attempted to send off the Bulls, etc. When Mr. Emery makes the good-natured offers Mr. Maréchal has, then I'll believe he's more anxious for the Interest of Religion than for the Consecration of his friends, Plaget and Sheverus. . . ." The Messrs. Filicchi mentioned in this and other letters of Concanen deserved well of the early Church of New York. They were also influential in the conversion of Mrs. Seton. Sartori was a merchant of Leghorn. The Messrs. Purviance were respectable merchants of Baltimore, who were probably held in Italy in the same way that Concanen himself was detained there. All were friends of Archbishop Carroll. They were prudent and practical business men of the world. It was they and others of like character who advised against New York's first Bishop trusting himself or his documents into France. These facts, as the letters we have just quoted, show how unfounded is the assertion, which one reads here and there, that Doctor Concanen might have easily reached America through France. It was likely through French sources that Archbishop Carroll derived, apparently at least, such an opinion, though he expresses it mildly. (Carroll, Baltimore, to Bishop Plessis, Quebec, October 15, 1810—in *Records of American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. xviii (1907), pp. 291-93.)



whom he hoped to obtain a passport for France. The recommendation came from Degerando's mother; and finally, in March, 1810, our Bishop secured an order for the passport. But just at this juncture the good man received assurances that two vessels would certainly sail from Naples in June, and that he could secure passage on one of them. He changed his plans at once, ordered his papal documents, a part of his luggage and Carroll's pallium from Leghorn, despatched one copy of the Briefs to Father Emery, and placed another in the keeping of Rev. John J. Argenti of the Propaganda. Armed with a passport obtained from Gen. Miollis, then governor of Rome, Bishop Concanen set off for Naples in the last days of May with his precious treasure of pallium and episcopal appointments. While his heart must have rejoiced at the thought of finally being able to reach his beloved flock, his joy could not have been without sorrow, for he was unable to take with him the zealous missionaries in whom he saw excellent workers for his diocese of New York.<sup>44</sup> The poor man's trials, however, had not yet come to an end. From Naples he wrote to Father Maréchal:

"Naples, the fifteenth of June, 1810.—Dear and very Esteemed Friend.—Mindful of your kind request, that I would acquaint you of the time of my departure from this port, I come to inform you, that at length Divine Providence has opened to me the long-desired passage to the United States; and that, after numberless difficulties and trials, I hope, with the blessing of God, to set sail next Sunday, the seventeenth instant, aboard the *Frances*, Captain *Haskell*, for Salem near Boston. This is the only vessel permitted to depart from hence for North America; and she is to convey home the Captains and Crews of many other ships, to the number of 260 passengers. You will easily imagine, that in so crowded a vessel I must expect bad accommodations; but it consoles me to think, that all I suffer, is for the glory of God, and sake of our holy Religion. It was through the interest and recommendation of my friend, Mr. Filicchi of Leghorn, that the Captain consented at all to take me on board, without any servant or companion. I am of course obliged to leave behind me some excellent young Priests who were eager to accompany me, and a clever faithful servant man, who, along with many other qualities, is a very good organist. I must humbly adore the dispensations of Divine Providence, and patiently bear the many contradictions I have hitherto suffered. . . ."

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<sup>44</sup> Concanen to Maréchal, as in note 29, and Naples, June 15, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 14, U 5); Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Carroll, Baltimore, and to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3, and *Dublin Archives*, ut supra).

The Bishop then proceeds to tell Maréchal how he desires and hopes soon to have him as his coadjutor in New York, and closes his letter with the words:

"I'll expect from your Reverence the news of Europe, and in recompense you shall be one of the first to whom I will write from America. In reading this letter remember to recommend to divine protection, My Dear and Most Respected Sir, your most obliged and affectionate Servant. \* Richard Luke Concanen."<sup>35</sup>

The above letter, we fancy, was the last from our great Friar Preacher's busy pen. Four days later he was no more. Messrs. Hammet and Appleton, American consuls respectively at Naples and Leghorn, had actively interested themselves in behalf of the genial prelate. Through their influence the captain of the *Frances*, although at first declining to receive Doctor Concanen aboard, not only agreed to take him as a passenger, but assigned him the best place on the ship. But the government officials at Naples demanded that another passport be issued there before the Bishop would be allowed to leave. Consul Hammet kindly applied in person for it at the Board of Police. A quibble was then raised about Concanen's nationality. Although the passport he had obtained from General Miollis at Rome clearly stated that he was a native of Ireland, a doubt (apparently pretended) served as a pretext for a refusal to grant another; and an officer was at once despatched to Doctor Concanen's lodgings to forbid him at his peril to attempt to sail without further permission. It was later determined, it would seem, to permit him to go. But it was too late, and the dying bishop never knew of such a determination.<sup>36</sup> The threatening order, which Bishop Concanen understood to signify either a positive intent not to allow him to come to America, or a ruse to delay matters until it would be too late for him to take the *Frances*, was so violent a shock to him that it caused his death in

<sup>35</sup> *Baltimore Archives*, as in preceding note.

<sup>36</sup> Rev. Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); same, Leghorn (evidently to Carroll), Baltimore, September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3); Rev. Thomas Lombardi, Naples, al Molto Rev. Padre Maestro Molineri, Rome, June 29, 1810 (Archives of the *Dominican General*, Codex xi, 114). Father Plunkett's two letters give more details than does that of Lombardi. He cites Father Lombardi as the source of at least some of his information. These three documents show clearly that Bishop Concanen died on June 19, 1810, and not June 18, or June 20, as has been variously stated.

less than two days. To Father Thomas Lombardi, a Dominican who was with him, and who was probably one of the zealous priests desirous of accompanying him to New York, the afflicted prelate remarked: "Well, now I may say a farewell to America forever."<sup>37</sup>

This was the morning of Sunday, June 17. On Monday evening the good bishop desired to make his confession, which he said would be his last. He confessed "with such sentiments of compunction as would have pierced the heart of a stone, or melted it into tears." He then desired to be left alone to commune with his Creator, but desired Father Lombardi to call early next day. The faithful priest returned shortly after midnight and found Doctor Concanen speechless, but still conscious. The last rites of the Church were then administered, and in a few moments New York's first Ordinary gave up his noble soul to God—June 19, 1810. The next day his remains were laid to rest in the vault of his Order in the great Dominican Church of San Domenico Maggiore, at Naples.<sup>38</sup>

At the time of Doctor Concanen's appointment to New York, Propaganda was reduced to such straitened circumstances through the occupation of Rome by the French and the failure of a bank to which its funds were largely entrusted, that it was unable to aid him in any way. The same invasion had also brought poverty to the doors of his Order in Rome. For these reasons Pius VII authorized our indigent friar Bishop to appropriate to his own use a burse that he had been permitted to establish, when assistant to the Father General, for the education of young men of his province for the Irish Missions. With these means, and probably with financial aid which he received from friends and from various persons whose agent he was at Propaganda, he fitted himself out with an episcopal equipment, books, etc., and prepared to set off for his distant Diocese. All had gone well with him, had not the French embargo held him in Europe. As the zealous prelate's letters show, the expenses to

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* The suspicion has been expressed that Bishop Concanen died of poison stealthily administered by those in authority in Naples; but we find nothing to corroborate such an opinion in the letters of those most intimately connected with the good prelate. Father Lombardi, who seems to have accompanied him to Naples and was with him at the time of his death, says nothing of such a crime.

which he was put soon made serious inroads on the funds he strove to save for the benefit of his American charge. In this regard Archbishop Troy, Bishops Moylan, Milner and others seem to have come to his aid and to have helped him save or recuperate his depleted resources.<sup>39</sup>

Before the exile of Pius VII, Doctor Concanen safeguarded his vow of religious poverty by obtaining from that Pontiff permission to dispose of his possessions as he judged proper, in case death came upon him before he reached America—an eventuality he appears to have foreseen from the time of his consecration. For this reason, he made his last will and testament, on January 30, 1810. In spite of papal authority to do as he liked with his belongings, after consulting the good of his soul and satisfying the dictates of piety and gratitude, he felt that in case he did not use them himself, they should be returned to the Order whence they had been principally obtained. He divided, therefore, the residue of his modest estate between his own Province in Ireland and the American Province in whose establishment he had been highly instrumental.<sup>40</sup> A living tradi-

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<sup>39</sup> Concanen, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, March 25, May 21, November 19, 1808; May 20, September 27, 1809; January 3, and 25, 1810; and Peter Plunkett, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (all in *Dublin Archives*, ut supra); Concanen, Leghorn, and Rome, to Carroll, Baltimore, July 23 and 26, 1808, and August 9, 1809 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 2, T 1); same, Rome, to Maréchal, Lyons, November 30, 1809, and February 12, 1810 (*ibid.*, Case 14, U 2 and 3). At times his letters to Troy, in which he shows the efforts he made to save his property for the use of the Church in New York, make really pitiful reading.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Plunkett, Leghorn (evidently to Carroll), September 3, 1810 (*Baltimore Archives*, Case 6, W 3); same, Leghorn, to Troy, Dublin, September 3, 1810 (*Dublin Archives*); John Joseph Argenti, Rome, to Troy, Dublin, March 7, 1812 (*ibid.*); *Memoria per Illmo Signore Arcivescovo Olimpio, Direttore del Debito Publico* (copy?)—a document of twelve pages and undated, but belonging to 1822 or early 1823 (*ibid.*); and a copy (perhaps an English rendition) of Concanen's will (*Tallaght Archives*—unlisted). If we accept the statements of this letter of Plunkett and the above *Memoria*, which are probably correct, and place on the English pound and the Roman crown or scudo the highest value possible for that date, Bishop Concanen had some four thousand dollars at the time of his death. Of this sum he bequeathed 100 pounds to his only sister, his nieces and nephews; 1,000 Roman crowns or scudi in part for Mass-offerings, and in part as a remuneration to certain persons who had deserved well of him; and 500 scudi to San Clemente, Rome, or his province of Ireland. The remainder he left to Saint Rose's Priory, in Kentucky. Thus, according to these documents, the proto-Dominican house in the United States was residuary legatee of Bishop Concanen to about \$2,000, the amount which a tradition still living in the province tells us it received from his estate. We find an echo of this tradition in Spalding (*Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, p.

tion tells us that Bishop Concanen was a tall, well-built man. His splendid physique and commanding appearance were the more attractive because of his generous heart, his pleasant manners and his kindly, ascetic countenance.<sup>41</sup> The same tradition tells us further that in him learning and humility, meekness and strength of character were most happily blended. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that he appears to have been much loved by all with whom he came in contact.

At the time of his demise New York's first Ordinary was two or three and sixty years of age. His exiled friend and admirer, Pius VII, was deeply afflicted at the report of his death.<sup>42</sup> Had he been spared, much good for the Church in our great American metropolis, in spite of his years, might have been expected from his zeal, good judgment, and experience, his learning and amiable temperament. The young Diocese of New York might have been spared a long and sad widowhood. That Doctor Concanen was a man of singularly exalted character and admirable disposition is the verdict from many sources. His friendships and the high esteem in which he was held by two saintly Popes, by the Sacred Congregations at Rome, and by learned prelates in various parts of the world, and in his own Order; the universal confidence reposed in him and the honors that were thrust upon him; the affection that he unconsciously won from persons in every walk of life—all these declare his praise in a way that cannot be misunderstood. That his affectionate regard for the father of our American Hierarchy remained unchanged until the end is attested

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154, Louisville, 1844), where we are told that this was the sum Saint Rose's received from Concanen. To the same institution he bequeathed two "parcels" of books, sacred articles, etc. But from Argenti's letter to Troy of March 7, 1812, and the fact that there are no books in the library at the Priory with the Bishop's name in them—and there is no tradition that any were ever received—it would seem that these two packets never reached their destination. Quite a different story is this from that which one reads in DeCourcy-Shea (o. c., p. 365): "By his will, made doubtless before his consecration, he bequeathed to the Dominican Convent of St. Rose, in Kentucky, his rich library and a legacy of \$20,000; and these were also lost to the Diocese of New York."

<sup>41</sup> This tradition is borne out by the information given Rev. J. W. Cummings of New York (*Notes furnished by William F. McLaughlin from mss. of Bishop Bayley*). See also *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. ii (1900), Part I, pp. 101-102.

<sup>42</sup> Cardinal Pamphili, Savona, to Propaganda, August 12, 1810 (*Propaganda Archives, Diario di Propaganda dall' Anno 1808 all' Anno 1814, Sommario*, No. 27, p. 177).

both by his letters and by the fact that on the eve of his death he began to prepare the way for the appointment, as his coadjutor, to New York, of an intimate and confidential friend of Archbishop Carroll, the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, who later, indeed, became the third metropolitan of Baltimore.

REV. VICTOR O'DANIEL, O. P.,  
*Washington, D. C.*

## THE ATTITUDE OF SPAIN DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

More than four score years ago the American people, attracted by the style of Irving, their first man of letters, began to read widely in the field of Spanish history. Those who became acquainted with *Columbus* did not doubt that in the *Conquest of Granada* and the *Tales of the Alhambra* they would find equal entertainment. In this expectation they were not disappointed. But they sought something more than entertainment. They longed to learn about the people who had given to civilization a new world, who had opened to the commerce of Europe the trade of the Pacific, who had circumnavigated the globe, and who had attempted to Christianize the aborigines of two archipelagos and two continents. Moreover, they desired to know something of the national characteristics of Spaniards, who had transferred to the New World the civilization of the Old, and whose descendants were their neighbors and in the War for Independence had been their friends. But the record of Spanish achievement in America could have been examined in the pages of some dull chronicle. In a form more attractive the literary art of Irving gave to his countrymen not only glimpses of olden times in Spain but impressions of antiquity interesting to all the human race. To Americans his descriptions of Spanish life appeared to be pictures of a distant past, but they were not. They were records, more or less faithful, of the Spain that he knew. The centuries had come and gone without greatly changing the daily life or the ideals of her people. In that country of romance Irving, whose genius lay somewhere in the enchanted region between fiction and history, found themes adapted to his taste.

Ten years after the appearance of Irving's life of Columbus, Prescott, who also had been captivated by romantic Spain, published *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*. This added definiteness of outline to the chief incidents in the golden age of Castile, while the *Conquest of Peru*, the *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Philip II.*, a work upon which he was engaged at the time of his death, showed the rapid territorial growth of the Spanish empire and the great increase of its power. In brief, the pages of Irving and Prescott revealed for the first time to

their countrymen the outlines of an empire, perhaps the most splendid and powerful that the world had seen. Yet notwithstanding its grandeur it contained the elements of disaster and decay.

This empire, upon which the sun never set, squeezed from its subjects revenues nearly ten times as great as those of Elizabethan England. When the Virgin Queen had scarcely a battalion of regulars, the captains of Philip II. commanded a standing army of fifty thousand. Unlike other princes of modern times he held dominion of the land and of the sea, and during a part of his troubled reign was supreme on both. The air alone was free. In that element he could neither hush nor guide the tempest. At St. Quentin his soldiers inflicted on the French a decisive defeat, which they failed to improve; his Armada menaced the independence of England. In short, the power of Philip II. at one time surpassed even that of Napoleon, whose control stopped with the shore. But unlike the Emperor of France, the ruler of Spain, attached to an inherited system, was greatly lacking in originality. Besides an unequalled revenue, a victorious army, and a powerful navy Philip had merchantships, and commerce, and colonies. His people received and distributed the spices of the East and the treasure of the West. This superiority was well deserved, for Spain was the home of brave soldiers and renowned statesmen.

Englishmen are fond of praising the chivalrous and versatile Sidney, courtier, statesman, soldier, and poet. Indeed it is difficult to overpraise him. The England of James I. had Bacon, "the brightest, the wisest, and the meanest of mankind," and Jonson, Raleigh, and many other men of action who were also eminent men of letters. Startling as the statement may appear, in Spain such men were still more numerous. There were few Spanish men of letters who were not at the same time soldiers or statesmen. This must be the conclusion of a reader of the *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor, who belonged to the epoch of Irving and Prescott.

Not long did Spain remain at the zenith of her power. Even before the death of Philip II. there were murders, and massacres, and endless wars which wasted her substance. Time surely brought round its changes. The empire at the close of the seventeenth century was very different from what it was at the



accession of Philip II. Kingdoms and dukedoms had been lost, art had perished, and literature was about to enter upon a dead season. Such legions as were once commanded by Alva and Farnese had vanished as completely as the spectral army that besieged the walls of Prague. Their not distant successors, diminished in number, were ill paid and poorly disciplined. The royal guard, the most favored of those disorganized bands, according to Macaulay, battled daily with beggars at the doors of convents "for a porringer of broth and a morsel of bread." This wretched army was matched with a navy not less wretched. With the death of Charles III., the heroic age of the Spanish empire may be said to have come to an end. Its partition was not long delayed. During this dismemberment the rising powers came, like vultures on eager wing, to banquet on its fragments. For the present purpose it is enough to state that this amazing change was accomplished by bad government.

The Spain described by Irving, and Prescott, and Ticknor is the Spain which educated Americans know best. The succeeding epoch, when the national grandeur had departed, is much less familiar. Yet that later history is of considerable intrinsic interest. In part it explains the Anglo-American estimate of nearly everything Spanish and Spanish-American, an estimate by no means complimentary. Nevertheless, the relations between the United States and the republics of South America are becoming more friendly. This good feeling, even if a little belated, is in harmony with the facts of both American and Spanish-American history. During the Revolutionary War, Spain and her colonies assisted the people of the United States in their gallant fight for freedom. Though the nature of this assistance may be discovered in the archives of either country, there is in our historical literature no adequate treatment of this important subject.

Ten years ago, in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, the writer called attention to this and to other deficiencies in the existing accounts of the Revolutionary War.<sup>1</sup> Since that time Doctor Edler has written an excellent monograph on *The Relation of Holland to the American Revolution*. Dr. B. F. Jameson, indeed, had examined still earlier a portion of the same field. Con-

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<sup>1</sup> January, 1906.

cerning the nature of French assistance there is an abundance of material. Without reading beyond Doniol and Wharton one gets not every detail, it is true, but sufficient information to form a just conclusion on the subject. In a word, the nature of French and of Dutch assistance has been adequately, if not exhaustively, treated; that of Spain, which was not insignificant, has to a great extent been neglected. While that theme cannot be fully described in the limits of an essay, its nature may be at least suggested. The present inquiry, therefore, aims at nothing more than a treatment in outline of the attitude of Spain and her colonies to the American Revolution.

Spain did not pursue a constant policy from the beginning to the end of the American Revolution. In 1776 her purpose was to assist in keeping England's colonies in a state of disaffection. To maintain this unrest she gave, June 27, 1776, to the American commissioners, through Vergennes, the sum of 1,000,000 francs.<sup>2</sup> As she was unprepared for war, this act could not prudently be proclaimed. Therefore the secret was carefully guarded by Charles III. and his minister Grimaldi. Before the transaction became known in England more than a year had passed. Though the colonies were disaffected, by Spain they were expected to remain subject to the mother country. The task of imposing peace upon them, it was hoped, would leave England no leisure to undertake aggressions on Spanish America. At the outset this principle controlled the policy of Charles III. and his minister. When the issue between England and her colonies was no longer a question of redressing grievances but of gaining independence, Spain lost interest in the insurgents, for she feared the influence on her own colonists of an example of successful revolt. During this period, therefore, she discouraged all American advances. Of the American policies adopted by Spain this was the second.

In 1779, after having been drawn into the conflict against Great Britain, the attitude of Spain suffered still another change. Participation in the widening war led her to summon up a remembrance of the past. In it she beheld wrongs to be avenged, losses to be recovered, and national greatness to be restored. Of

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<sup>2</sup> With money furnished by Spain considerable shipments of military stores for the use of Congress were subsequently made by the house of Gardoqui.

those considerations perhaps the last, the desire to become again a power of the first rank, was not the least. In executing this programme the United States would be a useful, if not an essential ally. Both the army and navy of Britain would be forced to go to America. Though the interests of Spain were bound up with those of the United States, American ministers were coldly received at the Spanish Court and in Spanish society. This feeling may in part be explained by an observation of Trevelyan, namely, that "Spaniards looked upon the people of New England as a particularly dangerous form of heretics, and disapproved of them as turbulent and disloyal colonists whose rebellion against their rightful master set a very dangerous example to the inhabitants of their own vast, immensely valuable and loosely attached dependencies in the Western Hemisphere."<sup>3</sup>

The storm of indignation that swept New England after the passage of the Quebec Act showed, indeed, that Yankees, like their Roundhead ancestors, were as intolerant as, in English opinion, were the Spaniards themselves. They looked, strangely enough, to the United States for assistance, but did not on that account manifest any excess of generosity. In fact, in this respect, the Spaniards were neither better nor worse than the New Englanders, who in Rhode Island coldly received their French allies and in Boston actually mobbed their officers.<sup>4</sup>

Neither the ministers nor the European subjects of the king of Spain cared much about the rights of American citizens. England was believed to be in a condition of distress and to Spain this extremity marked the hour for avenging former defeats. It appears, too, that there were visions of territory to be wrested from England or gained at the expense of the United States, which Spanish statesmen believed were bounded on the west by the Appalachian Mountains. This belief serves to explain her conquest on the shores of Lake Michigan, where on January 2, 1782, a Spanish force from St. Louis seized the British post of St. Joseph, took a few prisoners and raised the standard of Spain. Moreover, in her convention with France it was stipulated that the whole of Florida; also the town and the bay of Mobile, should be added to the dominions of Spain. Let it be assumed that the

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<sup>3</sup> *George Third and Charles Fox*, Vol. i, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

motives which impelled that kingdom to declare war were vengeance and greed, forces imperious but ignoble. Yet if any power on the globe had a right to summon England to an audit, that power was Spain. In times of peace English buccaneers had destroyed her towns and year after year had plundered her treasure ships; on her troops English armies had often inflicted defeat; and finally England had interposed in her administration of the Netherlands. If retaliation was ever justified, it was for these repeated injuries.

When at last, April, 1779, Spain had concluded to enter the war, her dilatory tactics prevented the blockading of the British fleet and the annihilation of British commerce. The ships of France alone were not equal to an encounter with the navy of England, but the half-victory of Orvilliers, in the Channel, clearly showed that their combined forces were superior. Instead of improving the opportunity to assist in destroying the fleets of England, Spain had wasted the winter of 1778-1779 in a vain effort to mediate between Great Britain and her colonies. Meanwhile, in a haste that did not divide the day and night, England was strengthening herself for the struggle with the Bourbon powers. The hesitant policy of Spain before she entered the war had not been unobserved. Montmorin, the French minister in Spain, reported, June 20, 1778, that Florida Blanca, minister of foreign affairs, showed "a fresh coolness" toward the conquest of Jamaica and Gibraltar.

As a settlement of the dispute Spain proposed, in October, 1778,

1. That England acknowledge the absolute independence of the colonies.
2. That she retain Canada and Acadia.
3. That she cede to the colonies all the Floridas except what was necessary for the protection of Spanish commerce in the Gulf of Mexico.

France did not desire to see the new republic mistress of the whole continent and, therefore, Vergennes believed that exorbitant claims should not be made against England. The influence of this sentiment doubtless may be perceived in Spain's proposal. The latter feared the encroachments of the United States; but this uneasy feeling was set at rest by French statesmen, who reminded their ally that her situation would be far worse if the

colonies submitted to the mother country, for afterward there would be no resisting their united endeavors. To save the feelings of England and, no doubt, to gain some of his own ends without war the king of Spain suggested, late in 1778, a truce, which from time to time could be renewed. This would give the colonies, which were to be parties to the negotiations, ultimate independence, while the mode of procedure, it was believed, would be less humiliating to England than would be an immediate acknowledgment of independence. As the great object of the colonists was political freedom, Franklin, to whom had been confided the project of a truce, believed that the manner of granting independence was not so important. However, a committee of Congress was of opinion that the idea of a truce should not be entertained, but that during the negotiations a cessation of hostilities "may be admitted in case all the forces of the enemy shall be withdrawn from every post and place within the limits of the United States." On June 15, 1781, Congress almost unanimously agreed to the idea of Franklin, with the proviso that Great Britain was not to be left in possession of any part of the United States. Subsequently it appeared that the proposed truce was to continue twenty-five or thirty years, during which period there would be commercial intercourse between England and her colonies; also freedom of trade between them and other countries. Finally Great Britain was to treat them as independent *in fact*. This proposition of Spain was rejected as was her offer of mediation. Thereupon she withdrew her offer and recalled her minister.

As early as September 15, 1776, Beaumarchais, the brilliant and witty French dramatist, advised Congress, through its Committee of Secret Correspondence, to declare war against Portugal and promptly to send a fleet to "the Brazils." That, he stated, would interest Spain in American success, because, he philosophically added, "the enemies of our enemies are more than half our friends."<sup>5</sup> At that time England demanded of Spain the surrender of American ships in its ports and the prohibition of future intercourse with them. But Spain evaded a

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<sup>5</sup> On December 8, 1776 Franklin sent intelligence of the departure of a Spanish fleet carrying 7,000 troops, horse and foot. The expedition was believed to have been sent to attack the Portuguese colony of Brazil. In that case English troops and ships would be diverted for its defence.

compliance and on a later occasion respected the commission of an American naval officer. Still later Silas Deane reported that country as a good place of refuge for a frigate cruising in British waters. Writing March 8, 1777, from Burgos, Arthur Lee informed the Secret Committee of Congress that he had learned from an official of high rank that supplies for the Continental army would be sent from Bilboa by every opportunity. Blankets are mentioned, and there is ascribed to Spain a purpose to make at New Orleans and Havana deposits of ammunition and clothing, with directions "*to lend* them to such American vessels as may call for that purpose." At this time Lee was considering many projects, among them one to secure the services of some able Irish officers in the Spanish army. If any of those veterans could be spared, he was assured that the United States should have them. He was also assured by the government of Spain of having credit from time to time on Holland. Furthermore, it was agreed that American vessels calling at Havana were to receive the same treatment as was accorded those of France, the ally of Spain. In brief, she was willing to promote in every way the liberty of the Colonies, but could not then make an acknowledgment of their independence. It was proposed to despatch a vessel laden with salt, sail-cloth, tent-cloth, cordage, blankets, and similar warlike stores; also an assortment of drugs, In order the more easily to supply articles contraband of war, Spain favored an expedition against Pensacola. The zeal of the house of Gardoqui in American affairs was not unknown to Mr. Lee.

On December 30, 1776, Congress passed the following resolution, which on April 7, 1777, Franklin communicated to Count d'Aranda, Spain's Ambassador to the court of France.

"That if his Catholic majesty will join with the United States in a war against Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain the town and harbor of Pensacola; provided the inhabitants of the United States shall have the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbor of Pensacola; and will (provided it shall be true that his Portuguese majesty, has insultingly expelled the vessels of these States from his ports, or has confiscated any such vessels) declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by the courts of France and Spain."

Relative to the value of Spanish assistance suggested in the preceding pages Franklin and Deane wrote, May 25, 1777:

"The latter [Spain] has already remitted to us a large sum of money, as you will see by Mr. Lee's letters, and continues to send cargoes of supplies, of which you have herewith sundry accounts. Many of these transactions are, by some means or other, known in England, which dares not resent them at present, but the opinion of an approaching war gains ground every day."

On September 8, Franklin, Deane, and Lee, writing to the committee of Foreign Affairs, declared that while Spain had not yet consented to receive a minister from the United States, "she has, however, afforded the aids we formerly mentioned, and supplies of various articles have continued till lately to be sent, consigned to Mr. Gerry, much of which we hear has safely arrived." Though Spain had not formally acknowledged, she stood with France in insisting upon American independence. In a letter written August 3, 1777, from his home at Braintree, John Adams stated that it was generally believed Spain had decided against England though she had not the same motives as France for taking up the defence of the colonies. Reference is made by Arthur Lee to the assembling off Finisterre, July 26, 1779, of a united French and Spanish fleet of fifty vessels, thirty French and twenty Spanish. This armament—commanded by Orvilliers—was attended by a separate Spanish squadron of sixteen ships commanded by Don Córdoba and acting as a *corps de réserve*. Don Ulloa was reported cruising off the Canaries with four ships of the line, while six more blockaded the Bay of Gibraltar, where from the land a Spanish army invested the town. As late as August 24 adverse winds had prevented the sailing of the united fleet. The Spanish ambassador quitted London, June 18, 1779, for Paris. The forces of his country were already on the march to join those of France. On the tenth of September, 1779, Congress was considering a joint expedition with Spain against the Floridas; also the guarantee to her of those provinces, provided she could gain them from England by cession or win them in war. In return the United States asked the free navigation of the Mississippi River into and from the sea; also that Spain pay annually to them a named sum during the war and for a certain term of years.

The idea of a subsidy is explained in the instructions to John Jay, who was appointed September 27, 1779, minister plenipotentiary to negotiate with Spain relative to the free navigation

of the lower Mississippi, and the formation of a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce. These instructions further declare:

"The distressed state of our finances and the great depreciation of our paper money inclined Congress to hope that his Catholic majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with these States, will be induced to lend them money. You are therefore to represent to him the great distress of these States on that account, to solicit a loan of \$5,000,000 upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding 6 per centum per annum, effectually to enable them to coöperate with the allies against the common enemy; but before you make any propositions to his Catholic majesty for a loan you are to endeavor to obtain a subsidy in consideration of the guarantee aforesaid."

By February, 1780, the Spanish government had concluded that Jay might be informally received. In the course of the following month there were put on board the transports at Cadiz 6,600 troops. Two squadrons commanded by D. Solano and D. Tomasco, in all thirteen warships, the first provisioned for five months, the second for four and one-half were to accompany them. The organizations destined for this expedition were filled up with soldiers from the regiment of Hibernia. Florida Blanca, minister of foreign affairs, could not communicate with Jay so confidentially as he wished to do because of his lack of knowledge of the English language. The subsequent diplomatic history of the United States shows that the hint was ignored. Spain, he explained, at much expense supported in the ports of France thirty-five ships of the line and frigates; she had sold supplies for half price; she had money in America, but could not then avail herself of it. Late in 1780 or at the beginning of the next year he would be able, however, to advance to the United States "twenty-five, thirty, or forty thousand pounds sterling; and in the meantime, should these bills be presented for payment, he would take such measures as would satisfy the owners of them." The navigation of the lower Mississippi, for a long time insisted upon by the United States, appears to have been the chief obstacle to the formation of a treaty with Spain. That country, says Jay, is in "darkness about us . . . they scarcely believe that the Roman Catholic religion was even tolerated there." That is, in the Colonies. To him Spaniards appeared "to like the English, hate the French, and to have prejudices against Americans." In this rapid survey of Spain's fluctuating



policies during the Revolution one clearly perceives on the part of her statesmen a singular lack of foresight in managing their foreign affairs, an indecision that was fatal, and everywhere unmistakable evidences of national poverty. For these reasons she suffered to pass without improving a rare opportunity to impair the power of England. In the circumstances she could have turned her brave and enterprising neighbors into friends, but instead of pursuing so wise a policy she adopted a conduct so variable as to efface from the minds of Americans any sense of gratitude for the considerable assistance which in reality she had given. Among Spaniards there is a clear tradition that they contributed toward American independence. The nature of this service has in part been indicated, but what was of far greater value to the United States than these European courtesies was the achievement of Spanish officials in America.

In a communication of John Jay occurs this interesting paragraph: "The family of Galvez is numerous and of weight. The one on the Mississippi has written favorably of the Americans to his brothers here, three of whom are in office. It would be well to cultivate this disposition whenever opportunities of doing if offer." An uncle of the Louisiana Colonel was president of the Council of the Indies, perhaps, after the king himself, the highest official in Spain; his father was viceroy of Mexico.

It has been stated that on April 12, 1779, France and Spain had formed a secret convention, which was in fact a treaty of alliance for the joint conduct of a war against England. In due time the New World received tidings of this important event. Of special interest was this news to Don Bernardo de Galvez, whose work, as will appear, was the most striking of Spain's successes in the American phase of her war with England. So important, indeed, was it that it was a cause of alarm to Congress, for it tended to make of the Mexican Gulf a Spanish lake, long a cherished object of Spanish sovereigns.

Though the armies of Great Britain occupied important posts such as New York and Charleston, one by one the colonies had slipped from her grasp. Of them all she retained in 1779 only Canada and the Floridas. Of the latter region Peter Chester was governor, while Gen. Campbell, with headquarters in Pensacola, commanded the troops of the province. Of these the military head had not a very high opinion. The seven companies

of veterans forming his sixteenth regiment, he stated in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, had been almost worn out in the service, yet they were his only reliable soldiers; the sixtieth was made up of Germans, chiefly Waldeckers, of condemned criminals, and "other species of gaol-birds." Still more unfit General Campbell deemed the provincial troops. Lieut. Col. Dickson, who had 500 men on the Mississippi, so pressed Campbell for reinforcements that the grenadiers from Waldeck and other troops were sent to his assistance. In addition to the units described there were at Mobile under Capt. Durnford, Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists. There was likewise a horde of Indians attracted doubtless by the offer of three pounds sterling for every hostile scalp. So well employed by the squadrons mentioned was the navy of England that the necessary transports could not be spared to convey from New York a fine regiment of American Tories. The essential conditions of disaster were assembled, and there was at hand a soldier of sufficient penetration to perceive the weak joint in his enemy's armor.

On the first of February, 1777, Col. Galvez, but twenty-one years old, entered on the duties of his office as acting Governor of Louisiana. Without delay he reported to his sovereign the nature of the fortifications of Mobile and Pensacola. As yet Spain had not declared war against England. Her colonists, however, from the beginning of the American struggle for freedom gave both sympathy and support to the people of the United States. From the moment that Galvez assumed office, Oliver Pollock began regularly to send to the United States supplies from New Orleans. Though Galvez was restrained from acts of war by the Spanish Court, he assisted the Americans with money to the extent of \$72,000 so that they could maintain their hold in Kentucky. In the year 1777 one Oliver Pollock, a representative of Congress, and a patriot destined to promote in no small degree the interests of his adopted country, began to collect military supplies and to arrange for their shipment to Fort Pitt. Before indicating the nature of his services it may be well briefly to sketch the activity of his companion, James Willing, a Captain in the Continental army, and properly described as an adventurer of gentlemanly appearance but brutal instincts.<sup>6</sup> The latter

<sup>6</sup> HENRY E. CHAMBERS, *West Florida and Its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States*, p. 21.

went amongst the British settlers in Louisiana urging them to enter upon a course of rebellion. In homes at Baton Rouge, Natchez, and other points he was hospitably entertained. His hosts did not dream that he was even then planning their destruction. Nor was any suspicion aroused by his subsequent departure for Pennsylvania. There his representations persuaded Congress, then in session at Lancaster, that the neutrality of West Florida was of the first importance to the American cause, for it would not only remove an enemy from the rear but permit on the Mississippi the free passage of munitions. From Congress he appears easily to have obtained authority to confirm the neutrality of the inhabitants.

Returning to Natchez in the course of the following year, Willing and his armed followers, partly recruited in New Orleans, prevailed upon many to take an oath of neutrality. Then upon one pretence or another he began a career of burning, confiscation, and cruelty. Those homes in which he had formerly been favored are said to have suffered most. Many of the plundered and houseless people fled across the Mississippi, where they found a refuge among strangers. But for Willing's wanton, cruel, and unprovoked conduct toward a helpless community, West Florida might have been won over to the American cause. Around the ruined homes of Natchez there was destitution and despair. To the conduct of Willing, Galvez had a two-fold objection. In the first place, the adventurer's sinister activity had been directed against peaceful neutrals whose sympathy for the American cause was known. This would have displeased the Spaniard, who, as will appear, was a brave and chivalrous soldier. Then, too, Willing had taken Fort Manchac, an act which interfered with the ultimate object of Galvez himself. If the brutal American caused Galvez anxiety, the presence in New Orleans of two French commissioners did not diminish his uneasiness, because the thought of a possible attempt of France to force a recession of Louisiana was clearly indicated in the correspondence between them and their home government. With characteristic energy and statesmanship Galvez immediately began to popularize Spanish rule. Local trade was freed from former restraints, commerce was assisted, and emigration from Spain was encouraged. But books likely to influence the colonists against that country were not received.

The presence in New Orleans of Oliver Pollock has been noticed. But in addition there were other American merchants, from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, industriously engaged in obtaining military supplies, especially ammunition, which by way of the Mississippi and the Ohio they shipped to Fort Pitt, whence boats were regularly sent to New Orleans for additional consignments. In this traffic the people of Louisiana cheerfully participated because of their sympathy for the Americans. Moreover, from the outset officials because of the attitude of Spain were encouraged to assist. This friendship of Spanish-Americans led to some correspondence between Galvez and Col. George Morgan, stationed at Fort Pitt. In this exchange of opinion was suggested a joint attack upon the British forts in Florida. But Galvez, who had marked that province for his own, did not favor the appearance within his territory of an American army. In June, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain. This act suggested to Englishmen the necessity of reducing the Spanish posts in the Mississippi Valley. This would both cut off the abundant military supplies which flowed from New Orleans and completely flank their rebellious subjects. Gen. Haldimand, commanding in Canada, had been ordered to execute the plan. Ultimately its conduct devolved upon Lieut. Gov. Sinclair, of Michilimackinac, and Gen. Campbell, who was stationed at Pensacola. The former ordered a party of Sioux to descend the river to Natchez, while other bands were directed "to amuse Col. Clark at the falls of the Ohio" and prevent his interference with the British conquest of St. Louis and the other Spanish posts in the Valley. To carry out his part of the programme Gen. Campbell was expected to take a fleet and an army up the Mississippi, capture New Orleans, and at Natchez effect a junction with Sinclair's Indians. The latter force was formidable and doubtless would have proved too strong for even Clark's redoubtable fighters if an unexpected blow had not been struck at these well-laid British plans. From intercepted letters Galvez had learned the details of the British plan as early as had Sinclair himself. Favoring an attack on the British posts on the Mississippi, Galvez submitted his plans to a council of war, which declined to approve them; a second effort to gain its consent met the same fate. The council favored only defensive measures. We have seen that war had been declared by Spain in June,

1779. So zealously had Galvez labored that by August following he had many boats in readiness. But these, with houses, cattle, and crops, which were destroyed, were battered to pieces by a hurricane that swept the Valley. Only one frigate escaped destruction. The young commander wasted not an hour in railing at fate, but at once began to assemble another fleet.

Fortune, whose frowns Col. Galvez had known, soon revealed to him a countenance less harsh. Hitherto he had not been governor of Louisiana, but was merely serving *ad interim*. At this time his commission had been received, but for reasons of his own he did not then make known his appointment. His officers scoured the country for boats that had escaped the hurricane; several of his sunken ships were raised and converted into gunboats. When his preparations were well advanced, he called a public meeting, read to the assembled people his commission, and informed them of the impending British attack. He declared that he could not accept the high office to which he had been appointed unless he felt assured of their support. His appeal, made at the moment when their patriotism was aroused, met with an enthusiastic response and amid their cheering and shouts of loyalty he took the oath of office. Notwithstanding the hurricane, by August 27 the ardent commander had ready for duty 670 men, of whom 170 were regular soldiers. After setting out he was joined by 160 Indians and 600 volunteers from the parishes. Thus, Col. Galvez, eager to strike, found himself at the head of nearly 1,500 men, one of whom was the American merchant, Oliver Pollock, the energetic collector and shipper of supplies to the Colonies. The little army captured without opposition a small garrison at Manchac and at once pushed on to Baton Rouge. At this stage Galvez received some reinforcements under Grandpré, who himself had won some minor engagements. Baton Rouge was guarded by a wall and moat and defended by 500 troops, mostly regulars. So skillfully did Galvez bestow his batteries that after a brisk bombardment Lieut. Col. Dickson was forced to surrender. His bravery secured for him the honors of war. This capitulation comprised also that of Fort Panmure at Natchez. Meanwhile the Spanish fleet had captured in adjacent waters eight small British vessels. Despite his brilliant success Galvez found himself greatly embarrassed. In the three forts that had fallen he took 560 prisoners, many

militia and negroes. Not having enough men to guard his captives, he was compelled at once to dismiss many. Moreover, after leaving garrisons at the forts, he had but fifty regulars for the defence of New Orleans and the control of the great number of paroled prisoners who roamed its streets. Attracted by the news of war numbers of Indians, too, entered the city or pitched their tents without. By October, however, reinforcements arrived from Havana. Galvez and Gonzales, his second in command, were promoted to the rank of brigadier general, the subaltern and the soldiers were praised, while their conquest was celebrated in verse.

On the programme of Gen. Galvez, Mobile came next, but he had no thought of making an immediate attack. The winter of 1779-1780 he spent in New Orleans perfecting his preparations. Tidings of the fall of the British forts on the Mississippi were received in Mobile in October, 1779. When this intelligence reached Gen. Campbell at Pensacola, he refused to trust the tale. It was merely a ruse to draw him from his post. The details brought a few weeks later by a second courier found him still incredulous.

Mobile, garrisoned by engineers, foot, artillery, Pennsylvania and Maryland Tories, volunteers from the town, and a score of artificers, was commanded by Capt. Durnford, a brave and efficient officer. On February 5, 1780, Gen. Galvez with a fleet carrying 2,000 soldiers made up of regulars, militia and some companies of free negroes sailed for Mobile. The winds, which in the past have always watched the navies of Spain, were again aroused. Several of the General's ships were stranded and much of his provisions and ammunition damaged by a squall. But despite the elements he had won success on the Mississippi. He was prepared for a new trial with fate and again he was rewarded by success. After taking an armed provision ship, he finally made a landing. As at Baton Rouge, Galvez carefully located his batteries and began a heavy cannonade. On March 1 he sent to Capt. Durnford a polite note in French requesting a surrender of the Fort. In answer he received a soldierly and complimentary response. The British commander offered to permit the departure of those who were afraid to support him, but no one cared to take advantage of his offer, and amidst cheers they resumed the defence. At last a breach had been made in

their walls and on March 14 the garrison surrendered on the same terms as had been granted to Lieut. Col. Dickson. Hunger greatly hastened the fall of Mobile. With reinforcements amounting to 522 men Gen. Campbell was marching to its relief. Arriving too late, he was forced to retrace through the swamps around the Gulf his difficult way back to Pensacola.

Galvez used Mobile as a base of operations against Pensacola, but, as was his custom, deliberately prepared for his final campaign. A year was spent in organizing his forces. In the meantime General Campbell was fully aroused. His activity was first shown by sending, January 3, 1781, an expedition against the Spaniards who occupied entrenchments at the French village below the point where the Tensaw flows into Mobile Bay. His force, consisting of infantrymen, cavalry, a party of 300 Indians, and sixty Waldeckers, commanded by Capt. Von Hanxleden, several times assaulted the entrenchments of the Spaniards, but were finally driven off. A German witness notices the courage and the chivalry of the Spaniards, "who duly honored the bravery of the fallen."<sup>7</sup> In this engagement both sides suffered severely.

While Campbell was making the best disposition of his small army of regulars, volunteers, and Indians, Galvez was importuning Havana for reinforcements and was answered by promises. To make sure of assistance he went thither himself and raised a considerable force which was completely disabled by a storm. He then organized a still stronger expedition, which he brought off the harbor of Pensacola. His naval allies feared to pass the forts, whereupon he shamed them into an effort by running in a small schooner past the batteries, recklessly exposing himself to their fire. He laid siege to Pensacola in March, 1781, and after experiences similar to those that marked his Mobile campaign forced the brave but unenterprising General Campbell to capitulate in the following May. With a considerable army General Galvez now retained for King Charles the two Floridas.

The fame of Galvez's first campaign extended far up the Mississippi, and it is believed to have driven from St. Louis a band of 1,500 Indians and 140 Englishmen commanded by Wabasha, a Sioux chief, who besieged the post on May 26, 1780. Col. George Rogers Clark, who had entered the Illinois country in 1778, was

<sup>7</sup> For an account of the Mobile campaign see VON ELKING, *Die Deutschen Hülfsstruppen in nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege* [passim].

within easy call of St. Louis. The sudden appearance and the equally abrupt disappearance of Chief Wabasha is understood when we remember that his undertaking was but one part of a large plan. Its execution had been interrupted by the genius of Galvez, who drove the British out of the Mississippi Valley. Furthermore, the Illinois country, practically abandoned by Congress, was saved from invasion, and the States were guaranteed against attack on their western frontier. In concluding his careful treatment of this subject, Phelps says: "Such, in brief, was the highly important part which the Spaniards of Louisiana played in the American Revolution. Galvez's successes made it possible for the new country to hold its territory intact from Canada to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Had the English expedition succeeded, Great Britain could have set up a claim to this territory when the western boundary was fixed several years later at the declaration of peace. In view of their actual development, it is impossible to predict what would have been the future of the United States without access to the Mississippi Valley, and two foreign nations upon their western border to confine them between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic."<sup>8</sup>

The English had likewise been expelled from Campeachy. But they yielded nothing without a struggle. In 1780 they made an attack upon San Juan, a Spanish stronghold on the coast of Nicaragua. Writing of this expedition Horace Walpole says that it had been "so totally destroyed by climate that not a single man is left alive. The officers to the number of twenty-five are all dead, too. My pen revolts at such horrors." Though the case was not quite so bad as the English statesman believed, it was bad enough, for, by the end of September, 1780, out of 1,400 men all but 320 had died and half the survivors had been at death's door. The British had reduced the fort to ruins, but were compelled by an unhealthy climate to withdraw with the losses stated. In Europe, Minorca was promptly captured by a Spanish expedition, but Gibraltar, though hard pressed, escaped a similar fate.

Primarily, Spain was intent on her own welfare, but, for the moment, her interests were bound up with those of England's colonies. Both in Europe and America she gave employment to

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<sup>8</sup> *Louisiana* (American Commonwealths), p. 148.



the ships and the soldiers of Great Britain, while her colonists in the New World as well as her subjects at home furnished large quantities of military supplies. Those who desire to know more exactly the extent of this service may learn from the papers of Oliver Pollock, which have enjoyed a protracted repose in the Library of Congress.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

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NOTE.—Owing to stress of space in the present issue, the continuation of the RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP CORRIGAN'S article on the *Episcopal Succession in the United States* is held over to the next number.

## MISCELLANY

### NOTES ON SOME CONVERT RELATIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS

(Contributed by SCANNELL O'NEILL, Esq.)

It will doubtless occasion interest among the many readers of the **CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW** to learn that, of the twenty-seven Presidents of the United States and their wives, eighteen are represented by members of their families among the more noted converts to the Catholic faith. There are doubtless many whose names are unknown to us, but the following list contains those we have been able to discover in a research which has lasted some years:

#### THE WASHINGTONS.

In the year 1650 (or 1656, according to some authorities) John and Andrew Washington left England to settle in Virginia. Their brother, James, the same year, settled in Rotterdam, Holland, and became the ancestor of all the continental Washingtons. Of James Washington's descendants, the German and Austrian branches are Catholic and still bear the original family name.<sup>1</sup> The first of the Washingtons to become a Catholic was Jacob, the great-grandson of James Washington. This Jacob was born in Rotterdam, in 1778, and died in Bavaria, in 1848. After settling in Bavaria, he entered the army, in which he rose by successive stages to the post of Lieutenant-General. He married a noble lady and was himself created a Baron by the King of Bavaria, who regarded him as the founder of the Bavarian Army. All of his descendants in Germany and Austria today are Catholic, including his grandson, Baron Peter George Washington, commandant of dragoons in the Imperial Austrian Army operating against the Russians. As Baron Peter is childless, he is the last of the direct branch of the German Catholic Washingtons. The following collateral relatives of George Washington are numbered among converts to the Church in this country:

Mrs. S. M. B. WHITE (grand-niece), who died in Evansville, Ind., in 1875.

Miss EUGENIA WASHINGTON (great-great-grand-niece), born in 1839; died in Washington under most distressing circumstances, in 1899. Miss Washington was the daughter of William Temple Washington, a son of George Steptoe Washington (the favorite nephew of General Washington) and his wife, Lucy Payne Washington, sister of Dolly Madison. Miss Washington's great-great-grandfather, Samuel Wash-

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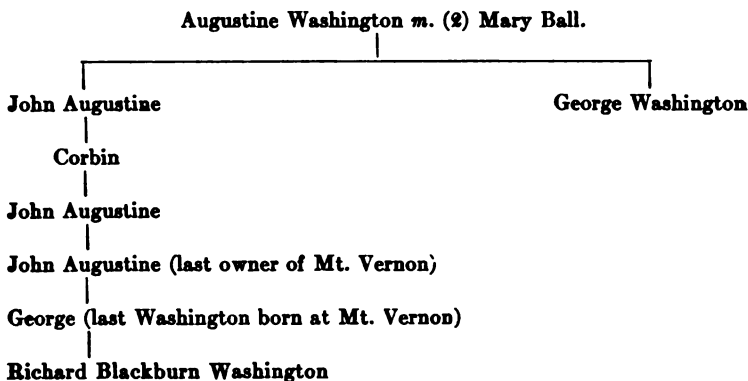
<sup>1</sup> **Authorities:** *Autobiography of Baron Jacob Washington*, Munich, 1840; *Almanach de Gotha; Genealogies of the Washington Family*. New York, 1880; GUIDO BRUNO, *A History of the Dutch-German Branch of the Washington Family*, in *Year Book of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois*, 1912; *Yale Alumni Records, Class of 1841*. New Haven, 1892; Letters to Scannell O'Neill from Miss Lucy B. Lewis, of Marmion, from Mr. Lawrence Washington, of the Library of Congress, and from Mr. Richard Blackburn Washington.

ington, was a son of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, parents of our first President. She was one of the founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

**RICHARD BLACKBURN WASHINGTON**, Richmond, Virginia, who became a Catholic in 1912.<sup>2</sup>

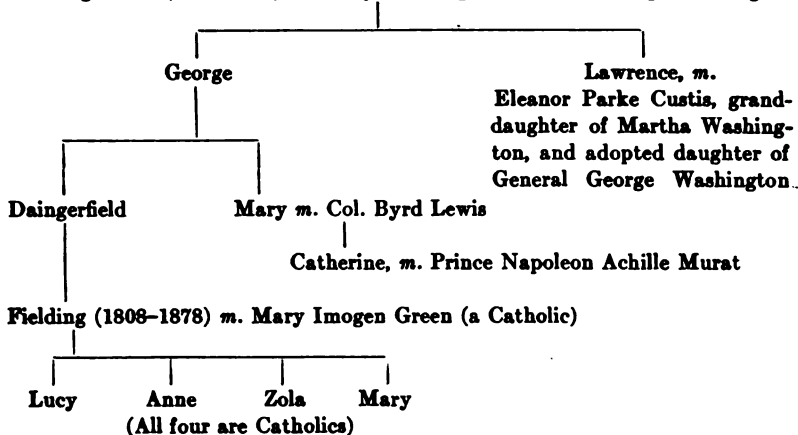
**THE LEWIS FAMILY** of Marmion, Osso, Va., are the Catholic great-great-grandchildren of Colonel Fielding Lewis and his wife, Betty Washington, only sister of General Washington. They owe their faith to their mother, Mary Imogen Green Fielding, the wife of Fielding Lewis (1808-1878), whose father and mother, John and Rebecca (Forrest) Green, became converts to the Church. Mrs. Fielding Lewis brought all her family up Catholics. Miss Lucy B. Lewis, the only unmarried daughter, now makes her home at Marmion. She sold the Copley painting of her great-great-grandmother, Betty Washington Lewis, last year to the authorities at Mt. Vernon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Richard Blackburn Washington's descent is as follows:



<sup>2</sup> Descent of the Catholic branch of the Lewises of *Marmion*:

Col. Fielding Lewis (1726-1781) m. Betty Washington, sister of George Washington



**MRS. ELIZABETH FRANCES NASH CECIL**, a well-known writer of the last century and a devout convert, was named for two of her famous ancestresses, Elizabeth Washington and Frances Madison. She was the author of *Industrial Heroes*, *A History of Popular Suffrage*, *Literary Salons*, etc. She married an English convert, the late Ernest Walpole Cecil, of the Duke of Rutland's family.

**JOHN NICHOLSON WASHINGTON** (cousin) was born in 1819, and died in 1869. Mr. Washington was a graduate of Yale in 1841, and Mayor of New Berne, N. C. Two of his daughters became Ursuline nuns—Sallie Vail Washington, known in religion as Mother Anne, who died in 1885, and Mother Mary Juliana, who is still living in the convent in Arcadia, Mo. Dr. James R. Washington, an eminent physician of St. Louis, and a brother of John N. Washington, was received into the Church on his deathbed some time about 1870.

**MRS. ALICE WALLACH**, Hyattsville, Maryland, daughter of Dr. Warwick Evans (1828–1915), is through her mother, the later Mary Mason Washington Evans, a direct descendant of John, half-brother of General Washington.

**MRS. ELIZABETH PASCHAL O'CONNOR**, the authoress and playwright, wife of the Hon. Thomas Power O'Connor, the Irish leader, is descended in direct line from Anne Pope, General Washington's grandmother. Her son, by a former marriage, is Francis Howard, the painter, of London.

**MOTHER MARY APPOLONIA DIGGES**, a nun of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown, D. C., whose cure from consumption, when at the point of death, is one of the remarkable occurrences in American Church annals, was a near relative of our first President. She was professed at Georgetown in 1816.

**MRS. JOHN WHEELER FAIRFAX**, of New Orleans, is another of the Catholic descendants of the Washington family who, though not converts, have an interest for us. Her mother, Anastasia Raynal Washington, was the daughter of John Stith Washington, who married a French Catholic lady, Miss Raynal. Mrs. Fairfax traces back in direct line to Lawrence Washington.

Finally, we may here refer to a curious reference which appears in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Conversions* (Paris, 1852), a copy of which we consulted many years ago in the library of Creighton University, Omaha, Neb. In this book mention is made of a Mr. Washington, set down, curiously enough, as a "grandson" of General Washington. This man, we are informed, espoused the cause of the Greeks, for whom he fought, and in 1826 was received into the Church in Paris. The only Washington, as far as we have been able to find, who fought for the Greeks was Peter Grayson Washington, a great-nephew of Lund Washington, manager of General Washington's Virginia campaigns, and whose exact relationship to the Father of his country it is not easy to determine.

## JOHN AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The late MONSIGNOR HIRAM FRANCIS FAIRBANKS (1845-1915), Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Milwaukee, was a descendant of Henry Adams, the ancestor of John Adams.

The late GENERAL THOMAS KILBY SMITH, father of Mr. William George Smith, was also a descendant of Henry Adams.

MISS MARY QUINCY, an eminent Boston convert of the last century, was a direct descendant of Edmund Quincy (1602-1635) the great-great-grandfather of John Quincy Adams.

## THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FRANCIS GILDART RUFFIN, JR., Richmond, Va., son of Col. F. G. Ruffin, great-great-great-grandson of Thomas Jefferson. All the children of F. G. Ruffin, Jr., are Catholics.

MONSIGNOR HIRAM FRANCIS FAIRBANKS (1845-1915), Rector of St. Patrick's Church, Milwaukee, was a descendant of John Coolidge, ancestor of the Coolidge branch of the descendants of Thomas Jefferson.

DR. WILLIAM JEFFERSON GUERNSEY, Frankford, Pa., is through his mother, born a Jefferson, a descendant of the same family as that of Thomas Jefferson.

## JAMES AND DOLLY MADISON.

MISS MARGARET HITE, of Virginia, known in religion as Sister Mary Theonella, a Visitation Sister at Georgetown, D. C., and

WILLIAM D. WILLIS, of Washington, cousins of President Madison.

COL. JAMES MADISON CUTTS (1805-1863), the son of Dr. Richard Cutts (1771-1845), for six successive terms Member of Congress from Maine, by his wife, Anna Payne Cutts, great-granddaughter of Mrs. John Payne, aunt of Patrick Henry. Mrs. Richard Cutts was the youngest and favorite sister of Dolly Madison, and during the last years of Jefferson's rule, with Mrs. Madison, presided over the White House, from which latter place she was married during the administration of her brother-in-law, President Madison. Col. Cutts was the father of Adèle Cutts,<sup>4</sup> who married as widow of Stephen A. Douglas, Gen. Robert Williams, U. S. A. Col. Cutt's aunt, Lucy Payne Washington, was the wife of George Steptoe Washington, nephew of General George Washington.

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<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Adèle Cutts Williams edited the *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison*, which contain many interesting letters written by Dolly Madison to her sister, Mrs. Cutts.

**JAMES MONROE.**

**HENRY LEE HEISKELL** (died in Washington, 1914), the son of Dr. Henry and Elizabeth Gouverneur Heiskell, granddaughter of President Monroe.

**MISS MARY MONROE**, great-granddaughter of President Monroe. Miss Monroe, who lives in Tacoma, Wash., was received into the Church several years ago.

**MRS. RINGGOLD**, wife of General Ringgold, U. S. A., niece of President Monroe.

**COL. JAMES MONROE** and his brother, **FATHER ANDREW MONROE, S.J.**, sons of Andrew, a brother of President Monroe.<sup>4</sup>

**ANDREW JACKSON.**

**MRS. MARY DONELSON WILCOX**, wife of James A. Wilcox, Member of Congress from Mississippi; daughter of Andrew Jackson Donelson (1800–1871), nephew of President Jackson, who was Minister to Prussia and candidate for the Vice-Presidency with Millard Fillmore on the Know-Nothing ticket in 1856. Mrs. Wilcox was born in the White House, of which she was mistress during a part of her grand-uncle's administration. Mrs. Wilcox's family followed her into the Church; her daughter, Miss Mary R. Wilcox, of Washington, is Recording Secretary-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The late **MRS. MARY JACKSON MORROGH**, wife of Dr. Morrogh, of New Brunswick, N. J., was a cousin of President Jackson.

**MARTIN VAN BUREN.**

The late **MADAME ELIZABETH VAN NESS VAN BUREN TEN BROECK**, of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was a cousin of President Van Buren.

**JOHN TYLER.**

**MRS. JULIA GARDINER TYLER** (1820–1889), widow of President John Tyler.

**PEARL TYLER**, daughter of the above, and wife of William Munford Ellis, and her daughter.

**MARTHA JEFFERSON TYLER WAGGAMAN** (1782–1855), the wife of Theodore E. Waggaman, Washington (who was also a convert), was a daughter of Governor John Tyler, of Virginia, and a sister of the President.

**MISS SARA WAGGAMAN** (1818–1905), daughter of the above—in religion, Sister Mary Regis, of the Sisters of the Visitation, Georgetown, D. C. Miss Waggaman was for some years the mistress of the White House.

**MISS MOLLY ELLIOTT SEWELL**, the novelist, a grand-niece of President Tyler.

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<sup>4</sup> The late Dr. Richard Henry Clarke was authority for the statement that a daughter of President Monroe became a nun in France. (This is a mistake, as the President's daughters married and raised families.)

**JAMES K. POLK.**

Several near relatives of President Polk, the descendants of his ancestor, Robert Polk, are numbered among our American converts, including:

**THE BARONESS MARY DE CHARETTE**, of Paris, was the daughter of Col. A. J. Polk, of Nashville, Tenn., the son of Bishop Leonidas Polk, General of the Confederate Army.

**MISS POLK**, sister of the above.

**MRS. SOPHRONIA POLK HORNSBY**, St. Louis, the daughter of the Hon. Trusten Polk (1811-1876), Governor of, and United States Senator from, Missouri, and Judge Advocate-General of the Confederate States.

**MRS. FLORENCE CONN STITH**, wife of Taylor Stith, St. Louis, granddaughter of the Hon. Trusten Polk.

**MRS. ESTHER WINDER POLK LOWE**, wife of Gov. Enoch Lowe, a daughter of Col. James Polk, and cousin of President Polk.

**ZACHARY TAYLOR.**

**MRS. ANNIE KING BARRET**, widow of Mayor Albert Buckner Barret (a convert), of St. Louis—is descended from the historic Thompson and Taylor families, which have given five Presidents to the United States—Madison, Taylor, the two Harrisons, and Tyler.

**MRS. LAWRENCE JONES**, daughter of Col. James Taylor; **COL. CLAY TAYLOR**, and **TAYLOR STITH**, St. Louis, are cousins of President Taylor.

**JAMES BUCHANAN.**

**MISS FRANCES BUCHANAN**, the actress, the niece of President Buchanan.

**PRESIDENT AND MRS. LINCOLN.**

The late **JOSEPH R. LINCOLN**, Carthage, Ill., was a cousin.

**SISTER MARY GENEVIEVE TODD**, of the Sisters of Providence, Terre Haute, Ind., the daughter of Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, who also with his family became a Catholic.

**ANDREW JOHNSON.**

**MRS. B. M. SAFFORD**, of Washington and Hot Springs, N. C., widow of Andrew Johnson, son of President Johnson, daughter of Col. J. H. Rumbough, of Hot Springs, N. C.

**ULYSSES S. GRANT.**

**CAPT. ALGERNON SARTORIS**, son of Nelly Grant Sartoris; grandson of Gen. Grant.

**MRS. ROSEMARY SARTORIS WOOLSTON**, daughter of Nelly Grant Sartoris; granddaughter of Gen. Grant.

**JUDGE DENT**, brother of Mrs. U. S. Grant.

**MISS DORA GRANT**, cousin of the General.

**GROVER CLEVELAND.**

**LAWRENCE J. KIP**, San Francisco, grandson of Bishop William Ingraham Kip, first Anglican Bishop of California. His mother was a first cousin of President Cleveland.

**R. BACON**, Tiffin, Ohio, a cousin of President Cleveland.

**WILLIAM MCKINLEY.**

**CAPT. ARTHUR S. MCKINLEY**, U. S. A., who became a Catholic in 1900, was a first cousin of President McKinley.

**PRESIDENT AND MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.**

**MRS. GERTRUDE ELIZABETH TYLER CAROW**, of New York and Rome, the mother of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

**MOTHER ELIZA ANNE BAYLEY SETON**.

**ARCHBISHOP JAMES ROOSEVELT BAYLEY**, Archbishop of Baltimore, cousin of Theodore Roosevelt.

**WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.**

**MRS. JULIA WALBRIDGE SMITH TAFT**, wife of Henry Watters Taft, Esq., New York, a sister-in-law of President Taft.

**MISS CAROLINE TAFT (1811-1851)**, Cincinnati, a native of Vermont; in religion Sister Mary Sebastia, of the Sisters of Charity, Bardstown, Ky., cousin of Taft. Her father and his family also became Catholics.

**PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON.**

The late **WILLIAM GALT**, Washington; brother of Norman Galt, first husband of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.



## DOCUMENTS

### ON THE ELECTION OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF NEW YORK<sup>1</sup>

The City of New York is now the largest civic municipality in the world; while the metropolitan See of which it is the seat, and which bears its name, is one of the foremost Dioceses of the Catholic Church. Possibly, indeed, it is second to none in the number of its practical Catholics. Its Catholicity is of the staunchest kind. For these reasons, as well as on account of its wealth, its high standing, and the civic influence of its members, its history is necessarily of great interest to Catholic historians and readers generally, since it forms no small part of the history of the Church in the United States. Growing, as it has, in so short a period from the insignificant position it occupied in our American Church, when its first Catholic house of prayer was built (1786), to its present colossal magnitude, the foundation stones on which it is reared are of immense historical value. They possess in an eminent degree that special interest which lingers around all successful beginnings. The three documents published here are such cornerstones. They throw a new light, not only on the story of the foundation of the Diocese of New York, but also on the life and virtues of the eminent divine who was appointed the first bishop of the great American metropolis. Although Dr. Concanen never reached New York, on account of the tyranny of Napoleon Bonaparte, his name will ever be intimately and inseparably connected with the name of that Diocese—his history with its history. These documents are now placed for the first time before the general reader. For, although they were published in the *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, January, 1900 (Vol. iv, pp. 442-445), this is a private publication intended for the use of the members of the Dominican Order, and does not come under general observation. It is the first time they have been put in English dress. Thus they will place much interesting, valuable, and instructive history at the disposal both of those versed in the language of the Church and of those who know only the English Tongue.

#### I

The Brief "Apostolatus Officium," Appointing Rev. Richard L.  
Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York

(Copy)

The original of this Brief is probably in the Roman Chancellery. The copy published below is in the Archives of Propaganda (*Scritture riferite nei Congressi. Dal Canada all' Ismo di Panama, dal 1791 a tutto il 1817*, Vol. iii, fol. 306-307). It bears no signature; and the number of "etc." it contains, shows that it does not give the entire document. The omissions, however, as in all such copies,

<sup>1</sup> These documents form as it were the *pieces justificatives* of Father O'Daniel's articles on Bishop Concanen (V. CHR, Vol. i, pp. 400-142; Vol. ii, pp. 19-47), and are printed in this issue for the convenience of our readers.

do not touch the substance of the document; but are merely of those ornamental clauses, which vary somewhat under different Popes, and which are inserted in all papal letters solely to round them out and to give them tone. This copy of the *Apostolatus Officium*, therefore, because made by the Propaganda itself and preserved in its Archives for ready reference, has all the historical value of the source from which it was taken. Because of their great number, the Briefs and Bulls of episcopal and archiepiscopal appointments are not, ordinarily at least, published in the general *Bullaria*. For this reason, the Brief making Bishop Carroll an Archbishop and those appointing Fathers Cheverus, Concanen, Egan and Flaget Bishops respectively of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown, have found no place in any *Bullaria* yet published. The end of the present document *Apostolatus Officium*, where a number of omissions are indicated by "etc.," might, with a very few slight verbal changes, be filled out to its original state from the Brief *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* erecting the Sees of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown. (*Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, Vol. xi, pp. 1062-1063. Prato, 1850.) The *Apostolatus Officium* is published, with a few typographical errors, in the Dominican *Analecta*, ut supra, pp. 442-43.

*Dilecto filio Richardo Lucae Concanen Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum electo*

*Neo-Eboracensi. Pius PP. VII*

*Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem*

Dilecte fili. Apostolatus officium, meritis licet imparibus, Nobis ex alto commissum etc. gubernare. Quum itaque ob rationes et causas in aliis Apostolicis Nostris in simili forma Brevis hodie expeditis Litteris satis expressas,<sup>3</sup> Neo Eboraci, quae in Americae provinciis foederatis consistit, unam erexerimus Episcopalem Sedem cum suae dioecesis districtu, et cum subjectione quoad metropoliticum jus Ecclesiae Baltimorensi Archiepiscopalem et Metropolitanam per Nos constitutae, prout iisdem in Litteris, quarum etc., uberius continetur; quumque de praeficiendo ejusmodi Sedi personam utilem ac fructuosam cum ven. fratribus Nostris S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus Congregationi de Propaganda Fide praepositis deliberationem habuerimus diligentem, statim ad Te, qui de legitimo matrimonio procreatus, et Ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum expresse professus, et in sacro presbyteratus ordine ac aetate canonica es constitutus, et de cujus vitae munditia, morum honestate, prudentia, doctrina ac praesertim Catholicae Fidei zelo luculenta apud Nos perhibentur testimonia, direximus oculos mentis Nostrae, Teque propterea a quibusvis etc.

<sup>3</sup> The words *hodie expeditis Litteris* do not mean here letters *despatched* or *forwarded* this day, but letters *written* or *prepared* this day. All the documents written at this time regarding the American Church were placed in the hands of the Bishop-elect of New York that he might bring them with him to Archbishop Carroll. Dr. Concanen was still in Rome, and all American ships in Italian ports had been sequestered by the French government. But these same words, in *aliis Apostolicis Nostris in simili forma Brevis hodie expeditis Litteris*, show conclusively that the Propaganda copy of the *Apostolatus Officium* appointing Father Concanen Bishop of New York is misdated. It is dated September 8, 1808. But the other Briefs to which it refers, and which it expressly says were prepared on the same day, bear the date, in all *Bullaria*, of April 8, 1808. This, then, must also be the correct date of our present document. For the correct date of the *Pontificii Muneris* raising Baltimore to the rank of an Archbishopric, and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* erecting Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Ky., into episcopal Sees (the two Briefs referred to in this document) see *Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, Vol. xi, pp. 1062-1063. Some Propaganda copies of the *Pontificii Muneris* and the *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* have them also incorrectly dated September 8, for April 8, 1808.

censentes, eamdem Neo Eboraci Sedem Episcopalem de persona tua Nobis ac memoratis Cardinalibus ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum accepta, de ipsorum fratrum consilio, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium providemus, illique Te praeficimus in episcopum et pastorem; curam, regimen et administrationem Tibi ejusdem Sedis Neo-Eboracensis plenarie committendo; facultatemque etiam, cujus vigore consecrationis munus a quocumque Catholico antistite gratiam et communionem Sedis Apostolicae habente, accitis et in hoc sibi assistantibus duobus aliis episcopis, vel si commodè reperiri nequiverint, duobus eorum loco presbetyris secularibus vel regularibus eamdem gratiam et communionem habentibus, praestito tamen prius per Te in ejus manibus juxta pontificale Romanum juramento solito, Tu suscipere, ille vero nonnisi postquam a Te hujusmodi juramentum acceperit, idem munus Tibi impendere, respective possitis et valeatis adjicimus atque attribuimus. Jugum igitur Domini, quod, eo inspirante, Tibi Nos hodie imponimus, prompta suscipe devotione et Neo Eboraci Ecclesiam, quam Tibi Ipsi tradimus administrandam, eo studio gubernare ut iste grex Christi, qui animam suam pro ovibus posuit, se pastori provideo et administratori fructuoso commissum esse laetetur. Quapropter in civitate Neo-Eboracensi unam ecclesiam ad formam Cathedralis quam citius poteris erigi facito, et prout temporum rerumque permiserit ratio, aliquem Tibi clerum divino cultui Ecclesiaeque ejusdem servitio addictum instituto, nec non dioecesanum clericorum seminarium vel eadem in civitate vel alibi, ubi satius expedire censueris, erigito in ecclesiasticis proventibus; magis quae Dei, quam quae tui sunt, quaerito, curamque in illis diligentem adhibito, demum praeter ea quae in praedictis litteris ut a Neo Eboraci episcopis fieri possent indulgimus ac disposuimus, Tu quaecumque alia, quia incremento Catholicae Fidei, utilitati gregis et ecclesiae cultui ac decori profutura in Domino duxeris, libere agito: salva tamen semper in praemissis S. Sedis Nostrae et Congregationis praedictae auctoritate. Hinc his, quae desuper tuo commendavimus zelo illud nunc addimus ac expresse Tibi mandamus ut ejusdem Congregationis jussis obedientiam praestes, relationem visitationis Ecclesiae tuae tempore debito ad eam transmittas, eamque de omnibus diligenter reddas instructam, quae gregis Tibi commissi et Catholicae istarum partium religionis interesse posse cognoveris. Decernentes easdem praesentes Litteras firmas etc. obtinere ac tibi plenissime suffragari, et ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari, sicque etc. judicari etc. attentari. Non obstantibus Apostolicis etc. constitutionibus et ordinibus caeterisque etiam speciali ac expressa mentione seu derogatione dignis, contrariis quibuscumque etc. Datum apud S. Mariam Majorem 8 septembris [aprilis] 1808 Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

(Translation)

*To Our Beloved Son, Richard Luke Concanen of the Order of Preachers and Bishop-elect of New York, Pius VII*

*Health and Apostolic Benediction*

**Beloved Son:**

The Apostolic Office, in spite of Our unworthiness, has been entrusted to Us from on high, etc., to rule. Since, therefore, for reasons and causes sufficiently expressed in Our other Letters Apostolic prepared this day, also in the form of a Brief, we have

erected an Episcopal See in New York, United States of America, with its diocesan territory, and subject, in regard to metropolitan rights, to the Church of Baltimore which We have raised to the rank of an Archiepiscopal and Metropolitan See, as is more fully declared in the same Letters, in which (*quarum* etc.); and since, when We held an earnest consultation with Our venerable brothers, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church in charge of the Sacred Congregation de Propagande Fide, to select a zealous and efficient person to appoint to the said Diocese of New York, We at once turned our eyes upon you, who, born in lawful wedlock, are duly professed in the Order of Friars Preacher, ordained priest and of canonical age,—and of whose purity of life, integrity of morals, prudence, learning and especially zeal for the Catholic Faith We have abundant and splendid evidence: wherefore, with the counsel of Our brothers, the aforesaid cardinals, to whom as to Ourselves, you are acceptable because of your shining merits, first absolving you from all censures, etc., We provide for the See of New York, and by Apostolic authority and these Letters patent appoint you its Bishop and Pastor and give you full charge, government and administration of that Diocese. Furthermore, We authorize and empower your Lordship to receive Episcopal consecration from any Catholic Bishop in favor and communion with the Apostolic See, assisted by two other bishops, or, if these cannot be conveniently had, by two priests, either secular or regular, in their stead, provided they are in the same favor and communion,—you having first taken before him the usual oath contained in the Roman Pontifical; for he can perform that sacred function for you only after he has received said oath from you. Accept, then, with prompt obedience the yoke of the Lord which, under His inspiration, We impose upon you to-day, and so govern the Diocese of New York, which We have entrusted to your charge, that this flock of Christ (who gave His life for His sheep) may rejoice to have been committed to a faithful pastor and wise administrator. You will, therefore, erect a Cathedral Church in the city of New York, as soon as you can; associate with yourself, as time and circumstances permit, a body of clergy for divine worship and the service of said Church; build with the ecclesiastical revenues a diocesan seminary for the education of clerics, either in the same city or elsewhere, as your Lordship may deem it most expedient; seek rather the things of God than your own, and keep a diligent care over them. Finally, besides those things which by Our permission and indulgence as per aforesaid letters, may be done by the Bishops of New York, your Lordship may freely do whatever else you may judge in the Lord will aid the increase of the Catholic Faith, the good of the fold, or the religious worship and decorum of the Church—always, however, with the understanding that the authority of the Holy See and of the said Sacred Congregation in the above matters shall remain intact. Hence to those things which We have already commended to your zeal, We now add this: We expressly command that your Lordship obey the decrees of the same Congregation, that you send it in due time an account of a visitation of your Diocese, and that you diligently keep it informed on all that you know to be for the good of the flock entrusted to your charge and for that of the Catholic religion in those parts. We decree that these Our Letters shall ever remain in force, etc., obtain, and uphold your Lordship's authority in the fullest sense; that they shall be held inviolable by all; and that they must be adjudged etc. as such; [that, should they] be attacked, [all such attempts shall be null and void]. Notwithstanding the Apostolical etc. [i. e., and other] constitutions and decrees, as all things else whatsoever to the contrary, even if they deserve special and express mention or derogation. Given at Rome at Saint Mary Major, the eight day of September [April], 1808, in the ninth year of Our Pontificate.

## II

## Letter of Propaganda to Archbishop Carroll, May 24, 1808

(Copy)

This document is a letter of Propaganda to the proto-Bishop and Archbishop of the United States, the original of which the writer did not succeed in discovering in the Archives of Propaganda, although he searched carefully for it. Perhaps, however, these efforts might have been crowned with success if he had had more time at his disposal. It is no easy matter to find documents in those Archives; much time, labor and perseverance are required. The letter sent to Dr. Carroll does not seem to have reached its destination. The copy published here is in *America Centrale*, Vol. iii, fol. 306-307. The copy itself does not bear the name of the addressee; neither is it signed. But it is prefaced by a note in Italian, which gives the date of the original and tells us to whom it was written. Should, indeed, the original no longer exist, the value of this copy is thereby enhanced. It was made by Propaganda itself, and is preserved in its Archives for its own use. As it certainly gives the full substance of the original, it has practically the same historical authenticity. The three Dioceses, besides that of New York, which were established at this time (April 8, 1808) were those of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Ky.; while the Ordinaries appointed over them were Bishops Cheverus, Egan and Flaget. On the same occasion Baltimore was made an Archiepiscopal See and Bishop Carroll raised to the dignity of metropolitan. This document shows very clearly the reason of Father Concanen's appointment to the diocese of New York. It also shows the great esteem in which that distinguished ecclesiastic and the venerable metropolitan of Baltimore were held at Rome, and the confidence that was reposed in both of them by the rulers of the Church. It confirms the testimony found in more than one of Doctor Concanen's letters of the reputation for zeal and wisdom that Archbishop Carroll enjoyed at the center of Christendom. This high regard the Archbishop, in spite of the contrary assertion one reads here and there, seems to have retained until his death. There is only one instance where a clergyman was proposed by him for a bishopric and did not receive the appointment. This was the case of the Rev. John B. David, who was recommended by him for the Diocese of Philadelphia. But David's appointment was prevented by his own expostulation, coupled with the earnest protest of Bishop Flaget, who was in dire need of his services at the Seminary of Kentucky. For the English translation of this document the reader is referred to the article: *Concanen's Election to the See of New York*, pages 22-23, of this number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It is published in the original Italian and Latin in the Dominican *Analecta*, *ut supra* (Vol. iv, p. 443).

"Quando nel 1808 fu inalzata la chiesa di Baltimora alla dignità metropolitana, e le furono fatti quattro nuovi vescovi suffraganei, così scrisse la Sacra Congregazione a quel nuovo Arcivescovo sotto il dì 24 maggio, 1808: Quantum pietati, ac prudentiae Amplitudinis Tuae fidat, deferatque Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Papa Pius VII, et Sacra haec Congregatio de Propaganda Fide effectus ipse demonstrat, rerumque mox gestarum series, quam Apostolica scripta, seu Brevia his literis adnexa

abundius Tibi declarabunt. Videbis siquidem Tuis votis, precibusque novas quatuor Sedes in istis Foederatis Provinciis, ac dioeceses constitutas, auctum Te metropolitico jure, ac dignitate, electosque in antistites novarum ecclesiarum tres ecclesiasticos viros illos, quos in Tuis literis summis laudibus commendasti. Quia vero Ecclesiae Neo-Eboracensi neminem, quem praeponeremus, commendasti, virum elegit Santissimus Dominus Noster, quem longa experientia, et opinio ipsa totius Urbis tantae dignitatis dignissimum probat, quemque Tu ipse carissimum Tibi tam frequenti argumento probasti, Richardum nempe Lucam Concanen Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum professorem, ac theologum Casanatensem."

### III

#### Letters Patent [of the Most Rev. Pius J. Gaddi], May 10, 1808, to Bishop Concanen Appointing him Vicar General of the Dominican Order over all the New World\*

(Archives of the Dominican Master General, *Regesta Magistri Generalis Rmi Josephi Gaddi, Codex IV, 260, p. 5*)

This last paper is truly an extraordinary document. Not only is it opposed to the ordinary *modus operandi* common to all religious Orders, but it almost does violence to the very spirit of their rules. Indeed, these letters patent of

\* Immediately preceding these letters patent in the Archives of the Father General—and on the same folio—is found this note of Father Gaddi testifying that he had received papal authorization to confer such singular powers on the first Bishop of New York:

Die 10 maii, 1808.—Quum die 8 maii, 1808, Reverendissimus Magister Ordinis, supplex factus Sanctissimo Domino Pius Pio VII., vivae vocis oraculum habuerit ad delegandam omnem suam Ordinarium et Apostolicam potestatem Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo P. Fr. Ricardo Lucae Concanen Episcopo Neo-Eboracensi pro universae Americae Praetribus praesentibus futurisque, Sororibus, Tertiariis, Confraternitatibus, etc., volueritque Sanctissimus Dominus ut annis singulis de actis per hanc commissionem idem D. Episcopus notitiam Magistro Ordinis exhibeat, idem Reverendissimus hac die 10 maii patentibus suis Literis juxta formam adjunctam instituit dictum Episcopum sui et Successorum Vicarium, etiam pro Provinciis et Congregationibus Hispano nunc et Lusitano dominio subjectis, si harum tamen Praesides et Fratres impediuntur communicare cum legitimo Supremo Moderatore, vel si res moram non patiatur; commisit etiam plenam liberamque potestatem pro Insulis Antillis et Lucais, cum quibus nulla ab immemorabili fuit nobiscum communicatio: Praeceptumque fuit, Apostolica auctoritate, omnibus curae Magistri Ordinis subjectis aut subjiciendis, ut ipsimet Episcopo in praefatis locorum spatiis obediant tanquam Vicario Supremi Moderatoris, idque vita et episcopatu ejusdem durantibus, quod ex specialis factum est Apostolica facultate.

#### (Translation)

May the tenth, 1808.—On the eighth day of May, 1808, the Most Rev. Master General of the Order, prostrate at the feet of His Holiness, Pius VII., obtained oral permission (*vivae vocis oraculum habuerit ad*) to delegate all his authority, both ordinary and extraordinary, to the Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, Bishop of New York, over the Brethren, present and future, Sisters, Tertiaries, Confraternities, etc., in all America. But the Holy Father wished that the said Bishop should send the General of the Order each year an account of all his acts done in virtue of this commission. Accordingly, the same most Rev. Father General, on this tenth day of May, by his Letters patent, in accordance with the copy here annexed, instituted the aforesaid Bishop his Vicar and that of his successors, even over those Provinces and Congregations that are in places now subject to the Spanish and Portuguese dominions; provided, however, the Superiors and Brethren of those Provinces and Congregations are unable to communicate with the Order's lawful Supreme Head, or if the matter does not admit of delay. Furthermore, the General bestowed upon his Vicar full and unrestricted powers over the Antilles and Bahama Islands with which he has had no communication for time out of mind. All persons who are now subject, or who in time to come will be subject, to the jurisdiction of the Father General were commanded, in virtue of Apostolic authority, to obey the Bishop during his lifetime and episcopacy as the Vicar of the Supreme Head of the Order,—all which has been done by special powers delegated by the Holy See."

Father Gaddi to Bishop Concanen, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, have not (in the broad powers conferred, in the extent of territory covered, etc.) a parallel in the 700 years of Dominican history. Two things led to this singular action of Father Gaddi. The one was the gloomy political horizon of Europe at the time, and the depressing state of uncertainty then prevailing at Rome in regard to the future of religion. The other was Bishop Concanen's proved zeal, wisdom and prudence. On February 2, 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte's sincerity in the faith he professed was manifested by the entrance of one of his armies into Rome, and his love for the Head of the Church to which he belonged attested by their planting their cannon in the *Piazza de'Quattro Cavalli* and training them on the palace of the Quirinal, then the residence of the Popes. Many of the Cardinals were at once sent into exile, Pius VII was made a virtual prisoner, and his communication with the Christian world severed. All manner of evils were imminent; nor could it be foreseen how soon they might come. The lot of his predecessor—exile and imprisonment—loomed up ominously before the Sovereign Pontiff. The Fathers General of the religious Orders were threatened with similar misfortunes. It was in these straits that Father Gaddi, to safeguard the welfare of his Order in the New World, turned his eyes upon Dr. Concanen, whose years as one of the Assistants to successive Generals had not only imbued him with its spirit, both apostolic and contemplative, but had given him a thorough knowledge of the character of its government, and whose sterling worth and good judgment singled him out as one specially fitted for a position at once so important and so delicate. But now that Concanen was a Bishop and no longer under the Order's jurisdiction, the General could neither licitly nor validly delegate his former Assistant any power over the members or the affairs of the Order. For this special papal authorization was required. To obtain such authorization Father Gaddi obtained a private audience with Pius VII. The Pope's fears were for the worst. This, coupled with his anxiety for the good of religion, his intimate knowledge of Concanen's worth and zeal, and the close relations that existed between the two great men—we may readily believe—disposed the sad Pontiff readily to grant even so singular a request in favor of his esteemed friend. As no one could enter or leave the Quirinal without being searched by the hostile invaders, the permission sought was granted Father Gaddi orally (*vivæ vocis oraculo*) rather than in writing, that thus it might not come to the knowledge of the enemy. These letters patent to Bishop Concanen were one of Father Gaddi's last official acts. Early in August he was notified by the French authorities that he must quit Rome within forty-eight hours. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the thirteenth day of the same month, he and the Fathers General of the Theatines, the Barnabites and the Clerks Minor, after they had assisted at Mass celebrated by special permission shortly after midnight in his (Gaddi's) private chapel, left the Eternal City under military escort for the Alpine frontiers. Gaddi was then taken on to Auxerre, France, whence he was not permitted to return to Rome until after the downfall of Bonaparte in the spring of 1814.

*Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Domino Fr. Ricardo Lucae Concanten Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Doctori, Proto-Episcopo Neo-Eboracensi in Foederatis Americae Provinciis, Fr. Pius Joseph Gaddi, S. Theologiae Professor ac dicti Ordinis humilis Magister Generalis, et servus, salutem et apostolicam messis abundantiam.*

Cooperantem Nobiscum hactenus in Dominicani Gregis custodia, Sociumque laboris, et participem tribulationum, quae invenerunt, Nos nimis quem Scotiae etiam Provincialis titulo auctum prudente zelo flagrantem novimus in Ordinis dilatione, et Provinciae Nostrae Sancti Joseph in praememoratis Americae Provinciis erectione promovenda, nunc vero a SS. Domino Nostro Pio Papa VII., imo ab ipso Spiritu Sancto positum novam regere Ecclesiam, quam sibi Christus Dominus acquisivit in locis praedictis, jure confidimus abundantiori in eundem Ordinem, dictamque Sancti Patriarchae Joseph Provinciam dilectione et solitudine donandum in utilitatem Ecclesiae, et sacri dicti Ordinis decorem, quem Sanctissimus Pater Noster Dominicus constituit et plantavit in Episcoporum praesertim subsidium et gratiam. Rogamus propterea, et quasi paterno veteri affectu hortamur Te Illustrissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum Fr. Ricardum Lucam Neo-Eboracensem Episcopum praesalutatum, ut in Dioecesi Tua Neo-Eboracensi aliisque finitimis, in insulis quoque Antillis et Lucaliis dictis, imo in universo novo Orbe, Vicariam assumens potestatem Nostram, quam tuae Amplitudini plene committimus tenore praesentium, habito prius verbo cum SS. D. N. Pio VII., ejusdemque favente Beneplacito, circa Fratres, Sorores, et utriusque sexus personas Tertii Ordinis, nec non circa Provincias, Conventus, Monasteria, Collegiaque erecta aut erigenda, atque circa receptiones et professiones praedictorum, Clericorumque nostrorum Ordinationes, et ad Confessiones Praedicationemque approbationes, tum circa Confraternitates SS. Nominis Dei, Sacratissimi Rosarii B. M. V., et Militiae Angelicae, sive Cinguli S. Thomae Aquinatis, et quoad Scholasticos gradus et honores, praesertim vero in iis, quae moram non patiuntur, et occurrente casu, quo Provinciarum et Congregationumstrarum in America Septentrionali, Meridionali, et Orientali, insulisque adjunctis, Praelati et Fratres communicationem legitimam cum Generali Moderatore habere non valeant, ea omnia praestes et exequaris, quae Nos ipsi, auctoritate Ordinaria vel Apostolica, etiam peculiari rescripto Nobis benigne commissa, agere et praestare possumus, quaeque, sicuti ex praehabito Socii Nostri munere didicisti, ageremus, si praesentes in locis praedictis essemus, tam jubendo, corrigendo, visitando, puniendo quam dispensando, instituendo, confirmando, absolvendo, delegando; quorum tamen actuum annis singulis a Te notitiam habeamus oportet. Praecipimus autem Nostra et Sanctae Sedis potestate Nobis, et supra commissa, in virtute Spiritus Sancti et Sanctae Obedientiae, sub formali praecepto, omnibus et singulis curae Nostrae in praedictis locorum spatiis utcumque subjectis, aut subjiaciendis, ut Tibi, tanquam Nobis, debitam in omnibus reverentiam et obedientiam praestent, et quamdiu Episcopatum et vitam Tibi Deus dederit quam longevam felicemque precamur, Te Vicarium Moderatoris Ordinis habeant et agnoscant. In nomine Patriae, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. In quorum fidem his majori sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.—Romae apud Sanctam Mariam super Minervam, die 10 maii MDCCCVIII.—Fr. Josephus Gaddi Magister Ordinis Apostolicus ad Praemissa Delegatus.—Fr. Pius Antonius Molineri Mag. Prior Provincialis Daciae et Socius.



(Translation)

*To the Right Rev. Father in Christ, Richard Luke Concanen of the Order of Preachers, Doctor in Sacred Theology and first Bishop of New York, United States of America, Father Pius Joseph Gaddi, Professor of Sacred Theology, Master General and humble servant of the same Order, health and a fruitful harvest of souls.*

As a cooperator with Us until now in governing the Order of Saint Dominic, a companion in labor, a sharer in the tribulations that have come upon Us, and honored with the title of Provincial of Scotland, We have had striking proofs that your Lordship is aflame with prudent zeal for the spread of the Order and for fostering the growth of Our Province of Saint Joseph in the aforesaid United States of America. Now, therefore, that you have been chosen by His Holiness, Pius VII., nay, by the Holy Ghost Himself, to govern a Diocese which Christ Our Lord has gathered unto Himself in those parts, We confidently trust your Lordship will be endowed with a still more abounding love and solicitude for the same Order and the said Province of the Holy Patriarch, Saint Joseph; for the good of the Church and the honor of the Order which Our Holy Father, Saint Dominic, founded and built up in an especial manner to aid and subserve Bishops. We ask, therefore; nay, We beseech you, Right Rev. Bishop Concanen, in virtue as it were of Our long paternal affection, to accept in your Diocese of New York and in the other neighboring Bishoprics, as also in the Antilles and Bahama Islands,—indeed, in the whole New World, the position of Our Vicar which We bestow upon your Lordship with all its powers by these Letters patent. Having first had an audience with His Holiness, Pius VII., and obtained his kindly consent thereto, We confer upon your Lordship (for the aforesaid places) vicarious powers over all Our Brethren, Sisters, and persons belonging to the Third Order;<sup>4</sup> over all Provinces, Convents, Monasteries and Colleges, whether already erected or to be established in the future; in regard to the reception and profession of persons in the Order, the ordination of Our clerics, and their approval for hearing confessions and preaching; as also in regard to the Confraternities of the Most Holy Name of God, the Most Holy Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Angelic Warfare or the Girdle of Saint Thomas of Aquin, and in regard to conferring scholastic degrees and honors. In those matters especially which will not admit of delay, and in cases where the Superiors and Brethren of Our Provinces in North, South and Eastern America, and adjacent islands, are unable to hold lawful communication with the Order's Master General, your Lordship is prayed to enact and execute whatsoever We Ourselves can enact and execute by Our authority, whether ordinary or extraordinary, even by that bestowed upon Us by special rescript, and which you know from your former position as Our assistant We should do, were We present in the aforesaid places. To this end your Lordship may not only resort to commands, corrections, visits and punishments, but also grant dispensations, appoint, confirm or remove Superiors, and delegate your authority. It is necessary, however, that We receive each year on account of all such acts done by your Lordship. Furthermore, in virtue of Our authority and that, as has

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<sup>4</sup> At the time of the writing of this document the Father General had far more authority than he has today over the Dominican Sisterhoods and what is known as the Third Order of St. Dominic composed of people of both sexes living in the world. Now, in fact, he has no authority over them, apart from being able to insist on certain conditions as necessary for the affiliation of these two great branches of the Order with the main stem. Two things also occur here in which the Latin tongue is at variance with our prevalent English usage. Convents (Conventus), as used in this document, signify houses for religious men, while Monasteries (Monasteria) designate houses of like character for religious women or Sisters. The word Colleges (Collegia) includes both *studia*, or houses of study for students of the Dominican Order, and educational institutions generally conducted by its members.

been said, given Us by the Holy See, We command in the name of the Holy Ghost, under holy obedience and formal precept each and every one now in any way subject, or who will hereafter be subject, to Our jurisdiction in the above mentioned countries to show your Lordship in all things that reverence and obedience which are due Us; to hold and acknowledge you as the Vicar of the Order's General as long as God grants you Episcopal dignity and life, which We pray may be long and happy. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. All things to the contrary notwithstanding. In testimony of which We sign with Our own hand these Letters patent secured by Our major seal. Given at Rome in the Convent of Saint Mary of the Minerva, on the tenth day of May, 1808.—Father Joseph Gaddi, Master General of the Order and Delegate Apostolic for the above matters.—Father Pius Anthony Molineri, Master in Sacred Theology, Prior Provincial of Dacia<sup>†</sup> and Assistant.”

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<sup>†</sup> Four of the assistants to the Dominican Father General ordinarily have the honor of titular provincial for the four extinct provinces of Scotland, Greece, the Holy Land and Dacia. Father Concanen had this title for Scotland, and Father Molineri, whose name appears at the end of this document, for ancient Dacia.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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### **The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti.**

By William A. MacCorkle, LL.D. The Neale Publishing Company, New York, 1915. Pp. 104.

The author, a former Governor of West Virginia, disclaims any intention of offering the public a philosophical treatise. In fact, his preface informs the reader that the substance of his little volume was included in an address delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Though his theme is old, yet is it ever new. He does not fully accept the opinion, often expressed, that the germ of the Monroe Doctrine is to be found in Washington's *Farewell Address*. By the first President, he says, that part of our foreign policy "was enunciated as a foundation proposition of our government." Indeed, the idea was clearly in the mind of Alexander Hamilton while the Constitution was still before the States for their adoption. No. XI of the *Federalist* urged neutrality and the establishment of a strong national government. "By a steady adherence to the Union," says Hamilton, "we may hope, ere long, to become the arbiter of Europe in America; and to be able to incline the balance of European competitions in this part of the world, as our interest may dictate." The creation of a powerful marine and the establishment of a Federal navy would be indispensable to the maintenance of neutrality, for, added that great statesman, "The rights of neutrality will only be respected, when they are defended by an adequate power. A nation, despicable by its weakness, forfeits even the privilege of being neutral." In conclusion Hamilton thus exhorted his fellow-citizens: "Let the Thirteen States, bound together in a strict and indissoluble Union, concur in erecting one great American system, superior to the control of all trans-Atlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the Old and the New World!"

The author makes it clear that, while the Monroe Doctrine has never been enacted by Congress or deemed a part of international law, yet it is "an essential part of the structure of our national life." Viewed as Hamilton saw it, the Monroe Doctrine is nothing less than the right of self-defense, an elementary part of international law. This would have been made still more

plain to his readers if the author had only noticed the announcement, January 3, 1811, of President Madison, who urged Congress, when Great Britain was threatening to take possession of the two Floridas, to declare that the United States could not, without serious inquietude, "see any part of a neighboring territory, such as Florida, in which we had deep concern, pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign power."

A map showing Haiti, located on and commanding the highways of commerce, suggests the importance to the United States of the independence of that little republic. Looking into the future, the author sees the immense importance of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and declares that of those waters the United States should have control exclusive and absolute. The construction of the inter-oceanic canal, he says, makes this imperative. The twin seas and the lands and islands that fringe them are a part of the Canal Zone. Treaty rights respecting the canal, says Governor MacCorkle, cannot be observed by the United States unless her power is dominant in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. This control should not be seized, indeed, but honorably gained by means of treaties.

Haiti, in its present condition, is held to be a menace to the peace and safety of the United States. In the author's opinion its status should be changed. He briefly relates the prosperity, the luxury, and culture of the Haitians under French occupation, their speedy decline after the French abandoned the country, and their subsequent sad and often tragic history. The present government, which mocks the forms of freedom, appears to be no more than a monstrous machine for plundering, oppressing, and terrorizing that wretched people.

Hitherto the Monroe Doctrine has stayed the hands of European powers, but it has done nothing to restore the land to the prosperity and grandeur which it enjoyed under French rule. The city structures, planned by Parisian architects, are everywhere in masses of ruins, wild weeds and trees spring from palace walls, parks once beautiful are overgrown with the rank vegetation of the tropics, fountains are choked with débris, and gutters overflow with filth. Though the charge has been repeatedly and vehemently denied, the testimony points unmistakably to the somewhat general practice in the republic of serpent worship

or voodooism and even of cannibalism. The author believes that within the limits of the two seas no people should be permitted to remain an international nuisance. The passive attitude of America, he says, is illogical. He denies that the morals and the religion of the people have been colored ill in order to justify interference in their affairs, though Froude and Ober, the authorities followed, are not too careful when they speak of creeds.

This brief study also notices the lack of respect for obligations in some republics in the western hemisphere and in that connection the author mentions the attempted enforcement of the payment by Venezuela of her public debt. Had it not been for the influence of the United States, still attentive to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy might not have dealt so leniently with the offending republic of South America. The Magdalena Bay incident is also cited.

The danger to the Monroe Doctrine from European interference, Governor MacCorkle seems fully to understand. Certain powers of the Old World have colonists in the New, especially in South America. Between these settlers and the states in which they live nothing would be easier than to arrange a collision. Then would arise the apparent, perhaps the actual, necessity for intervention.

Mr. MacCorkle has no expectation of amendment in the case of Haiti. Its people, he believes, cannot of themselves improve conditions in that republic. On the other hand, he believes that the United States will not continue to tolerate a condition of chronic anarchy in Haiti. The author would not have the principle of the Monroe Doctrine enforced by the United States in connection with South American governments, for their colonists come from different countries of Europe and in them the Latin American states have been accustomed to do their borrowing. Through the long future, then, our favored republic must make its way alone. This little book is worthy of careful consideration.

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**A History of Travel in America.** By Seymour Dunbar. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Four volumes. Pp. 1529.

These entertaining volumes tell of "the development of travel and transportation from the crude methods of the canoe and the

dog-sled to the highly organized railway systems of the present, together with a narrative of the human experiences and changing social conditions that accompanied this economic conquest of the continent." The history of the United States has been so much a story of the opening up and development of roadways, that the present work is almost a social history of the United States. The text is accompanied by 400 illustrations of instruments of transportation and things relating to travel. The illustrations, together with their legends, form a connected history of travel which may be enjoyed independently of the text.

It will soothe the nerves of the speed-mad traveler of today who begrudges the four days that he must spend in crossing the continent, to read the story of the rapid transit of eighty years ago, when from four to six days were consumed in the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh over the combined railroad and canal route, and when practically the same time was required in going from Boston to New York by stage coach. Those were, of course, not the normal rates of travel for that day, since canals and railroads and even good wagon roads were the exception rather than the rule. A traveler from Albany to Rochester, N. Y., who made the trip in seven nights and six days, has left an account of the conditions of travel as he found them in 1824. "For a few miles in the vicinity of Palatine Church," he writes, "there was a gravelly road over which the driver could raise a trot, but this was a luxury experienced in but few localities, and those far between. Passengers walked to ease the coach every day and each night. Although they did not literally carry rails on their shoulders to pry the coach out of the ruts, they were frequently called upon to use rails for that purpose." But even this method of travel was luxury as compared with the first century and a half of white settlement in this country, when practically the only methods of travel were by foot, or on horseback, or in canoes. The first recorded stage coach line began operations at Burlington, N. J., in 1732, but as late as 1797 the road from Philadelphia to Baltimore could be described as follows: "Chasms to the depth of 6, 8 or 10 feet occur at numerous intervals. A stage coach which left Philadelphia on the fifth of February, 1796, took five days to go to Baltimore. The weather for the first four days was good. The roads are in fearful condition. Coaches are over-

turned, passengers killed, and horses destroyed by the overwork put upon them."

The early story is briefly sketched, and the author confines his attention mainly to the period falling between the years 1788 and 1869, and centers his narrative around five principal events or movements. These are:

The governmental organization of the Ohio country and the Northwest Territory, and the beginning of a general migration to those regions in 1787-1789;

A general public recognition of the value of steam as a means of propulsion, in 1807-1809;

The beginning of the railway building period, in 1828-1829;

Discovery of gold in the West, and the general rush across the plains, in 1848-1849; and the

Completion of the first transcontinental railway, in 1869.

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**The Boycott in American Trade Unions.** By Leo Wolman, Ph.D.  
Pp. 148. Johns Hopkins Press, 1916.

As the author observes in the opening sentence of his book, the enactment of the sections in the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill pertaining to labor unions, injunctions, and contempt of court, and the final affirmation of judgment by the United States Supreme Court against the Danbury hatters, should renew interest in the position of the trade union boycott. In six chapters, he discusses the boycott's nature, history, subject matter, mechanism, and legal aspects. While the term originally denoted social ostracism, it is most frequently used now to describe economic pressure, especially as exerted by the members of labor unions. Mr. Wolman does not tell his readers how the word, "boycott," came to be applied to these forms of ostracism, that it was the name of an Irish land agent who was made the victim of the process in such a spectacular and effective way, that his rather unusual patronymic was readily seized upon to characterize the many similar performances of the Land League days in the eighties, and was thence imported into America. It would seem that the author might well have set forth this bit of information without laying himself open to the charge of inflicting too much erudition upon the public.

In its most general meaning the boycott denotes merely a concerted withdrawal of intercourse or patronage; hence the author is well advised in his contention that the element of coercion is not indispensable. Most of the current definitions offend against both facts and logic by including this element. While it is probable that the majority of boycotts have actually been characterized by a greater or less amount of what might justly be denominated coercion, many of them have avoided this feature entirely; and neither the aim nor the structure of the process requires coercion as an essential factor. The author's definition of the labor boycott, as distinguished from the strike, the blacklist, and other forms of combinations to withdraw intercourse, seems to be unexceptionable: The efforts of a labor combination to restrict the markets of employers in the purchase and sale of economic goods. This eliminates the unessential features of coercion, and intimidation or persuasion of third parties.

In the sense of concerted withdrawal of intercourse, the boycott was, as the author points out, exemplified in the ancient Roman "*ignis et aquae interdictio*," the ecclesiastical excommunication and interdict, the habitual attitude of the Jews toward the Samaritans, and vice versa, the action of the revolutionary Bostonians with regard to British tea, and innumerable manifestations of racial, political, and religious ostracism throughout history. From all such performances the labor boycott is distinguished chiefly by the fact that it represents the efforts of a particular organization to curtail the industrial and commercial patronage of a particular economic functionary; namely, an employer and dealer in goods. Obviously, the difference is of subject matter and persons, not of essence or principle. The author shows that the boycott has been used in industrial disputes, as a rule, only when the labor union has not been sufficiently powerful and inclusive to be effective. In such cases the boycott has frequently proved itself of great supplementary value to the incomplete organization. While there is a recorded instance of a labor boycott in New York as early as 1809, the weapon attained its greatest degree of prevalence and success previous to 1892, under the direction of the Knights of Labor, and between that date and 1902, in the hands of the American Federation of Labor.



The organization of the American Anti-Boycott Association in the last named year, and the successful prosecution of the Danbury hatters under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, have considerably checked the practice during the last ten years. However, the legalization of the primary boycott, and probably of the milder forms of the secondary boycott, in section 20 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, will have the effect, not only of removing the legal disability, but ultimately of strengthening the position of the device in public opinion. Despite the author's rather refined argument to the contrary, the primary boycott must be adjudged by disinterested thinkers, as in no essential feature ethically different from the strike. Had the courts always been able to perceive this resemblance, the legal standing of the boycott would not have so nearly reached chaos.

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**Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. x. British Series, Vol. i—The Critical Period (1763–1765).**  
Edited with Introduction and Notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter: The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill., 1915. Pp. 597.

This volume includes much useful and instructive material concerning the early history of the great State of Illinois. In the light of events both earlier and later than 1763, perhaps the most curious of the documents given is the anonymous Edinburgh pamphlet of that year, relative to the proposed colony of *Charlotina*. At the outset should be noticed the modesty of its unknown author, who doubtless went down to his resting-place, unhonored and unsung. This loyal subject of King George III has long since mouldered into dust. His remains would not now be disturbed, were it not that on an interesting phase of American history his ideas, though baseless, are almost universally cherished. Not, indeed, by those enthroned in universities, but by nearly all besides.

First he fears that the French in Canada will emigrate to Louisiana. However, the Protestants among them may remain, and, even others, like the Dutch of New Netherland, may continue in Canada and melt into the Anglo-American population around them. By penal laws, not unknown in Britain, those desiring to go to Louisiana should, in his judgment, be prevented.

Though the anonymous author was 4,000 miles from the disturbances that marked Pontiac's Conspiracy, he tells us "French Jesuits and Priests" were concerned, and, he adds, "This hath been their usual practice even in times of profound peace." The author was not certain that these disturbers were acting by the authority of the French nation. In fact, he is in doubt whether to believe that their conduct proceeded from their innate wickedness, or was suggested by noted persons at their "faithless Court."

The author is convinced that the French were successful in winning the affections of the natives, but this success he ascribes to their more "civil usage." Other influences named are religious and matrimonial ties. But among all the elements of French policy, the chief ingredient was cunning. Through the generations and the years, the artful Frenchman continued successfully to deceive the guileless red man.

The patriotic author hesitates whether to give his vote in favor of withholding from the natives firearms and ammunition, or to extirpate them. To both policies he sees objections. Speaking of the latter alternative, he says: "That of *extirpation*, however agreeable and common to the cruel *Spaniards*, is a method by which, it is hoped, the humane generous Britons will never chuse to extend their dominions." On this hope, a word hereafter. Returning to the subject of Indian attachment to the French, he says one reason is that many natives are proselyted to the Catholic faith by the "indefatigable diligence of their Priests." As there is a somewhat modern sound in the following paragraph, it is quoted in full:

"The impious freedoms, indeed, gross absurdities (*sic*) and blasphemous prostitution of the most sacred truths, whereby the *French* endeavor to engage them to their interest, and work up their indignation against us, are shocking, and altogether unworthy the Christian name. Besides their common maxim, of keeping no faith or promises made to those differing from them in religion, they are at great pains to make these Natives believe the most absurd stories and falsehoods, the very naming of which would be disagreeable to Christian ears: Such as—that our Saviour was a Frenchman, and the English those that crucified him, &c. By these, and other scandalous abuses, which scarcely any other Nation on earth would dare to attempt, instead of teaching them Divine Truth, they debauch and deprave them; make them still more faithless, treacherous and cruel; extinguish any notions of morality that the light of Nature

furnishes; and, in short, render them seven-fold more the children of the Devil than before."

Venerated shade of Nathaniel Ward! If thine ardent spirit, at rest in *Agawam*, deign to note the little deeds of mortals, forget not thy modest disciple in Edina, for he also smote the worshipers of Dagon, they who change men to beasts, and dry up in human hearts the germs of morality.

Nothing but his sluggish faith prevented this patriotic North Briton from following the children of the forest through glade, and lake, and stream. Then he could have attuned their souls to hatred as implacable as his own. If questioned on this subject, perhaps cakes and ale might tell a tale of ease. But our purpose is neither to write a disquisition on charity, nor to prove that those engineers who fixed the limits of the dark ages should have run the line a little nearer to our favored time. The chief purpose of these remarks is to discuss that ever-interesting subject, the longevity of lies.

The "*extirpation*" of Indians, this author informs us, was a thing "agreeable and common to the cruel *Spaniards*," but he hopes, a method by which "the humane generous *Britons* will never chuse to extend their dominions." In English America this assertion has been made a thousand times, and, outside the departments of history in the leading universities, is very generally believed. Yet it is false, for it is only in Latin-America that Indians are numerous. Millions of them are still to be seen in all the lands below the Rio Grande. No Indians are now to be found in the eleven States first settled by the English. From the higher principles of the "humane generous *Britons*" a different condition could have been fairly expected. The motive of the anonymous author is clearly to prove the greater purity of Protestantism. For that purpose his illustration was thrice unfortunate, for whether he scanned the plantations settled by the English, the Dutch or the Swedes, for Indians, he looked in vain. If New York be noted as an exception, the explanation is easy. The Indian reservations in the western part of that State are far beyond the regions settled by the English or the Dutch. These survivors of the native races owe their gratitude to the American people. In Delaware as in New York, the Swedes and English left no aborigines within its limits.

It is quite true that in the West Indies the *conquistadores* soon swept away the aboriginal races, but churchmen of the type of Las Casas protested, and everywhere on the mainland the native race was preserved. The French, too, regarded the Indian as a human being and spared him. He has vanished only before the wrath of the "superior" race.

Look for Hottentots or Bushinen in South Africa. The Portuguese found there and left behind them multitudes of black men, who had attained to the pastoral state. Before Dutchmen and Britons, they vanished like that spectral army that besieged the walls of Prague. Black men, Kaffirs and Zulus, there are in southeast Africa, but at the Cape there is no Hottentot. The last Bushman, with his dwarfish wife, has been photographed. Americans know that, in the Philippine archipelago, there are more natives than when Magellan discovered the islands. Except in the West Indies the Spaniards have always preserved the native races. In Mexico, in Peru, and in the region of the Gulf, there was fighting, and killing, and plundering, but not extirpation. From this exception the general conduct of the Spaniards has been inferred.

Since Englishmen settled at James' Fort (1607), more than 300 years have come and gone. In that region time has left no vestiges of the native race. Yet the first Virginia colonists have acquired among their descendants a reputation for humanity, a reputation that is unsupported by history, and contradicted by the testimony of the senses. All that can be said of that courageous company of intending planters, is that they treated the aborigines at least as well as some other English colonists, but not so well as did the Pilgrims, the Catholics, or the Quakers.

It is refreshing to turn from the ferocious Edinburgh pamphlet to the mild narrative of the *Banishment of the Jesuits* (July 9, 1763). It is not alone their juxtaposition that makes the contrast. The iniquitous treatment of the missionaries is carefully and temperately told. Other records included in the present volume are *The Journal of M. Dabbadie*, 1763-1764, and the correspondence of many colonial worthies, among them Croghan, Johnson, Loftus, Gage, Haldimand, and Bouquet.

If one is interested in knowing the exact situation in the Illinois country when Col. George Rogers Clark arrived, July 4,

1778, at Kaskaskia, he will find it necessary to examine the correspondence and instructions which form a large part of the present volume. In the future publications of the Illinois Historical Society, there may come information that will enable us plausibly to explain Clark's *accidental* meeting on the Ohio with the party of hunters from Kaskaskia. The leader of the "Long Knives" was too brave to be imprudent. How far had he, through Bentley and others, made smooth his way? It is seriously to be hoped that some day we shall know all the participants in Clark's brilliant campaign. Its grandeur grows with added details.

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**A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase (1819-1841).** By Thomas Maitland Marshall, Ph.D. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1914. Pp. 266.

By whatever name one chooses to call this study it principally deals with the secession from Mexico of her province of Texas, and the assistance rendered by the United States Government and the American people to rebellious citizens of Mexico. Stated differently this useful essay carefully describes the first blot on our national escutcheon. The political morality of the acts which led Americans to adhere to the insurgent citizens of Mexico and give them assistance in their revolt is hardly a subject for debate, and the author does not formally discuss it.

In shaping the plans which dismembered Mexico, President Jackson was one of the most capable architects and certainly the most eminent. From some of the keenest and the most suspicious of his contemporaries he contrived to conceal his real sentiments, but time has lifted the shroud from more than one of his confidential communications. The hero of New Orleans stands revealed very much in the character of a conspirator. To the publishers of the series of "True" biographies we commend an appropriate theme, viz, "The True Andrew Jackson." The hero of the Hermitage died without confessing to Parton.

On page 13 Dr. Marshall says: "The idea that the Louisiana Purchase extended to the Rio Grande became a certainty with Jefferson early in 1804." The author of the Declaration had made a far greater discovery just a little earlier than 1804. In fact, some time before 1803 he became convinced that the

blessings promised by its Preamble could not be secured by the Constitution under his theory of strict construction. Another statesman of the Jeffersonian school, perhaps the narrowest of all the Presidents, John Tyler, was likewise persuaded that this instrument, which to Federalists and Whigs had discoursed sweet music, to strict construction Democrats gave forth the harshest sounds. For purposes of expansion at least, these statesmen discovered that the Constitution, as they had understood it, was unequal to the exigencies of government. This was not the message which Laussat had sent to Claiborne and Wilkinson.

When Burr was engaged in his project in the Southwest, Gen. Wilkinson had offered to protect from invasion the provinces of his Catholic Majesty for the modest sum of \$300,000, an amount which Wilkinson could himself have earned in the short space of 200 years. It is likely that for a small part of that sum, he could have disarmed even Burr's ambition. Gallatin, a statesman of greater ability and higher ethical principles than most of those who acted with Jefferson, opposed the policy adopted toward Spain. Perhaps he attached some weight to the fact that the Spaniards had settled Santa Fé in 1582, more than 230 years before Anglo-Americans had established themselves on the coast of the Gulf. He knew the flimsy texture of the American claim to Texas.

In 1815, at New Orleans, Capt. Perry declared that a thousand men were ready to invade Texas. This was an enterprise that appealed with peculiar force to the freebooters of Barataria. It was not strange that the pirate, Jean Lafitte, participated in the adventure, and for a time established himself on Galveston Island. For the purpose of imposing order on the pirates the United States regarded that region as belonging to Spain, but for other purposes it belonged to the United States, which by the Treaty of 1819 surrendered it to Spain, receiving in return the two Floridas and also a claim to the country of Oregon. John Quincy Adams, the last member of Monroe's Cabinet to agree to this arrangement, was long regarded by Southern prejudice as the chief promoter of that transaction. The great Henry Clay, whose countrymen were destined to bring *graft* to a degree of perfection seldom equalled in the outside world, believed that Luis de Onís, the representative of Spain, had a pecuniary

interest in promoting the treaty by which we acquired the Floridas.

This was the era of the Forsyths, who seem to have brought American diplomacy to its low water mark. Kings could be insulted, especially feeble kings, with impunity. Keeping step to the same sound, but belonging to a later period, was Joel R. Poinsett, our Minister to Mexico. A York rite Mason, he assisted in organizing lodges in that Republic. For his activity he was sharply criticised by those brothers of "the mystic tie" who preferred the Scottish rite. In the variegated history of Mexico, *Yorkinos* and *Escoceses* have added elements of new confusion. He it was who declared that if the border Indians were not subdued, it would be necessary for the United States to pursue and chastise them "even under the walls of Mexico."

The accession of Jackson confirmed the growing sentiment in favor of acquiring Texas. So successfully was his eagerness repressed that it was popularly believed he was opposed to the project. Butler wrote to that virtuous statesman delicately hinting at the bribery of a Mexican official. It is only just to add that Jackson gave no encouragement to this baseness. But he did not, as he should have done, immediately recall him, though ultimately he was forced to. Butler wrote frequently, and wrote not only of Texas but of California.

Dr. Marshall's study is worthy of careful examination and is an excellent narrative of the subject treated. Perhaps a little condensation of certain sections would tend to make the outline of his story a trifle more clear. It plainly shows the efficient character of the historical work done at the University of California.

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**Nathan Hale, 1776, Biography and Memorials.** By Henry Phelps Johnston: New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1914. Pp. 296.

Three interesting chapters inform the reader of the ancestral background, the youth, and the college life of Nathan Hale, a brave but unfortunate patriot. We are made clearly to see the social and academic forces which, during his residence at Yale College, fashioned one of the noblest characters of the War for Independence.

Hale's brief though successful career as a teacher was interrupted by "war's wild note." As a lieutenant in one of the Connecticut companies he was early in the field and was applying himself with enthusiasm to his new duties. The regiments of that State, sent in response to Washington's call for reinforcements, were soon in bivouac from Roxbury to Medford. With other New England volunteers they were besieging the British in Boston. Hale found himself in the brigade of Gen. Sullivan. In a short time his devotion to duty and his generosity won him the confidence and the affections of his soldiers.

On March 17, 1776, when with its Tory friends the British army sailed away from Boston, where it had been outgeneraled, Washington correctly concluded that the next point of attack would be the city of New York, and thither he immediately sent many of his regiments, himself following later with the remainder of the army. The succeeding events, including the disastrous battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, is a familiar story. In the detached fighting of that day Captain Hale took no part. His command, in expectation of a British attack, manned the defenses of Brooklyn Heights. But no assault was made. It is probable that at least one lesson had been learned at Bunker Hill. The American position would better be reduced by a systematic siege, which could begin with the morning. But, as is well known, by that time the Americans were gone. Hale's assistance during this skilful retreat appears to have been his only share in the battle.

For the Commander-in-Chief there followed anxious days. Occupying Manhattan Island, he was aware that his position was fraught with danger, for with his great fleet, Howe could sail to the northward and land a force in his rear. Without knowledge of the plans of his adversary Washington was sorely perplexed. He urged his generals to learn something of the movements of his enemy. With their subordinates they discussed the need of such information and the means of obtaining it. It was in this situation that Hale consulted a fellow officer about an idea that was already assuming definite shape in his mind, namely, to disguise himself as a spy, enter the lines of the enemy, and return with the desired intelligence. His friend attempted to dissuade him, but Hale's purpose had mastered him. In his own modest



opinion he had accomplished nothing since entering the army, though he had in fact satisfactorily performed every duty assigned. He had no delusions about the nature of his project; he was aware that it was full of danger and he knew the usual fate of spies. All this he had considered with his friend. But he had become convinced that it was the duty of some one to obtain the desired information, and, so far as we are informed, without the approval of any superior, and against the remonstrance of his friend, he set out on his perilous way. Crossing from the shore of his native State, he landed at Huntington, Long Island, and safely worked his way to the East River. He was soon in New York within the British lines, where he began to make sketches and to take such notes as he believed would be useful. Of the details of his capture we know nothing. Apparently, he was taken during the night in an effort to reach the American lines. Brought at once before Gen. Howe, he found it impossible to explain the object of the notes and sketches found upon him. On a rigid cross-examination he made a full confession. In the circumstances the British commander did not believe it necessary to observe the forms of military law by giving his prisoner a trial; accordingly in the forenoon of the following day, September 22, 1776, the devoted Connecticut captain was hanged as a spy. He was too intelligent not to have known that such a fate was likely to befall him. But there was likewise a slight chance of success. That he volunteered to take. When failure came, he uttered, perhaps he felt, no regrets, but went courageously to his doom. With brave words on his lips he was hurried on to immortality. Everything connected with his tragic end shows that he had resolved, if it became necessary, to sacrifice himself in the cause of liberty. *I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.* This was the last message of Nathan Hale, a patriotic message which will echo down the centuries, a message which doubtless in the dreary days to come, was a consolation and support to many another patriot.

The soldier's fatal undertaking is minutely and accurately described in this enlarged and revised edition of Prof. Johnston's book. Records and legends and traditions have been carefully assembled and questioned, but they give forth no real voice nor sound as to the details of the young patriot's execution.

After all, it may be energy misapplied to look in America for new light. Perhaps a more careful search in England might be rewarded by the discovery of a few incidents of value.

In addition to an excellent biography there are included in this useful work many memorials of its young hero. His diary, his letters, and his verses are all of the deepest interest. It is a commonplace in American history that the Constitution was largely the work of college men. Incidentally, the work of Prof. Johnston shows that college graduates performed important services in the war of the Revolution. One sees, too, a pleasant picture of academic life with its cares and its joys. The *Hale Bibliography*, which is appended, will prove of great value to all who are interested in the beginnings of our republic.

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**Ulysses S. Grant.** By Franklin Spencer Edmunds: Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs & Company. Copyright, 1915. Pp. 376.

This volume of the series styled "American Crisis Biographies" is a concise account of the chief characteristics of the renowned Civil War hero, as well as an accurate narrative of the important military events with which he was connected. Those who are not professional students of American history, but who desire to learn something of the men who preserved its greatness, will find in this book much to entertain and instruct them. That other numerous class who have not the leisure to learn the Civil War by reading in detail its battles and sieges, by studying the technical narratives of its great campaigns will, by an examination of this convenient volume, know the progress of the war for the Union and much that is essential about its greatest commander.

In referring to General Grant as the first soldier of the War for Southern Independence, one does not need to disparage the services of his loyal and efficient friends, Sherman and Sheridan, or of George H. Thomas, who was not so close to his affections. Ultimate defeat does not diminish the stature of Robert E. Lee, nor lack of support dim the fame of Beauregard, or of Joseph E. Johnston. They are all enrolled in the register of fame, but Grant is quite unlike any of them.

Though Beauregard found little favor with his superiors, compared with Grant he was thrice fortunate. In the opinion

of his Illinois neighbors and even of his kinsmen Capt. Grant was a person of little merit. In his own judgment he could at least bake bread for the soldiers, because, in the war with Mexico, he had done it with success. In some capacity he was eager to strike a blow for the Union. When he had witnessed the dismal efforts of political officers to drill the volunteers of Illinois, he was convinced that he was equal to the command of a regiment and modestly applied for one. In time he was assigned to the school-boy task of ruling plain sheets of paper. At last some one was reckless enough to make the linear expert, who drew a *per diem* of \$2, a sort of mustering officer. Among the Illinois volunteers was an unmanageable regiment of which few sought the colonelcy. Some one blundered into giving Grant a trial. Thus necessity determined his selection. It did not seem important to any one to gain the services of a graduate of West Point who had had eleven years' experience in the regular army, two of them in bloody warfare. Even Congressman Washburn and Governor Yates, always his loyal friends, did not adequately appreciate the Galena store clerk. However, in his skillful hands the boisterous regiment soon became meek enough. The little tasks assigned him were promptly and satisfactorily performed. Then came Belmont, a small affair to be sure, but large enough to discover a man.

As he had modestly applied for a regiment, so now he diffidently asked of Halleck permission to win a victory. But "Old Brains," as the soldiers called the commander in the West, refused his unmilitary looking subordinate. To Grant's petition were added the entreaties of Commodore Foote. When finally permission was wrung from Halleck, Fort Henry fell, and Donelson soon followed. Then that unenterprising commander promptly claimed both victories as his own and impudently named his reward. Willing enough to recommend for advancement the juniors of Grant, for him there were no commendations, no rewards. Halleck never approved any project of Grant, nor did Frémont during his brief incumbency. The movements in the Vicksburg campaign, planned solely by Grant, were too far advanced for Halleck to countermand. Small armies were rapidly dispersed and on July 4, 1863, a large one was captured. Had the long expected leader arrived? The people of the North

and their great President were sure that he had, but the War Department was still to be convinced, and fully convinced it never was till Appomattox came.

Grant had hardly begun to be known when slanderous tongues and libelous pens attempted to ruin his reputation. Character he had none, at least so far as we can gather from their opinions. Yet if they had examined the annals of the Mexican War, they would have found in the career of Lieut. Grant proofs of sense and heroism. This evidence they did not want, for it would have strangely altered the countenance of the Ulysses Grant of whom they had drawn caricatures for their friends.

Our notice of *The True Ulysses S. Grant*, which appears in this number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, emphasizes other phases in the career of the renowned Union leader. The reader who desires to know Gen. Grant in clear outline must examine the pages of Prof. Edmonds. If one might hazard a single criticism it is that the author has in a few instances, doubtless out of the abundance of his knowledge, written of military affairs with a slight excess of detail. If these sections had been a little subordinated, perhaps the personality of Grant would have gained in grandeur.

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**The True Ulysses S. Grant.** By Charles King, Brigadier General, U. S. V.: Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914. Pp. 400.

Those who have travelled the broad expanse of literature on the War for Southern Independence will find upon an examination of this handy volume, that there were on the landscape interesting objects that they had not seen. Many of his countrymen best remember Gen. Grant as a President who showed little sagacity in his exercise of the appointing power; others have been chiefly impressed by his Virginia campaigns with their staggering casualties; still others think of him as the fortunate soldier whose superiors or subordinates won for him an almost unbroken succession of victories in the West. Not a few older Americans think of his career on the Coast, of the hard drinking Captain forced to quit the service for the army's good. The people of Galena remembered the older brother who, unregarded, toiled for his juniors in their country store or, perhaps,

of the diffident officer who was unable to harangue a public meeting. In Illinois and in other parts of the West were a few who had heard of a pedestrian quartermaster who had served beyond the Rio Grande.

Have we not read in school books, in magazines, in memoirs and other military narratives that the great leader of the Union armies was sluggish and taciturn, that he was often dull from strong drink, that without emotion he suffered his men by thousands and by tens of thousands to be slaughtered? On all these questions and many besides Gen. King has thrown a strong and steady light. His is not a partisan biography but a book temperately written by one who appears to be as truthful as the subject of his theme.

Of all the thousands who served in the aggressive war against Mexico none surpassed, and few were those who equalled Lieut. Grant in courage. That had been tried from Palo Alto. As quartermaster he might have avoided the fierce encounter at Monterey, but he preferred the rapture of the strife. When perils were gathering near, it was Ulysses Grant, perhaps the best horseman in either the present war or in that to follow, who mounted, dashed through the deadly hail, and spurred back with sorely needed ammunition. Quiet, indeed, he was, and, for the world in which he lived, excessively modest, but his serenity and silence were unmingled with fear.

Those who were convinced that Grant was neither indolent nor intemperate, saw him in fancy gird about him, at Spottsylvania his butcher's apron. Yet when disaster impended over Petersburg, and Lee's devoted little band, in an effort to escape, surged across the bridges, Grant refused to give the order that would have brought death to multitudes. In speaking of this incident he said: "I could not bear to kill, when it seemed so certain that in a day or two we could easily capture." Yet for this moderation the great leader has seldom been praised. In perfect harmony with this humanity was the chivalrous scene at Appomattox, not the issue of rations on a hint from Lee, for *that* might proceed from a generosity which was natural, but the command that hushed the voice of victory and forbade any exulting over a dauntless though vanquished foe.

If patience, industry, modesty, truth, purity, and bravery

deserve a reward, Gen. Grant, who possessed all these virtues and others besides, should have been the happiest person in the land. Yet to him was given but little sunshine. Posterity may forget that for a very brief period he drank a little, but it should not forget that though aware of their hostility he endeavored to serve McClellan, by whom he was injured, and Buell, by whom he was disparaged.

From the boyhood years of Ulysses Simpson Grant to the moment that he had found himself a ruined banker, Gen. King has given us an animated account of one of the most remarkable characters in all American history. One does not care to see the great soldier oppressed with care and conquered by disease, and this the author suggests rather than portrays.

The only thing to criticise about this splendid biography is its title, *The True Ulysses S. Grant*. The implication one does not fully approve, but one should remember that, in the works of a series like the present, the apparent necessities of commerce fashioned the title. If any of the volumes deserves to be styled "The True," it is that from the pen of Gen. King.

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**Kit Carson Days (1809-1868).** By Edwin L. Sabin: Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1914. Pp. 664.

In various ways the era and the principal character of this book have been introduced to readers of American history. Nevertheless, not a little that is new has been included in the present treatment of this familiar hero. Christopher Carson was descended from certain warrior Carsons of the Revolution. Whether all Irish Presbyterians deserve the praise universally bestowed upon the "sturdy Scotch-Irish stock" is not certain, but there is no doubt that the Carsons were entitled to it. Born in 1809, much of his youth was passed at a stockade garrison in Missouri. He appears never to have gone to school, and at the age of fifteen, was apprenticed to a saddler from whom he escaped after a year of unattractive toil. Following a caravan on the Santa Fé trail, he then gained his first impressions of Mexicans and Indians.

With Ewing Young, Kit Carson made the perilous journey to California, when he learned to hunt, to trap, and fight Indians, occupations in which he was destined to pass many of his early

years. He soon developed a courage that was hereditary, likewise prudence and integrity. The knowledge then acquired of trappers and trails and Indians was subsequently of the greatest advantage. Afterward, in the north he met Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and the Sublettes. In this part of his career he was involved in the thick of the fight for furs.

The adventures recorded by Mr. Sabin mention the missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, and the missions of that epoch. These spiritual heroes were often possessed of as much courage as the boldest of the trappers.

At a later stage Carson accompanied Frémont, when that officer made his *quasi* military reconnaissance of California, then a part of the Republic of Mexico.

In the seminaries mentioned Carson acquired that knowledge which qualified him for both the civil and military service of his country. For his peculiar talents the Civil War furnished a fine field. In time he became Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, a proof of the remarkable natural ability of one who had never been instructed in even the elements of education.

The trappers and the missionaries are briefly introduced to the reader. The text is confirmed by many appropriate illustrations. A more vivid picture of Carson would have been drawn if some of the details concerning matters hardly related to the hero had been reduced in bulk or altogether omitted. However, Mr. Sabin has done the work in his own way and has succeeded in preparing an entertaining and instructive book. Perhaps the subject of this volume is the phase of American history least understood by students of our national development. It is not, however, the aspect which is of least importance.

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**Robert Fulton.** By Alice Crary Sutcliffe: New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 195.

This little book, by the pen of the inventor's great-granddaughter, is a delightful specimen of biography. Though intended for the instruction and entertainment of boys and girls, persons of mature years can be assured of a pleasant evening in its perusal. There is here no multitude of details to conceal the great benefactor of the human race. This plain unwrinkled tale reveals a child

of great mental activity, an affectionate and industrious youth, a young man of splendid character and splendid achievement, for Robert Fulton died at fifty.

In America the story of the *Clermont* is familiar to young and old. While the name of the famous inventor is a household word, it is greatly to be feared that the principal events of his beautiful life are not so familiar as they deserve to be.

From this little volume the reader will learn that Fulton did not first design a boat and then build one. Patiently he fashioned models. With them he experimented and on the results based his calculations. On the double foundation of character and industry he toiled on through the troublous years of the Revolution in France, experimenting on the Seine, at one time on his steamboat, at another on his torpedo. Now endeavoring to win the favor of Washington, now laboring to interest Napoleon, and again appealing to Pitt. Cautious commendation he gained from each, but for ultimate success he himself deserves all the praise. This estimate does not overlook the friendship of Franklin, of West, of Barlow, of Livingston and others, all of which is concisely told in this valuable biography.

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**The Life of John Hay.** By William Roscoe Thayer. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. Two volumes.

The checkered career of John Hay—Secretary to President Lincoln, diplomatic *attaché* in three European capitals, journalist, editor, author, poet, ambassador to England, and Secretary of State—is one to provoke interest not only as a personal biography, but as an insight into the inner political history of the last half-century.

The man of letters is prominent in John Hay from the first. A racy freshness of phrase, not always as disciplined as it might be, runs through everything he ever wrote. And with it a raciness of judgment on things military, political, and religious, which suffers from the same lack of disciplining and restraint. Perhaps his impressionistic nature was his greatest virtue and most conspicuous defect—invaluable as a literary asset, it betrayed him into partisan views that did not always have about them that *largueur d'esprit* expected of a man to whom experience came in



such unstinted measure and variety as they did to him; and not only experiences, but posts of honor and of power. His judgments of men, movements, and events, were very often accompanied by so fine a feeling of scorn that one sees the observer more than the observed. He shared views concerning Gen. McClellan that lost none of their bitterness in the perspective of the years. His confidently expressed judgment that Lee's left could have been doubled up after Gettysburg, and driven down on Williamsport, or that an attack in three columns would have succeeded, is another example of his impressionism, and of the severe judgments based upon it.

His "Castilian Days," written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1870, and revised for republication in 1890, contained in their first form "much that might be advantageously modified or omitted," as Hay himself said in the preface to the second edition (I, 365). The reviewer was, therefore, surprised to find the editor of the Life of John Hay, going out of his way deliberately to indicate the strictures passed on the Catholic Church, in "Castilian Days." He justifies them on the grounds that they were "unsectarian"—the utterances of an "ethical naturalist." As if ethical naturalism was not in itself the worst of religious prejudices, affording its devotee the occasion to criticize all forms of religion that had more than *his* modicum of belief to express. It is a naive defense, out of place in volumes such as these. The question of "Castilian Days" was agitated at the end of the Presidential campaign in 1904. As Col. Hay himself put it (I, 367), the extracts showed "that twenty-five years ago I had whacked with the freedom and irresponsibility of youth the Spanish Catholic Church from Torquemada to Padre Claret." In view of this utterance, the author's apology is doubly without warrant. The reviewer must confess to a painful surprise also in reading Hay's creed as an historian (II, 30). Speaking of Gen. McClellan he says: "It is of the utmost importance that we should *seem* fair to him, while we are destroying him." One does not recover from a phrase like that, and the impression that it leaves is damaging.

The great personality of Lincoln stands out in glorious relief from all his chattering *entourage*, and this is one of the fine effects of the first volume. In fact, the scenes and personages change

so quickly on almost every page of these two volumes that they are a delight to read, notwithstanding the fact that John Hay and his biographer sometimes obtrude themselves too prominently and obscure the vision. The tangled months of diplomacy which so wore down the health of Col. Hay—never very robust—during his occupancy of the office of Secretary of State, are well told. There is not an uninteresting page in either volume, and much to be learned in every chapter. The index is the fullest and most helpful one we have seen in a long time. Col. Hay, to use his own words, “had his chance at happiness and gained nearly all the great prizes.”

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**Personal Experiences Among Our North American Indians.**

By W. Thornton Parker, M.D. Northampton, Mass., 1913.  
8vo, 232 pages.

Dr. Parker is a competent authority on the life and customs of the Indians who roamed over our western plains a generation ago. In 1867 he served as hospital steward in a company of U. S. cavalry detailed to escort a large caravan destined to an army post in New Mexico. In those days the country west of the Mississippi was still unsettled, the habitat of wild buffalo and of still wilder Indians, made hostile through the steady encroachments of the white man. For nearly twenty years he served in those uncultivated regions as surgeon among U. S. troops and afterwards on Indian reservations. From long and intimate experience with several Indian tribes, especially the Chippewas, many of whose braves became his devoted friends, he acquired a thorough familiarity with their character, customs and mode of life in times both of peace and of war.

His reminiscences, embodied in the volume under review, cover a wider field than that implied in the title; for while the bulk of the work is given to his interesting and valuable study of the Indians who formerly disputed with the pale faces the possession of the western plains, he has not a little to say about the mode of life and the deeds of valor of the fearless men, who in the service of the United States Government kept up communications with the far west, and were constantly engaged in putting down marauding expeditions of hostile Indian tribes.

The twenty-nine chapters which go to make up this interesting work consist largely of essays and papers which the author composed at different times, and which he has now gathered together in book form. Several of these bear on the same subjects, with the result that there is considerable repetition in the stories and descriptions which he gives of the past. With judicial pruning, perhaps one-fourth of the contents might have been omitted, without detriment and with decided improvement in point of unity.

Among the more interesting subjects treated are the various kinds of Indian arrows, and the skill of the natives in extracting arrow-heads embedded in the flesh, hygiene among the Indians, their marriage customs and treatment of women and children, their burial customs, and their deep sense of religion. He laments the unfair treatment of the Indians by the white settlers, and the neglect of our Government to protect them in their rights. Far from sharing the view so common in the west in former days that the only good Indian was the dead Indian, he has words of praise for their natural nobility of character. They were, indeed, vindictive and cruel towards their enemies, but kind, loyal and generous to those whom they came to recognize as friends. To quote but one tribute of respect from the author (p. 81): "They are fearless, vigorous, manly. The Indian's ideas of right and wrong are of such a character as to rouse our respect and surprise. To live among them is certain to develop mutual regard; and, in my high opinion of their general worth, I have but echoed the sentiments of the manliest and truest people it has been my privilege to meet."

## NOTES AND COMMENT

Can anyone ever estimate all that the Catholic Church in America, through its numerous bishops and priests, who were educated at Rome, owes to the ecclesiastical Colleges, Academies and Universities of the Eternal City? Rome has always been the mistress of ecclesiastical science; and her educational institutions, particularly the College of Propaganda, have been furnishing for almost three centuries priests and missionaries to the New World. All our beginnings, however shadowy, are our best treasures; and so it was with real delight we came across a sermon in Latin on the *Coming of the Holy Ghost*, preached by Felix Dougherty, of Philadelphia, before Pius VI, in the Sistine Chapel, on Pentecost Sunday, 1796. At first we thought some mistake must have been made; but on investigation we found that a Felix Dougherty had been baptized at old St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, in 1774. This would place him in his twenty-second year when he was given the honor of preaching in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals that day. It seemed right to conclude that he was the first American student sent to Rome. The convert Congregationalist minister, Rev. John Thayer, was received into the Church at Rome in 1783; but he made his studies in Paris.

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The data gathered thus far was too meagre to state with any degree of accuracy who Felix Dougherty was or what became of him, for there is no record in any of our *Clergy Lists* of a priest of his name. Letters of inquiry sent out to three of our best-known Catholic historians of the present day yielded the information only that the name had been met with in Archbishop Carroll's letters where the remark occurs that Felix had never been ordained. One clue presented itself in the Decree of June 9, 1784, appointing Carroll Prefect Apostolic of the United States. There, Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, informed Carroll that Propaganda invited him to send two boys (from Maryland and Pennsylvania) to Rome to be educated free. They were to be between 12 and 15 years of age, with promising talents and a good constitution.

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The problem now was to ascertain whether Carroll accepted this invitation. We were fortunate enough to find several documents in the *Propaganda Archives* in Rome which threw some further light on the question. In a letter dated: "Maryland, July 28, 1787," Father Carroll, then Prefect-Apostolic, wrote to the Papal Nuncio in Paris, announcing the fact that he had chosen two boys—one, Ralph Smith, 14 years old, of Maryland; the other, Felix Dougherty, 13 years old, of Pennsylvania. "Both of them," says Carroll, "are bright boys, especially the latter." They sailed from Philadelphia on a boat bound for Bordeaux, the captain of which was a Catholic. Their parents paid the expenses of the voyage. Two months later, October, 1787, they landed at Bordeaux, and were received by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who made arrangements for them to go by stage to Marseilles. This overland journey took fifteen days at that

time, and the boys were given twelve louis to pay their way. When they arrived in Marseilles, they were taken care of by Mr. I. Billon, a merchant, who bought their passage by boat to Civitavecchia, whence they proceeded to Rome.

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From this time, the two boys are lost sight of completely in the *Propaganda Archives*, though no doubt the *Urban College Archives*, where they studied, would furnish information about their progress. We meet again with one of them, Felix Dougherty, when this sermon was printed at Rome, in 1796. Another document in *Propaganda Archives*—a *Relation* of himself by Dougherty, dated "Baltimore, Espiscopal Seminary [St. Mary's]," tells us that he left the Urban College and returned to Baltimore in 1797, *per cagione della mia debole salute*. He says that he intended going to Georgetown to teach the classics; but there is no record of his ever being at that venerable institution. The *Archives* of St. Mary's Seminary say he left in 1798. After that there is no record of him. It is probable that he never received sacred orders. It was not necessary to be ordained even to the sub-diaconate in order to preach before the Holy Father.

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Finotti's copy of Carroll's *Discourse on General Washington* contained an autograph letter of the Archbishop (November 25, 1806) to Felix Dougherty, Esq., at his office, East Street, Baltimore. Whoever owns this particular volume of Finotti's library might be able to solve the question of what became of him. We have written to the present Rector of the Urban College (*Propaganda*) for facts of importance on Dougherty's student days there (1787-1797).

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"It is a great pity," says the author of *The Enemies of Books*, "that there should be so many distinct enemies at work for the destruction of literature, and that they should so often be allowed to work out their sad end. Looked at rightly, the possession of any old book is a sacred trust, which a conscientious owner or guardian would as soon think of ignoring as a parent would of neglecting his child. An old book, whatever its subject or internal merits, is truly a portion of the national history." How many books on our national Catholic history have been destroyed by one or the other of these "Enemies" he mentions—Fire, Water, Gas and Heat, Dust and Neglect, Ignorance and Bigotry, Book-worms, Other Vermin, Bookbinders, Collectors, Servants and Children? There should be at least one great central storehouse, a *National Catholic Library* somewhere in the United States, preferably at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., where, owing to the help and to the presence of the National Library of Congress, the student could find easily and with dispatch all that has been published so far on American Catholic history.

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Among the rare Catholic Americana sold recently (The Arthur H. Clark Co., Publishers, Cleveland, Ohio) was the *Breve Relazione d'alcune Missioni della Compagnia di Gesu nella Nuova Francia*, published by Father Bressani at Macerati, 1653. It was a first edition and brought \$135.

Exactly one hundred and twenty-one years ago—on March 18, 1795, the young Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, received all the sacred orders from tonsure to the priesthood at Baltimore. He was the first to be so honored within the limits of the Thirteen Original States, and there will ever be around his life an unusual attraction for the Catholic historical student, especially from Pennsylvania. We have already several excellent biographies of the Prince-Priest Gallitzin, and it is surprising that, with these studies at our command, mistakes should still creep into biographical sketches of this eminent missionary and scholar. In an excellent critique, the Editor of *Die Amerika* of St. Louis, in the issue of February 18, 1916, very justly calls attention to another of these blunders—the nationality of Gallitzin's mother—Countess Amalie von Schmettau, who was not—as has been so often claimed, and has been erroneously stated in this REVIEW—a Russian, but was the daughter of the celebrated Prussian Field-Marshal Count von Schmettau, and was born at Berlin, in 1748. The mother's remarkable career, as the Editor of *Amerika* says, has never been fully described in the biographies of Gallitzin. All that we know of this saintly man, who chose to hide his princely birth under the name of *Father Augustine Smith*, speaks to us of his mother. His saintly life, his talents, his deep humility, his forty-one years of devotion amid the hardships of the missions in the Alleghanies came from the Catholic heart of his German mother, whose influence over the future missionary's life was at all times paramount. Some day, perhaps, we shall be speaking of Father Gallitzin as the model of the American Priesthood, just as they have taken priests like Vianney and Kolping out from the midst of the clergy of other lands and have placed them on high for all to see and to imitate.

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Among the many valuable possessions of the Daughters of Charity (Mother Seton), in that fascinating centre of Catholic historic associations, Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio (Cincinnati), there is a gold chalice, 9 inches high, with a cup 3 inches in diameter, a base  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches across, and a paten about 5 inches broad. On the base of this chalice are inscribed the words: *pro residentia fratri minorum de Munter oluis, 1644*. The leading authorities on Franciscan lore in this country have been consulted as to the whereabouts of *Munter oluis*, but no satisfactory explanation has as yet been given.

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At Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, in a fireproof safe are preserved the valuable *Archives of the Sisters of Charity*. This vault has earned its title "fire-proof" by passing through the conflagration which robbed the Community (April 16, 1884) of its new Mother House which had been occupied just one year. The *Archives* are in a room 9 feet high, 10 feet long and 7 feet deep. They are fitted with black walnut cases and cupboards from floor to ceiling. Here are treasured the *Journals* of Mother Seton (1803), and of Mother Margaret George, other *Diaries* of note, and letters of the hierarchy and clergy from Archbishop Carroll's time until the present. In an adjoining room are cases filled with old volumes done in the *scriptoria* of the monks, books from the earliest days of printing and

later. A complete set of the *Catholic Directory* (1833-1915), files of the *Catholic Telegraph* (1831-1915) of the *Catholic Magazine*, *Catholic Miscellany*, etc., etc., and many of the early books published in the United States are found here. The complete catalogue reveals the presence of many rare books, some not easily duplicated, especially those relating to Emmitsburg and to the Church history of Ohio and the Northwest Territory.

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The history of the Diocese of Cincinnati is traced on the walls of the *Bishop's Room* at Mount St. Joseph, in the life-sized portraits of the four great men who have occupied the episcopal See of Cincinnati from 1821 to 1916—Bishop Fenwick, Archbishops Purcell, Elder and Moeller. The portraits are the work of Sister Ernestine, teacher of art at the Academy and a pupil of Prof. Duveneck, who was recently honored at the Panama Exposition. Among the many valuable original paintings in the Art Gallery are pictures by Guido Reni, Titian, Sassoferrato, Carlo Dolci, Carracci, Van Dyck, Murillo, Domenichino, Rubens, da Vinci, Raphael, Joshua Reynolds, and Correggio.

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In the Second Provincial Council of Quito (1870), the Bishops and Priests of Ecuador expressed the desire to have published a Collection of the Ecclesiastical Privileges of America. The eminent Jesuit, Father Francis Xavier Hernaes, began the work which later blossomed out into a complete collection in two volumes of all the ordinances emanating from the Holy See from the days of the Discovery in favor of the Church in the Western Hemisphere, under the title: *Coleccion de Bulas, Breves y otros Documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipinas, dispuesta, anotada et ilustrada* (Brussels, 1879). These classic folios are divided into seven parts:

- I. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Spanish Kings and of the Colonial Churches.*
- II. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Bishops of America.*
- III. *The Ecclesiastical Privileges of the Religious Orders.*
- IV. *The Privileges common to all the faithful; and certain customs of America.*
- V. *The Establishment of Episcopal Sees in America.*
  1. The West Indies.
  2. North America.
  3. Central America.
  4. South America.
  5. Philippine Islands.
- VI. *Various decrees and laws affecting the Church of America; erection of Universities (San Domingo, Lima, Mexico, Sante Fe de Bogota, Characas, Quito, Manila, and Guatemala); and liturgical rites and canonizations;*
- VII. *The Church in Brasil and in the United States, the latter part of which contains all the original bulls, briefs, constitutions and decrees sent from Rome to the United States from 1789 down to 1871.*

It is evident that this monumental work is an indispensable *Regesta* in the compilation of a *Chartularium Americanum*. This important collection of all the bulls, briefs, constitutions, *motu proprio*s, letters, etc., etc., from the Holy See to the Church in the United States is not a luxury but a necessary adjunct of the historical apparatus we need before Catholic American historical work can be placed on a scholarly basis. For the purpose of convenience, all official relations between the Holy See and the Church in America can be considered in three grand divisions: the *Papacy*; the *Roman Curia* (the Roman Congregations, the Sacred Tribunals, and Curial Offices); and the *Extra-Curial Offices*, such as nunciatures and legations in the United States. The printed collections of these sources which exist—the *Bullarium Romanum*, the *Bullarium S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, the *Collectanea de S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, etc., etc., are all of elemental value in such a compilation, but no one of them can be called a complete or scholarly publication. They will have to be used with care. As far as possible, the *Chartularium Americanum* ought to be compiled at Rome. This is, indeed, a work worthy of the grandeur of the Catholic Church and of the Hierarchy of the United States. The establishment of an American Catholic Historical Institute at Rome, with the same scientific programme as other countries, and with sufficient endowment to support young priests sent there to create this *magnum opus*, would be indeed a most desirable addition to Catholic historical research-work.

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Through the kindness of Prof. William MacDonald, of Brown University, the American Church History Seminar Library has been enriched with the two following volumes: Bronson, *History of Brown University* (1764–1914); and the *Historical Catalogue of Brown University* (1764–1914), Providence, 1914. Both these volumes were written to commemorate the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Brown University. It is a wonderful record of the achievements of this old and revered institution. Founded as it was by the Baptists of America upon a basis of religious freedom and liberty of conscience, it has never changed, and “it has had from the first, a powerful influence for good in church and state and home, within its own community and in distant parts.”

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Among the *historica* of note in the Catholic press recently, are: *Rev. Augustine Tolton* (the first colored priest of the United States) in the *Western Catholic* (Quincy, Ill.) for January 28, 1916; *The True Story of Father Pierre Gibault* (the Patriot-Priest of the West), in the *Indiana Catholic and Record* (Indianapolis, Ind.) for January 14, 1916; and the column *Notanda* with its thousand historical notes, written week after week, in the *Record* (Louisville, Ky.), by its venerable Editor, Rev. Louis J. Deppen.



The New Year could have ushered in no worthier field of study than that chosen by the Editors of the *Journal of Negro History* (Washington, D. C.). We welcome this quarterly publication (one dollar a year) and presage for it a great success in the present as well as in the future.

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As an example of the artistic work done by South American publishing houses and as a valuable contribution to National Bibliographies, the attention of our readers is called to the *Bibliografía Venezolanista*, by Dr. Manuel S. Sanchez (Caracas, 1914). Exception might be taken to the alphabetical method followed by Dr. Sanchez. The two classic models for this kind of historic work (Monod, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1888; and Pirenne, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique*, Brussels, 1902) have followed a combination of the logical with the chronological method of arranging the books in order. This is undoubtedly a better way, though it too has its defects. To this important work ought to be added Macmillan's handy publication—*A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the Republics commonly called Latin America*, by Peter H. Goldsmith, New York, 1915, pp. 107.

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To create Catholic instincts of love and veneration for the religious past of our country is an ideal any scholar or group of scholars might well consider fitting for a life-work. We are responsible to future generations for the preservation of the documents of the present and the documents which have been bequeathed to us from the past. The voice of history has been insistent for almost a half-century now—ever since Pope Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives (1883), and it tells us that there is a solemn duty upon us all, especially upon those of us who are in places of trust, both in Church and in Government, to conserve faithfully and religiously whatever relics of the past we may possess. The Catholic Church in the United States, with its excellent organization in all intellectual matters, has a duty to the country at large to preserve these treasures of the past and the present, for out of them in years to come her history will be constructed. The Church in the United States is not an organization having no part in the different activities of the nation. It is part of the nation; it grows with the nation's growth, and it exists for the nation's good; and where others fail in their duty, the leaders of the Church cannot fail in theirs, for the impetus in all higher things comes best when it comes from above. Every Diocese ought to have its own Diocesan Historical Society. It need not be composed of many members. It need not have a permanent home. Dues are not always necessary, and it is not always prudent to institute a *Bulletin de l'oeuvre* to advertise the work done. But what is necessary is the centralization of the archives of the diocese in one place—preferably (until a fire-proof structure can be built), in the vaults of a local bank. Influence could be brought to bear upon all who possess old documents—whether families, communities, or parishes—to allow their manuscripts to be photographed and mounted on cards for

future research-workers. We shall soon publish an article on the *Methods of Organizing Diocesan Historical Societies*, by Waldo G. Leland, Esq., Secretary of the *American Historical Association*. It will be, we hope, some incentive to reviving historical interest in Catholic affairs. Many will say that the time for such organized effort has not yet come, that we are not yet old enough, but the Church in Caesarea was just as old as our Church here in America today, when Eusebius began to write his *Ecclesiastical History*; and our present situation can easily be read into those pathetic pages of his first chapter wherein he speaks of the lamentable neglect of documentary evidence up to his time—"We are totally unable to find even the bare vestiges of those who may have traveled the way before us."

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Recently the following brochures have been sent to the Seminar Library: *St. Patrick's Indian Mission of Anadarko, Okla.*, by Urban de Hasque; *The Catholic Colony of San Antonio, in the Highlands of Pasco Co., Fla.*; the *Souvenir of the Golden Anniversary of the Order of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate* (Joliet, Ill., 1915); *Jean Nicolet* (Lansing, 1915); an admirably well-written history, the *Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church* (1840-1915), *Fort Madison, Iowa*, by the present pastor, the Rev. Arthur J. Zaiser (Fort Madison, 1915); the *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research* (Carnegie Institution of Washington); the *Installation and Investiture of Archbishop Prendergast*, Philadelphia, 1912; *The Golden Jubilee of the Priesthood of the Most Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, D.D., and the Dedication of the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Philadelphia*, 1915; *John Tyler*, by Armistead C. Gordon, Richmond, 1915; and the *Roman Catholic High School, Twenty-fifth Anniversary Volume*. Philadelphia, 1915.

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We are indebted to the Very Reverend Chancellor of Oklahoma Diocese, Urban de Hasque, D.D., for a complete set of *The Orphans' Record*—the historical organ of the Diocese.

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It would be difficult to sum up in a paragraph the scope and variety of the historical articles which have appeared in the fifty volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Review* (1889-1914), an elaborate *Index* of which has been recently published. Its columns sparkle with historic questions, all treated with that clarity and surety of touch which has been the keynote of the *Ecclesiastical Review* since its creation. *That the Church may receive edification* (I Cor. xiv-5) has been its motto; and the venerable heart and mind which conceived the *Review* and carried it to its present preëminence in Catholic literary and ecclesiastic circles may well feel that his long and arduous labours, during which time he was often single-handed in the work, have given to the Church in the United States a renown equalled by few other editors.

It is seldom one can expect accurate historical work in the newspapers, but an exception to the general class of historical articles is that on *Catholics in Colorado in 1542*, by the Rev. Aloysius Brucker, S.J., which appeared in the *Denver Catholic Register*. "It is high time," says Father Brucker, "that we should establish a *Catholic Historical Society of Colorado*, to collect *ne pereant* all the documents of the glorious history of the State—the right way to prove the claims of our pioneer heroes to immortality. And why not combine it with a *Catholic Pioneer Society*, which would be the proper conservatory of the pioneer annals? A generation that cherishes no respect for the past has no prospect for the future."

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Prof. Asa Earl Martin has contributed a scholarly study of the *Anti-Slavery Societies of Tennessee* (*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. i (1915, pp. 261-282), which deserves the attention of those interested in this subject.

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The department devoted to *The Catholic Press* in *St. Angela's Quarterly* (January, 1916) of the College of New Rochelle, N. Y., could be of even greater service to its readers if organized upon a logical *schematismus*, covering every phase of American Catholic literary activity, on the model of *Les Chroniques de la Presse* of Paris.

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What is the Yakima Columbian Association of Washington State—a Catholic historical organization, "the headquarters and officers of which," the writer in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (January, 1916, p. 50) "has been unable to ascertain"?

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From the inception of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the editors have received letters from ecclesiastics, teachers, and religious, asking for bibliographical data on numerous subjects of American Church History. We are asked to give lists of the best Catholic histories to be recommended to the public libraries; to give the names of *Catholic Historical Readers* which can be suggested to public-school teachers for their class work; to give lists of the best apologetical works for use in answering attacks on mooted questions in history—all this shows the growing necessity of an Informational Bureau on all these subjects. What we need is an American München-Gladbach, where all these questions could be sent for answer. The *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, which has been begun in this REVIEW, is a work of slow compilation. Meanwhile some directions ought to be given for bibliographical research on ecclesiastical history topics. We would recommend first of all a generous use of the *Reading Lists* of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The best manual of general bibliography is that by Henri Stein, *Manuel de Bibliographie Générale* (Paris, 1897, pp. 895). There the research-worker will find a logical

classification of books on every science and art, for all countries and creeds. For the historical student, there is the *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique*, by Langlois (Paris, 1901-04, pp. 621). Lists of catalogues, libraries, national bibliographies, original sources and works on every conceivable aspect of history, with a thorough study of the science and history of historical writing, will be found in this excellent volume. For the student of ecclesiastical history, the following guide-books on source-materials may be recommended:—Moreau-Raty, *La Bibliothèque du Professeur* (Brussels, 1911); Benigni, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae propaedeutica* (Rome, 1902); Fisher, *A Select Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History* (Boston, 1895); McGlothlin, *A Guide to the Study of Church History* (Louisville, 1908); Collins, *The Study of Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1908)—probably the best Manual in English on the subject, though written from a definitely Anglican standpoint; and the classic work on the subject: Charles De Smedt, S.J., *Introductio Generalis ad Historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam* (Louvain, 1876). With these volumes on this shelves, the Church historical student will have sufficient guidance for all historical problems. Later publications can be seen in Kirsch's article *History* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. vii, pp. 265-380).

In this respect, it is only just to admit that the books we possess on priestly studies have not been written with the intention of furnishing an exhaustive bibliography of ecclesiastical works. For this reason, the following volumes are more suggestive of topics of study than as guides for research-work: Hogan, *Clerical Studies* (Boston, 1898); Scannell, *The Priest's Studies* (London, 1908); and O'Donnell, *The Priest of today, his Ideals and his Duties* (New York, 1910). The best directive manual is Heimbucher, *Bibliothek des Priesters* (Regensburg, 1903, fifth edition). Dr. Heimbucher's Introduction on the Priest's Library deserves to be made known to priests and seminarists in general. He gives fourteen rules about the Priest's Library which he explains and amplifies. The last one is a very important rule for American priests—*have your will drawn up in time*, so that your books will not be scattered nor fall into the hands of lay-people who are not prepared for them and who have not the priestly attitude of reverence for books.—“Wie manche Notizen, Zettel, Briefe mit diskretem Inhalt finden sich oft in den versteigerten Büchern!” (p. 8). Dr. Heimbucher divides his volume into three Parts: 1. *Catholic Encyclopedias and Periodicals*; 2. *Profane Literature*; and 3. *Theological Literature*—the largest section being assigned to Church History. The book forms not only an excellent model on which to organize a Priest's Library, but also an invaluable manual of direction in the purchase of books.

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The Seventh Centenary of the Dominican Order (1216-1916) has been ushered in by the American members of this illustrious Community with a volume *Dominicana*, in which the present-day novices show how deeply they have fallen under the exquisite inspiration of the past 700 years. We are pleased to notice that *Dominicana* is to be continued as a Quarterly publication.

Lovers of John Bannister Tabb will welcome with delight the sympathetic and restrained *Life*, which has recently been issued by "M. S. Pine." Only one in whose heart there has been for years a sacred consecration to the higher and lovelier things of God and of nature could have penned this exquisite story so full of fragrance of the real rich Catholic sort.

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The Fourteenth Volume of the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* (1914-1915) is truly a remarkably fine production of Irish scholarship. Its closely printed 350 pages are devoted for the most part to research work on Irish Pioneers in the different States of the Original Thirteen. The writer of the biographical sketch on the *Right Rev. John England* has left untouched, however, one of the most remarkable events in England's life—namely, his Apostolic Nunciature to the Island of Haiti. Dr. John G. Coyle, one of the indefatigable research-workers of the *American Irish Historical Society*, contributes a valuable paper on *American Irish Governors of Pennsylvania*. The most noteworthy contribution to this volume is the article on *Immigration, Land, Probate, Administration, Baptismal, Marriage, Burial, Trade, Military and other Records of the Irish in America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, by the Historiographer of the Society, Michael J. O'Brien, Esq. The historical material Mr. O'Brien has collected will be all of first-hand value to the future historians of the Irish race in America. Here is a beginning for those who are interested in the much-discussed *Leakage Problem* of the Church in the United States.

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It has been our good fortune to have under our eyes for some months past the first ten volumes of that scholarly Catholic journal, the *Fortnightly Review*. Our purpose has been to go through its pages from the beginning in order to card-index all the articles found therein on subjects cognate to American Catholic history. And our surprise was no small one. We found that practically every page from the beginning needed indexing, if we were not to miss any historical material the *Fortnightly Review* contained. The list of cards now in the fast-growing *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* of the *Seminar Library*, will thus, many of them, contain the germ of special studies on the part of the members of the *American Church History Seminar*. There have been many words of praise for the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW from every section of the United States, but the word of encouragement which has followed us issue after issue from the Editor of the *Fortnightly Review* has been the most acceptable of all. Few scholars in the field of Catholic journalism and literary work are better equipped to judge the spirit and the value of our work than Dr. Arthur Preuss, the son of that noted Catholic German scholar and patriot, Dr. Edward Preuss, the Editor of *Die Amerika* from 1878 to 1902.

Two volumes ought to be reprinted this year by some enterprising Catholic editor as century landmarks in the history of Catholic literature in the country: *The Catholic Laity's Directory to the Church Service, with an Almanac for the year 1817*, published by M. Field (New York, 1817, pp. 68), and Rev. Anthony J. Kohlman's *Centurial Jubilee, to be celebrated by all the Reformed Churches, throughout the United States, on the thirty-first of October next, in commemoration of the Reformation—which was so happily commenced by Dr. Martin Luther on the thirty-first of October, Anno 1517. Respectfully dedicated to the Lutheran Synods of New York, Pennsylvania, and the adjoining States, which have passed resolves at their late sessions, recommending the observance of the ever-memorable Thirty-first of August ensuing to the members of their respective congregations, of all which, notice is given in the Federal Gazette of Baltimore, on the Sixteenth of July. By a countryman of Martin Luther. Printed for the author. 1817.*

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### PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

#### I. Philology (*continued*)

The publication of such an extensive work as an American Catholic Bibliography from issue to issue in the pages of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW entails a sacrifice of many references to source-material, for the purpose of keeping a fixed proportion which would not be necessary in the freer space of a volume on the subject. Here we can only indicate the general sources with which such a study is to be pursued, and by giving a small number of examples demonstrate the value of the same. In the last issue of the REVIEW, we began the bibliography of philological materials for the study of the North American Indian tongues. The vast growth of this particular branch of American history precludes any serious attempt to chronicle even a proportionate part of what has already been done. Reference was made to the volumes published by the *Bureau of American Ethnology* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.). Its *Bulletins* contain the richest bibliographies of any on the subject. One of its notable publications is the *Handbook of American Indians, North of Mexico*, in two parts, edited by F. W. Hodge, Washington, D. C., 1912. This work contains in alphabetical order a descriptive list of the Indian stocks, confederacies, and tribal divisions, together with biographies of Indians of note, sketches of their history, their manners and customs, their institutions, and the aboriginal words which have been incorporated into the English language. At the end of each article, a list of source-references will be found. For example, under the name *Tekakwītha* (Part II, p. 725), the reader will find a succinct biography of the saintly Lily of the Mohawks. The following works, most of which can easily be bought second-hand nowadays, would constitute a good library for the Catholic student of the Indian Missions:

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We understand that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, of which the Very Rev. Wm. H. Ketcham is Director, has in view the publication of a complete Catholic bibliography of this important part of American history. It is to be regretted that we have no scientific publication issued under Catholic auspices to tell the story of what the Church has done from the beginning for the Indians and to arouse an interest among our young men to take up this important philological work. In the next issue of the REVIEW, we shall take up the second Auxiliary Science—the Study of *Technical Chronology.*

# The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME II

JULY, 1916

NUMBER 2

## EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

### IV. THE PROVINCE OF NEW ORLEANS

The religious history of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley may be traced back to the voyage of La Salle in 1681. The Recollect "Father Zenobius Membré bore him company and his account of the canoe voyage is preserved."<sup>2</sup> "The French government asked the Holy See to erect one or more Vicariates Apostolic in the Mississippi Valley and the hopes of a successful mission appeared to the Propaganda so well founded that the Vicariates were actually established. But when information of this step reached Bishop St. Vallier<sup>3</sup> at Quebec, he forwarded to Paris and Rome a strong protest against the dismemberment of his diocese, without his knowledge and consent. He claimed the valley of the Mississippi as having been discovered by Father Marquette, a priest of his diocese, and Louis Jolliet, a pupil of his Seminary. He claimed that Father Marquette had preached to the natives on that river and baptized Indians there twelve years before. Louis XIV referred the matter to three Commissioners, and on their report, he solicited from the Holy See a revocation of the Vicariates which had been established,"<sup>4</sup> about 1685.

The Bishops of Quebec continued to govern Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley until 1763. After the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was transferred to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, who sent as his Vicar the Capuchin Father Cyril de Barcelona. Father Cyril was, in 1781, conse-

<sup>1</sup> The Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy in the Provinces of Baltimore, Oregon City and St. Louis will be found in the January (1916) issue of this REVIEW (Vol. i, pp. 367-390).

<sup>2</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> The second Bishop of Quebec.

<sup>4</sup> SHEA, *ibid.*, p. 327.

crated titular Bishop of Tricala and made Auxiliary of Santiago, and New Orleans for the first time enjoyed the presence of a bishop. "In 1787 the Holy See, at the instance of the King of Spain, divided the diocese of Santiago de Cuba and erected the new bishopric of St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana and the Floridas. The Right Rev. Joseph de Trespalacios, Bishop of Porto Rico, became the first bishop of the new diocese, and Bishop Cyril remained as auxiliary.<sup>5</sup> In 1793, Bishop Cyril was very unceremoniously ordered to leave Louisiana by the King of Spain, who at the same time induced the Holy See to erect the new diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, April 25, 1793. This diocese was bounded on the North and East by that of Baltimore and on the South and West by Linares and Durango in Mexico.<sup>6</sup> The Right Rev. Louis Peñalver y Cardenas was appointed the first bishop and arrived in New Orleans, July 17, 1795. After his departure, in 1801, the diocese was administered by Vicars General until Archbishop Carroll, acting on a decree of the Holy See, dated October 1, 1805, assumed jurisdiction. As, however, this rescript was unsatisfactory, the Archbishop encountered many difficulties and asked for more definite and more ample authority. He sent the Rev. Louis Du Bourg as his representative to New Orleans, August 8, 1812. Father Du Bourg was later appointed Bishop of Louisiana and, after the cession of Florida, also assumed jurisdiction over that part of the Diocese, which had been hitherto a source of dispute. As we have seen in relating the history of St. Louis, after several changes, the diocese of Louisiana was divided into the Dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans, July 18, 1826.

The Diocese of New Orleans is described by the Second Provincial Council in 1833 as comprising the States of Louisiana and Mississippi. Mississippi was detached in 1837 to form the Diocese of Natchez, and by the erection of Natchitoches, in 1853, New Orleans was reduced to its present limits, the southern part of the State, with an area of 23,208 square miles. It has, in 1916, 315 priests, 264 churches, 20 stations and a Catholic population of 550,000. New Orleans was made an Archdiocese, July 19, 1850, with Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock and Galveston as Suffragan Sees. To these have been added Alexandria, Dallas,

<sup>5</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. ii, p. 558.

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### 1. NEW ORLEANS (1793)

1. The first Bishop of Louisiana was the Right Rev. **Louis Peñalver y Cardenas**, born April 3, 1749, in Cuba and ordained at Havana, April 4, 1772. On July 20, 1801, Bishop Peñalver was made Archbishop of Guatemala which See he resigned, March 1, 1806. He died in Havana, July 17, 1810.

2. To succeed Bishop Peñalver a Franciscan, the Right Rev. **Francis Porro y Peñado**, was nominated and duly appointed, but as Spain was about to give up possession of Louisiana, he was transferred to another Diocese.

3. The Right Rev. **William Du Bourg** was born in San Domingo, February 4, 1766, and was ordained at Paris in 1788. (Reuss, *Biog. Cyclo.*) When Louisiana was ceded to the United States, Bishop Carroll was made Apostolic Administrator with the faculty of naming another to fill the same office. In virtue of this faculty he named the Very Rev. **William Du Bourg** Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1812. On September 24, 1815, Dr. Du Bourg was consecrated the third Bishop of Louisiana. On July 18, 1826, Pope Leo XII, having divided the Diocese of Louisiana and erected the Diocese of New Orleans and St. Louis and the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi, accepted the resignation of Bishop Du Bourg and placed the See of New Orleans under the administration of Bishop Rosati, who was appointed Bishop of St. Louis, March 20, 1827. Bishop Rosati had already, from March 24, 1824, been titular Bishop of Tanagra and Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg. Bishop Du Bourg was translated to the Diocese of Montauban in France, August 13, 1826. He was appointed Archbishop of Besançon, February 15, 1833, and died, December 12, 1833.

4. The Right Rev. **Leo de Neckere, C.M.**, born in Belgium, June 6, 1800, and ordained at St. Louis, October 13, 1822, became the first Bishop of New Orleans August 4, 1829, and was consecrated, May 24, 1830. He died of yellow fever, September 4, 1833.

5. The Most Rev. **Anthony Blanc**, born October 11, 1792, and ordained July 22, 1816, was consecrated, November 22, 1835. He became the first Archbishop of New Orleans, July 19, 1850, and died, June 20, 1860.

6. The Most Rev. **J. M. Odin**, born in France, February 25, 1801, and ordained at St. Louis, May 4, 1823, was consecrated titular Bishop of Claudopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas, March 6, 1842. He became Bishop of Galveston, April 23, 1847; Archbishop of New Orleans, February 15, 1861, and died in France, May 25, 1870.

7. The Most Rev. **Napoleon Joseph Perche**, born at Angers, France, January 30, 1805, and ordained, September 19, 1829; was consecrated titular Bishop of Abdera and Coadjutor to Archbishop Odin, May 1, 1870. He became Archbishop of New Orleans, May 25, 1870, and died, December 27, 1883.

8. The Most Rev. **F. X. Leray**, born in France, April 20, 1825, and ordained at Natchez, March 19, 1852, was consecrated Bishop of Natchitoches, April 22, 1877. He was appointed titular Bishop of Jonopolis and Coadjutor of

New Orleans, October 23, 1879, became Archbishop, December 27, 1883, and died in France, September 23, 1887.

9. The Most Rev. Francis Janssens, born October 17, 1843, in Holland, and ordained, December 22, 1862, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 1, 1881. He was promoted to New Orleans, August 7, 1888 and died, June 10, 1897, at sea on his way to New York, from which he intended to sail for Europe.

10. The Most Rev. Placide Louis Chapelle, born in France, August 18, 1842, and ordained at Baltimore, June 29, 1865, was appointed titular Bishop of Arabissus and Coadjutor of Santa Fe, August 21, 1891, and was consecrated, November 1, 1891. He was promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Sebaste, May 10, 1893, and became Archbishop of Santa Fe, January 9, 1894. He was made Archbishop of New Orleans, December 1, 1897. In 1899, Archbishop Chapelle was appointed by the Holy See Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary for Cuba and Porto Rico, which office he held until his death, August 9, 1905.

The Right Rev. G. A. Rouxel, titular Bishop of Curio and Auxiliary of New Orleans, was consecrated April 9, 1899, and died, March 17, 1908.

11. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. James H. Blenk, S.M., born July 23, 1856, and ordained, August 16, 1885. He was appointed Bishop of Porto Rico, June 12, 1899, was consecrated July 2, 1899, and was promoted to New Orleans, April 20, 1906.

The Right Rev. John M. Laval, born at New Orleans in 1854, appointed titular Bishop of Hierocaesarea, September 7, 1911, and consecrated, November 29, 1911, is the Auxiliary of New Orleans.

## 2. MOBILE (1825-1829)

Mobile was erected into a parish by Bishop Saint Vallier of Quebec in 1703,<sup>7</sup> and the history of Southern Alabama is bound up with that of Louisiana, of which diocese it was a part, until 1822, when it was detached at the instance of Bishop Du Bourg, to form part of a new Vicariate. But as Northern Alabama and Mississippi belonged to the diocese of Baltimore, Archbishop Maréchal protested against the dismemberment of his diocese without his consent, and Pope Pius VIII, July 14, 1823, abrogated the letters creating the Vicariate. The Archbishop "then formally abdicated his jurisdiction over the two States, and the Pope by his Bull of August 19, 1825, placed Mississippi under the care of Bishop Du Bourg as Vicar Apostolic, and on August 26, 1825, Alabama and Florida were made a Vicariate Apostolic, which Pius VIII, May 15, 1829, erected into the diocese of Mobile."<sup>8</sup>

Still later, Eastern Florida became first a Vicariate and finally the Diocese of Saint Augustine; and the Diocese of Mobile was

<sup>7</sup> SHEA, o. c., Vol. i, p. 546.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.



confined to the State of Alabama and Western Florida. It has an area of 58,821 square miles, 51,540 in Alabama and 7,281 in Florida. It has, in 1916, 129 priests, 102 churches, 213 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 46,000.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. Michael Portier, born in France, September 7, 1795. He came to America in 1817 with Bishop Du Bourg and was ordained at St. Louis in 1818. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Oleno, November 5, 1826, and became Bishop of Mobile, May 15, 1829. He died, May 14, 1859.

2. The Right Rev. John Quinlan, born in Ireland, October 19, 1826, was ordained at Cincinnati, August 30, 1852, and was consecrated, December 4, 1859. He died, March 9, 1883.

3. The Right Rev. Dominic Manucy was born, December 20, 1823, at St. Augustine, Florida, and was ordained, August 15, 1850, by Bishop Portier. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Dulma and Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, December 8, 1874. He was made Bishop of Mobile, March 9, 1884. His resignation as Bishop of Mobile was accepted, October 9, 1884, and he was reappointed Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville, with the title of Bishop of Maronia, February 7, 1885. He died, December 4, 1885, before returning to Texas.

4. The Right Rev. Jeremiah O'Sullivan was born in County Cork, Ireland, February 6, 1842, and was ordained at Baltimore, June 30, 1868. He was consecrated, September 20, 1885, and died, August 10, 1896.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Edward P. Allen, born at Boston, March 17, 1853, and ordained, December 17, 1881. He was President of Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., when he was appointed Bishop of Mobile, April 10, 1897. He was consecrated, May 16, 1897.

### 3. NATCHEZ (1837)

Catholic Missionary work began in Mississippi with the expedition of Marquette, La Salle and Iberville, and the second Bishop of Quebec, Saint Vallier, sent a priest who labored in the neighborhood of what is now Natchez. "When Spain relinquished to the United States," says Shea, "Natchez and the district which she had captured from England and which, of course, was not conveyed by the treaty of 1783, the old French town, which had been regarded from its foundation as a part of Louisiana, was finally severed from it and became a part of the United States. It was henceforth regarded as belonging to the Diocese of Baltimore."<sup>9</sup> Shea also writes: "Pope Pius VIII, August 19, 1825, placed Mississippi under the care of Bishop Du Bourg as Vicar Apostolic,"<sup>10</sup> but the administration actually fell to the share of Bishop Rosati

<sup>9</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. ii, p. 504.

<sup>10</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, p. 73.

first as Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg and afterwards as Bishop of St. Louis. The Diocese of Natchez was erected July 28, 1837, and comprises the State of Mississippi with an area of 46,340 square miles. It has, in 1916, 51 priests, 108 churches, 54 stations with a Catholic population of 28,003. The Rev. Thomas Heyden was chosen as the first bishop, but he declined the office.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. John J. Chanche, born at Baltimore, Md., October 4, 1795. He was ordained, June 5, 1819, by Archbishop Maréchal, was appointed Bishop of Natchez, December 15, 1840, and was consecrated, March 14, 1841. He died, July 22, 1852.

2. The Right Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde was born in Belgium, April 3, 1795, became a Jesuit and was ordained at Baltimore by Archbishop Maréchal, September 25, 1827. He was consecrated Bishop of Chicago, February 11, 1849, was translated to Natchez, July 29, 1853, and died, November 13, 1855.

3. The Right Rev. William Henry Elder, born at Baltimore, March 22, 1819, was ordained at Rome, March 29, 1846, and was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 3, 1857. On January 30, 1880, he was made titular Bishop of Avara and Coadjutor of Cincinnati. On the death of Archbishop Purcell, he became Archbishop of Cincinnati. He died, October 31, 1904.

4. The Most Rev. Francis Janssens, born at Tillburg, Holland, October 17, 1843, and ordained at Louvain, December 21, 1867, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 1, 1881, and was transferred to New Orleans, August 6, 1888. He died, June 10, 1897.

5. The Right Rev. Thomas Heslin, born in Ireland in April, 1847, and ordained at Mobile, September 18, 1869, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, June 18, 1889. He died, February 22, 1911.

6. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John Edward Gunn, S.M., born in County Tyrone, Ireland, March 15, 1863, and ordained, February 2, 1890. He was appointed Bishop of Natchez, June 29, 1911, and was consecrated, August 29, 1911.

#### 4. LITTLE ROCK (1843)

"Catholicity found an early home in Arkansas, and Tonti, the founder of the State, made a grant of land to the Jesuit Fathers to look after the religion of the settlers. The French frontiersmen, however, were not models of attachment to the faith or the practice of their religion. A chapel erected at the Post of Arkansas was attended at intervals, but neither under French or Spanish rule did it ever attain prosperity."<sup>11</sup> Neither were the efforts of Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Rosati very successful. Arkansas became a part of the Diocese of St. Louis from which it was detached, together with Indian Territory, by

<sup>11</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 285.

Gregory XVI, who erected the Diocese of Little Rock, November 28, 1843. Indian Territory was erected into a Prefecture Apostolic in 1876 by Pope Pius IX, and the diocese at present comprises the State of Arkansas with an area of 53,045 square miles, and has 76 priests, 107 churches, 124 stations and chapels, with a Catholic population of about 23,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Andrew Byrne, born in the County Meath, Ireland, December 5, 1802. He came to America with Bishop England in 1820 and was ordained at Charleston, November 11, 1827. He was consecrated, March 10, 1844, and died, June 10, 1862. The confusion of the Civil War caused a long vacancy during which the Diocese was under the administration of the Very Rev. P. O'Reilly until the appointment of

2. The Right Rev. Edward Fitzgerald, who was born at Limerick, Ireland, October 28, 1833. He was ordained at Cincinnati, August 22, 1857, was consecrated, February 3, 1867, and died, February 21, 1907.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John B. Morris, born in Tennessee, June 29, 1866, and ordained at Rome, June 11, 1892. He was appointed titular Bishop of Acmonia and Coadjutor, April 9, 1906, and became Bishop of Little Rock, February 21, 1907.

#### 5. GALVESTON (1840-1847)

The first religious ministrations in Texas of which we have any definite information were those of the French priests who accompanied La Salle in his wild and unfortunate expedition to conquer the Spanish Mining Country. But the church which grew up in that province and which has left the names drawn from the calendar to town and headland and river was the Church of Mexico. The pioneer Spanish priest was the Franciscan, Damian Mazanet, who accompanied the expedition of Alonso de Leon in 1689. The Venerable Anthony Margil afterwards worked in Texas for many years. The Bishop of Guadalajara, Philip Joseph Galindo, made a visitation north of the Rio Grande and made arrangements for the establishment of missions along that River, the principal of which was in 1718 transferred to San Antonio. Bishop Francis de San Buenaventura Tejada traversed the whole province in 1759 and on the 19th of November of that year made his visitation of the church of San Fernando in the town of San Antonio where he confirmed 644 persons. After his laborious visitation this holy bishop continued his care of Texas and endeavored by correspondence to excite the clergy and faithful to their duties. After his death, December 20, 1760,

Texas remained subject to his successors, Bishop Rivas de Velasco (1762) and Bishop Alcalde O.P. (1772), until the erection of the See of Nueva Leon or Linares, December 15, 1777, when it was included in the new Diocese. There is no record of any actual visitation of Texas by these later bishops. The Indian missions remained under the care of the Franciscans and, in 1777, Father Pedro Ramirez was President of all the Texas Missions and by an indult of Pope Clement XIV was authorized to administer Confirmation, which he did for the first time at the mission of San José, May 10, 1778. On the 20th of July, 1801, the energetic and vigilant Bishop de Porras was raised to the See of Linares and soon began a thorough visitation of his Diocese. Bishop de Porras died in 1815 and his successor, the Right Rev. Joseph Ignatius de Arancivia, found that religion had suffered terribly during the Civil War.<sup>12</sup> The secession of Texas from Mexico and its establishment as an independent republic destroyed finally almost every vestige of religion and "Pope Gregory XVI wrote to the Bishop of New Orleans to send a capable priest to examine and report on the actual state of affairs. The Bishop selected the Very Rev. John Timon, Visitor of the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists), who, with the consent of Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis, set out and reached Galveston in December, 1838."<sup>13</sup> Father Timon was appointed Prefect Apostolic in 1839, with power to administer Confirmation, and he in turn sent the Rev. John M. Odin, C.M., as Vice Prefect. Pope Gregory XVI erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Texas July 16, 1841, and Pope Pius IX, April 23, 1847, erected the Diocese of Galveston. There are now in the State of Texas four other Dioceses, Dallas, San Antonio, Corpus Christi and El Paso. This last-named Diocese belongs to the Province of Santa Fe. Galveston at the present day comprises a relatively small part of Southeastern Texas, with an area of 43,000 square miles. It has, in 1916, 93 priests, 112 churches, 56 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 67,000.

1. The first bishop of Galveston was the Right Rev. J. M. Odin, born at Amberlie, France, February 25, 1801, and ordained at St. Louis, May 4, 1823. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas, March 6, 1842. When the Diocese of Galveston was erected in 1847 he became

<sup>12</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, pp. 707-11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 713.

the first Bishop. He was made Archbishop of New Orleans in 1861 and died at his native place in France, May 25, 1870.

2. The Right Rev. C. M. Dubuis, born in France, March 10, 1817, and ordained, June 1, 1844, was consecrated, November 23, 1862. He retired in 1881, but retained the title of Bishop of Galveston until 1894, when he was promoted to the titular Archbishopric of Arca. He died in France, May 21, 1895.

The Right Rev. Peter Dufal, born November 8, 1822, ordained September 8, 1852, and consecrated titular Bishop of Delcon and Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Bengal, November 25, 1860, came to Galveston and was made Coadjutor, May 14, 1878. He resigned in 1880, and died in Paris in 1898. He was never Bishop of Galveston.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Nicholas A. Gallagher, born February 19, 1846, and ordained, December 25, 1868. He was appointed to the titular See of Canopus, January 10, 1882, and was consecrated, April 30, 1882. He administered the affairs of the Diocese as Coadjutor until December 16, 1892, when he became Bishop of Galveston, upon the final resignation and promotion of Bishop Dubuis.

#### 6. NATCHITOCHES-ALEXANDRIA (1853-1910)

The Diocese of Alexandria comprises the northern part of the State of Louisiana with an area of 22,122 square miles. It was erected July 29, 1853, as the Diocese of Natchitoches. The Venerable Antonio Margil, a Franciscan missionary, whose canonization is in process, was the first priest to minister within the territory now comprising the Diocese, in 1717. In 1910, at the request of the present bishop, Pope Pius X removed the seat of the Diocese to Alexandria, a progressive railroad centre with a large Catholic population. It had, in 1916, 37 priests, 72 churches, 24 stations and a Catholic population of about 36,400.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Augustus M. Martin, born in Brittany, France, February 3, 1803, and ordained in 1828. He was as a Seminarian a protégé of the Abbé de Lammenais and was afterwards a great friend of Montalembert. He came to America with Bishop de Hailandière of Vincennes and was for six years Vicar General of that Diocese. His health failing, he went to Louisiana and, in 1852, was Vicar General of Bishop Blanc of New Orleans. He was consecrated, November 30, 1853, and died, September 29, 1875.

2. The second bishop was the Right Rev. Francis Xavier Leray, born in France, April 20, 1825, and ordained at Natchez, March 19, 1852, was consecrated, April 22, 1877. He was named Coadjutor in 1879 and Archbishop of New Orleans in 1883, but retained the administration of Natchitoches until the appointment of the third bishop,

3. The Right Rev. Anthony Durier, born in France, August 8, 1832, and ordained at Cincinnati, October 28, 1856. He was consecrated, March 19, 1885, and died, February 28, 1904.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Cornelius Van de Ven**, born in Belgium, June 16, 1865, and ordained, May 31, 1890. He was appointed Bishop of Natchitoches, August 10, 1904, and was consecrated, November 30, 1904. He was made Bishop of Alexandria, August 6, 1910.

#### 7. SAN ANTONIO (1874)

As we have seen when relating the history of Galveston, San Antonio became in 1718 the seat of the principal mission of those established north of the Rio Grande by Bishop Galindo of Guadalajara. It was erected into a diocese, by Pope Pius IX, September 3, 1874. It is described in the *Catholic Directory* as comprising "Texas between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, except that portion south of the Arroyo de los Hermanos on the Rio Grande, and the counties of Live Oak, Bee, Goliad and Refugio" with an area of 116,000 square miles. The *Directory* in 1915 reduces the area to 90,909 square miles and in 1916 to 60,810 square miles. These reductions were caused by the establishment of the Diocese of Dallas in 1890 and El Paso in 1914. The *Directory* of 1916 still retains the original description.

The Diocese has in 1916, 154 priests, 166 churches, 68 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 143,600.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Anthony Dominic Pellicier**, born at St. Augustine, Fla., December 7, 1824, and ordained at Mobile, October 15, 1850. He was consecrated, December 8, 1874, and died, April 14, 1880.

2. The Right Rev. **John C. Neraz**, born in France, January 12, 1828, and ordained at Galveston, February 19, 1853, was consecrated, May 8, 1881, and died, November 15, 1894.

3. The Right Rev. **John Anthony Forest**, born in France, December 25, 1838, and ordained at New Orleans, May 3, 1863, was appointed, August 27, 1895, and was consecrated, October 28, 1895. He died, March 11, 1911.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **John William Shaw**, born at Mobile, December 12, 1863, and ordained at Rome, May 26, 1888. He was appointed Coadjutor, February 7, 1910, and was consecrated, April 14, 1910, titular Bishop of Castabala. He was appointed Administrator of the Diocese, May 18, 1910, on account of the ill health of Bishop Forest, and became Bishop of San Antonio, March 11, 1911.

#### 8. CORPUS CHRISTI (1874-1912)

Pope Pius IX established the Vicariate of Brownsville September 3, 1874; at the same time as he erected the Diocese of San Antonio. It covers the extreme southeastern part of Texas, an area of 22,391 square miles. Less than sixty years ago this part

of Texas was inhabited entirely by Indians. The first white settlers came about 1852. Even in 1866, it is said, there was not a fence nor a railroad to be seen from San Antonio to Brownsville. The Oblate Fathers located in the territory in 1852, after which there began to be some progress in religion. The Vicariate was erected into the Diocese of Corpus Christi, March 23, 1912, by Pope Pius X. It has 52 priests, 30 churches, 78 missions and about 200 stations with a Catholic population of 87,300.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. **Dominic Manucy**, born at St. Augustine, Fla., December 20, 1823, and ordained at Mobile, August 15, 1850. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Dulma and Vicar Apostolic, December 8, 1874. He became Bishop of Mobile, March 9, 1884, but resigned the same year and was reappointed to Brownsville with the title of Bishop of Maronia. He died, December 4, 1885.

2. The Right Rev. **Peter Verdaguer**, born in Spain, January 4, 1835, and ordained at San Francisco, December 12, 1862, was appointed titular Bishop of Aulona, July 26, 1890, and was consecrated, November 9, 1890. He died, October 26, 1911.

3. The first and present bishop of Corpus Christi is the Right Rev. **Paul Joseph Nussebaum, C.P.**, born at Philadelphia, September 7, 1870, and ordained, May 20, 1894. He was appointed, April 4, 1913, and was consecrated, May 20, 1913.

#### 9. DALLAS (1890)

The Diocese of Dallas was erected by Pope Leo XIII in 1890. According to the *Catholic Directory* it originally comprised "109 counties in the northern and northwestern portion of Texas and El Paso and Culberson Counties in the western portion" (these two latter counties being cut off entirely from the rest by the Diocese of San Antonio), with an area of 109,209 square miles. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes it as comprising 108 counties and El Paso County with an area of 118,000 square miles.<sup>14</sup> The erection of the Diocese of El Paso has reduced the area to 98,266 square miles. Like the rest of Southern and Western Texas its development has been very recent. It has 93 priests, 106 churches, and 78 stations and a Catholic population of about 33,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **Thomas F. Brennan**, born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in October, 1853, and ordained, July 4, 1883. He was consecrated at Erie, Pa., April 5, 1891. He was translated February 1, 1893, to the titular See of Utilia and made Auxiliary to Bishop Power of St. John's,

<sup>14</sup> Article, *Dallas*.

Newfoundland. He was removed in December, 1904, and was called to Rome and was transferred, October 7, 1905, to the titular See of Cesarea in Morocco. During the last years of his life he resided at the Basilian Monastery of Grottaferrata, near Rome, where he died, March 21, 1916.

2. The Right Rev. Edward Joseph Dunne, born in Ireland, January 15, 1846, and ordained at Baltimore, June 29, 1871, was elected Bishop of Dallas, September 24, 1893, and was consecrated, November 30, 1893. He died, August 5, 1910.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Joseph Patrick Lynch, born at St. Joseph, Mich., November 16, 1872, and ordained, June 9, 1900, at St. Louis. He was elected Bishop of Dallas, June 8, 1911, and was consecrated, July 12, 1911.

#### 10. OKLAHOMA (1876-1891-1905)

When the Diocese of Little Rock was erected in 1843, it comprised, as we have seen, the State of Arkansas and Indian Territory. The Benedictine Fathers were the first missionaries in Indian Territory, where they established themselves at the Sacred Heart Abbey. In 1876 the Right Rev. Isidore Robot, O.S.B., was made Prefect Apostolic and when he died, February 15, 1887, he was succeeded by the Right Rev. Ignatius Jean, O.S.B., who resigned in 1890. Pope Leo XIII, May 29, 1891, erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Indian Territory and Pope Pius X, August 23, 1905, made it the Diocese of Oklahoma, which embraces the whole State. It has, in 1916, 95 priests, 142 churches, 184 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 38,233, of which 3,104 are Indians. The *Catholic Directory* gives the area of the Diocese 69,414 square miles. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* gives the area of the State as 73,910 square miles.

1. The first vicar Apostolic was the Right Rev. Theophile Meerschaert, born in Belgium, August 24, 1847, and ordained, December 23, 1871. He was appointed titular Bishop of Sydima, June 2, 1891, and was consecrated, September 8, 1891. He became the first Bishop of Oklahoma, August 23, 1905.

#### V. THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK (1808-1850)

When the Diocese of Baltimore was divided by Pope Pius VII on April 8, 1808, the Diocese of New York had assigned to it as its limits the whole State of the same name and what was known at that time as East Jersey. The Second Provincial Council, in 1833, to make the description clearer, asked the Holy See to declare



that the part of New Jersey belonging to the Diocese of New York comprised the Counties of Sussex, Bergen, Morris, Essex, Somerset, Middlesex and Monmouth. Pope Pius IX, July 19, 1850, made New York an Archdiocese comprising the State of New York, a part of New Jersey and all the New England States. The original Suffragans of New York were Albany and Buffalo which had been erected in 1847, Boston (1808), and Hartford (1843). To these were added Brooklyn, Newark and Burlington in 1853, Rochester in 1868, and Ogdensburg in 1872. When Boston was made an Archdiocese in 1875, the three New England Dioceses were taken from New York. Since 1875 have been added Trenton in 1881 and Syracuse in 1886. The *Laité's Directory*, published in New York in 1822, which appears to be the first of the series of *Directories* which has been continued with a few interruptions down to the present day, giving "the state of religion in the bishopric of New York," says, "this city contains two Catholic Churches, *viz*, the Cathedral (St. Patrick's) and St. Peter's. In Albany there is also a Catholic church, a neat and compact building. In Utica a large and beautiful church has lately been erected. In Rome there is as yet no church, but a lot is reserved on which one will be built as soon as the number of Catholics will render its erection necessary. In Auburn, an agreeable little town, there is likewise a church recently erected. In New Jersey, in the town of Paterson, there is also one which is regularly attended by a clergyman. In Carthage, near the Black River, a small and neat church has been lately erected." Then follows a list of the clergy "officiating in this Diocese," which consists of the names of Bishop Connolly and eight priests. After the first division of New York in 1847, Bishop Hughes had left to him eighty-eight priests and there were in the City of New York seventeen churches. Today, after all the reductions of territory, there are in the Diocese 891 churches and chapels and 35 stations, 1,101 priests; 699 diocesan and 402 regular, serving a Catholic population of 1,219,920. The present area of the Diocese is 4,717 square miles in the State of New York, to which must be added 4,466 square miles in the Bahama Islands which are under its jurisdiction. The Province now includes the States of New York and New Jersey and the Bahamas.

## 1. NEW YORK (1808)

1. The first bishop the Right Rev. Luke Concanen, O.P., born in County Roscommon, Ireland, and ordained, December 22, 1770, passed most of his life as a Dominican in Rome. He was consecrated Bishop of New York, at Rome, April 24, 1808, when almost 70 years of age. He died in Naples, June 19, 1810, without ever coming to America.

2. The Right Rev. John Connolly, also a Dominican, was born at Drogheda in County Meath, Ireland, in 1750. He was therefore 64 years of age when he was appointed by Pope Pius VII, Bishop of New York. He was consecrated at Rome, November 6, 1814, and died, February 5, 1825, at New York.

3. The Right Rev. John Dubois was born at Paris, August 24, 1764. He was ordained, September 22, 1787, and came to the United States in August, 1791. He was the founder of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. He was consecrated Bishop of New York, October 29, 1826, and died, December 20, 1842.

4. The Most Rev. John Hughes, fourth Bishop and first Archbishop of New York, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, June 24, 1797. He came to America in 1817 and was ordained, October 15, 1826. He was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, was consecrated titular Bishop of Basileopolis, January 7, 1838, and was made Administrator of the Diocese. He became Bishop of New York, December 20, 1842; Archbishop, July 19, 1850; and died, January 3, 1864.

5. His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 10, 1810, was ordained, January 12, 1834. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Axiere and Coadjutor of New York, March 10, 1844, was translated as first Bishop to Albany, May 21, 1847, and became Archbishop of New York, May 6, 1864. He was created Cardinal Priest of the title of Sancta Maria Super Minervam, March 15, 1875. (The first American Cardinal.) He died, October 10, 1885.

6. The Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan, born in Newark, N. J., August 31, 1839, and ordained at Rome, September 19, 1863, was consecrated Bishop of Newark, May 4, 1873. He was made titular Archbishop of Petra and Coadjutor, October 1, 1880, became Archbishop of New York, October 10, 1885, and died, May 5, 1902.

7. The present Archbishop is His Eminence John Cardinal Farley, born in County Armagh, Ireland, April 20, 1842, and ordained at Rome, June 11, 1870. He was appointed titular Bishop of Zuegma and Auxiliary of New York, November 18, 1895, and was consecrated, December 21, 1895. He became Archbishop of New York, September 25, 1902, and was created Cardinal Priest, of the title of Sancta Maria Super Minervam, November 27, 1911.

The Right Rev. Patrick J. Hayes was appointed titular Bishop of Tagaste and Auxiliary of New York, July 3, 1914, and was consecrated, October 23, 1914. He was born in New York City, November 20, 1867, and was ordained, September 8, 1892.

## 2. ALBANY (1847)

The Diocese of Albany was erected by Pope Pius IX, April 23, 1847. It embraces twenty-three counties of the State of New York.

"It was a district with a past, famous in the annals of the Church and of the border wars. Here Brother René Goupil and Father Isaac Jogues laid down their lives; here Catherine Tegakwitha was baptised and began her career of perfection and sanctity. Here the Jesuits had for years labored to convert the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas, a little band descended from their converts remaining at St. Regis. The Diocese contained about twenty-five churches, attended by thirty-four priests, but had no institutions except an Orphan Asylum at Albany and one at Utica under the Sisters of Charity, with free schools at Utica and Troy."<sup>15</sup>

Its limits thus established included the future Dioceses of Ogdensburg and Syracuse. It now comprises thirteen counties and part of two others with an area of 10,419 square miles and within these reduced limits there are, in 1916, 237 priests and 174 churches, 91 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 210,000.

1. The first bishop was His Eminence, John Cardinal McCloskey. He became Bishop of Albany, May 21, 1847, and Archbishop of New York, May 6, 1864. (*See New York.*)

2. The Right Rev. John J. Conroy was appointed Bishop of Albany, July 7, 1865, and was consecrated, October 16, 1865. He resigned, October 16, 1877, was translated to the titular See of Curium, March 22, 1878, and died, November 20, 1895.

3. The Right Rev. Francis McNeirny was appointed titular Bishop of Rhesina and Coadjutor of Albany, December 22, 1871, and was consecrated, April 21, 1872. He was made administrator of the Diocese, January 18, 1874, and became Bishop of Albany, October 16, 1877. He died, January 2, 1894.

4. The Right Rev. Thomas M. A. Burke, born at Utica, New York, January 10, 1840, and ordained June 30, 1864, was appointed Bishop of Albany, May 15, 1894, and was consecrated, July 1, 1894. He died, January 10, 1915.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas F. Cusack, born in New York City, February 22, 1862, and ordained, May 30, 1885. He was made titular Bishop of Themiscyra, and Auxiliary of New York, March 11, 1904, and was consecrated, April 25, 1904. He became Bishop of Albany, July 5, 1915.

## 3. BUFFALO (1847)

The Diocese of Buffalo was erected April 23, 1847, by Pope Pius IX, who cut off from New York sixteen counties in the west-

<sup>15</sup> *SHEA, o. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 126.

ern part of the State. The Diocese as then erected contained sixteen churches with the same number of priests. The Diocese of Rochester was taken from it in 1868. It now consists of eight counties with an area of 6,357 square miles and has, in 1916, 415 priests with 221 churches and stations and 41 chapels and a Catholic population of 310,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **John Timon, C.M.**, born at Conewago, Pa., February 12, 1797. He joined the Lazarists in 1823 and was ordained by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis in 1825. He was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, October 17, 1847, and died, April 16, 1867.

2. The Right Rev. **Stephen V. Ryan, C.M.**, born in Canada, January 1, 1825, and ordained at St. Louis, June 24, 1829, was consecrated, November 8, 1868. He died, April 10, 1896.

3. The Right Rev. **James Edward Quigley**, born in Ontario, Canada, October 15, 1854, and ordained, April 12, 1879, was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, November 30, 1896, and was consecrated, February 24, 1897. He became Archbishop of Chicago, January 8, 1903, and died, July 10, 1915.

4. The Right Rev. **Charles Henry Colton**, born in New York in 1848 and ordained, June 10, 1876, was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, June 10, 1903, and was consecrated, August 24, 1903. He died, May 10, 1915.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. **Dennis J. Dougherty**, born at Girardville, Pa., August 16, 1865, and ordained at Rome, May 31, 1890. He was appointed first American Bishop of Nueva Segovia, in the Philippine Islands, June 10, 1903, and was consecrated June 14, 1903, at Rome. On the death of Bishop Rooker he was translated to the diocese of Jaro, June 21, 1908. He was appointed Bishop of Buffalo, December 9, 1915, and was installed, June 7, 1916.

#### 4. BROOKLYN (1853)

The Diocese of Brooklyn was erected July 29, 1853, by Pope Pius IX and comprises the whole of Long Island, an area of 1,007 square miles. From practically nothing has been developed a great Diocese with 535 priests, 229 churches and a Catholic population of 750,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. **John Loughlin**. He was born in County Down, Ireland, December 20, 1817, was ordained at New York, October 18, 1840, and was consecrated Bishop of Brooklyn, October 30, 1853. He died, December 29, 1891.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. **Charles E. McDonnell**, born in New York City, February 1, 1854. He was ordained at Rome, May 19, 1878, was appointed Bishop of Brooklyn, March 11, 1892, and was consecrated, April 15, 1892.

The Right Rev. George William Mundelein was appointed titular Bishop of Loryma and Auxiliary of Brooklyn, June 30, 1909, and was consecrated, September 21, 1909. He was made Archbishop of Chicago, December 9, 1915.

#### 5. NEWARK (1853)

To form the Diocese of Newark, Pope Pius IX detached from the Diocese of New York the eastern part of New Jersey and from Philadelphia the western and southern part of the same State. The original limits were therefore the whole State of New Jersey. In 1881 the Diocese of Trenton was formed and Newark now covers only seven counties in the northern part of the State with an area of 1,699 square miles. The first bishop, upon taking possession, found three churches in Newark and thirty in the rest of the Diocese. The *Catholic Directory* of 1916 tells us there are in the Diocese of Newark 487 priests and 349 churches and chapels and a Catholic population of 425,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, born at Rye, New York, August 23, 1814, and ordained at New York, March 2, 1844. He was consecrated, October 30, 1853, was promoted to Baltimore, July 30, 1872, and died, October 3, 1877.

2. The Right Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan was born at Newark, August 13, 1839, and was ordained at Rome, September 19, 1863. He was consecrated Bishop of Newark, May 4, 1873, became Archbishop of New York, October 10, 1885, and died, May 5, 1902.

3. The Right Rev. Winand Michael Wigger, born at New York, December 9, 1841, was ordained at Genoa, Italy, June 10, 1865, and was consecrated Bishop of Newark, October 18, 1881. He died, January 5, 1901.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John Joseph O'Connor, born at Newark, June 11, 1855. He was ordained at Louvain, December 22, 1877, was chosen Bishop of Newark, November 7, 1901, and was consecrated, July 25, 1901.

#### 6. ROCHESTER (1868)

The Diocese of Rochester was erected March 3, 1868, by Pope Pius IX. It comprises twelve counties in Western New York, taken from the Diocese of Buffalo, with an area of 7,455 square miles. It has grown from 60 churches and 38 priests in 1868, to 204 priests and 170 churches and chapels, in 1916, with a Catholic population of 159,840.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid, born in New York, December 15, 1823. He was appointed Bishop of Rochester, March 3, 1868, and was consecrated, July 12, 1868. He died, January 18, 1909.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas Francis Hickey.

born in 1861 and ordained, March 25, 1884. He was made titular Bishop of Berenice, February 18, 1905, and Coadjutor, was consecrated, May 24, 1905, and became Bishop of Rochester on the death of Bishop McQuaid, January 18, 1909.

#### 7. OGDENSBURG (1872)

The Diocese of Ogdensburg occupies historic territory and was the scene, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the glorious work of many of the heroic French missionaries. What we may call its modern religious history begins in the early part of the nineteenth century, when French and German and Irish immigrants began to settle in Northern New York. This region was a part of the Diocese of New York until 1847 and of Albany until the erection of the Diocese of Ogdensburg, February 15, 1872, by Pope Pius IX. Its area is 12,036 square miles, to a great extent occupied by the wooded wilderness of the Adirondack Mountains. In 1916, it has 143 priests and 256 churches, stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 98,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Edgar P. Wadhams, born in Essex County, New York, May 17, 1817, and ordained at Albany, January 15, 1850. He was consecrated Bishop of Ogdensburg, May 5, 1872, and died, December 5, 1891.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. Henry Gabriels, born in Belgium, October 6, 1838, and ordained at Ghent, September 21, 1861. He was appointed Bishop of Ogdensburg, December 20, 1891, and was consecrated, May 5, 1892.

The Right Rev. Joseph H. Conroy, born in 1858, ordained June 11, 1881, appointed titular Bishop of Arindela, March 11, 1912, and consecrated, May 1, 1912, is the Auxiliary of Ogdensburg.

#### 8. TRENTON (1881)

As we have seen above the western and southern part of the State of New Jersey belonged originally to the Diocese of Philadelphia. The Diocese of Newark, when established in 1853, included the whole State. The Diocese of Trenton, erected by Pope Leo XIII, July 15, 1881, comprises fourteen counties of the State. It includes all the sea coast with its many summer resorts. The first Mass celebrated in this region was at Woodbridge, about 1672, and the first church in the city of Trenton was built in 1814. In 1916, it has 188 churches and chapels

and 118 stations, served by 209 priests, with a Catholic population of about 168,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Michael Joseph O'Farrell, born at Limerick, Ireland, December 2, 1832. He was ordained, August 18, 1855, was consecrated Bishop of Trenton, November 1, 1881, and died, April 2, 1894.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Reverend James Augustine McFaul, born in County Antrim, Ireland, June 6, 1850. He was ordained, May 26, 1877, was appointed Bishop of Trenton, July 20, 1894, and was consecrated, October 18, 1894.

#### 9. SYRACUSE (1836)

The Diocese of Syracuse was erected, November 20, 1886, by Pope Leo XIII. It comprises seven counties of central New York with an area of 5,629 square miles. This Diocese also covers holy and historic ground. The Onondagas and Oneidas occupied the land around the lakes that bear their names and near the city of Syracuse was the village of Onondaga, the seat of government of League of the Five Nations. The Jesuit missionaries and the Franciscan Recollects worked among the Indians until driven out by the Dutch and English. Early in the nineteenth century the white settlers began to come, and about 1817 the first parish was established at Syracuse. The Diocese, in 1916, has 150 priests and 127 churches, with a Catholic population of about 151,463.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Patrick A. Ludden, born January 25, 1846, appointed Bishop of Syracuse, December 14, 1886, and consecrated, May 1, 1887. He died, August 6, 1912.

2. The second and present bishop is the Right Rev. John Grimes, born at Limerick, Ireland, in 1853 and ordained, February 19, 1882. He was appointed titular Bishop of Imeria, February 1, 1909, and Coadjutor to Bishop Ludden. He was consecrated, May 16, 1909, and became Bishop of Syracuse, August 6, 1912.

RIGHT REV. OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,  
*Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore.*

(To be continued)

## DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

The study of the establishment of episcopal and parochial jurisdiction in those of the European colonies now forming part of the United States, falls naturally into three divisions, according to the nationality of the settlers, Spanish, French or English.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the labors of the pioneer who brings to the native the first tidings of Christ are carried out essentially on the same lines everywhere; but when this work has been done and the soil thereby prepared for erecting the normal fabric of Church government, we naturally expect to see reproduced such national peculiarities as may be observed in the land from which they have been imported. The Church in the colony of a Catholic country inherits the tradition and carries on the history of the Church at home. It is only in cases where a hierarchy is instituted *de novo*, having little if any continuity with a previously existing foreign hierarchy (*e. g.*, Baltimore), that one can look for any considerable departure from foreign traditions or for any notable originality of method. The English Catholic colonists could not introduce into their new home an ecclesiastical organization which they did not possess, even had they been free to do so; and the result was that when such an organization became a possibility, they were obliged to have recourse to Rome and begin at the beginning. The jurisdiction, such as it was, of the Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, yielded readily to the new arrangement when America became free, and would seem to have left little trace behind it. But the Spanish and the French settlers were in a different situa-

<sup>1</sup> BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—The files of the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* of Madrid are valuable for their numerous documents on matters connected with the ecclesiastical history of America. For instance the number for March, 1892, contains a collection covering the earlier portion of the period treated in this article. The number immediately following (June, 1892) has a letter from Pope Julius II to Padilla, the first Bishop of Bainúa. There is a short narrative in Book I, Chap. vi, of MENDIETA'S *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, of which a splendid edition came out in Mexico in 1870. Pastor gives some of the facts in connection with the various Popes, but the lack of a complete index materially increases the labor of finding them. GAMS, *Series Episcoporum* is of course important, but must be used with caution. SHEA, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* and O'GORMAN, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, barely touch on the subject.



tion. They came from lands where the Church had been regularly organized for centuries and was at the time in full canonical vigor. Moreover the carrying of that Church with them was always considered a part of their work; and a bare recital of the dates of erection of bishoprics, convents, etc., in their colonies would show how seriously they set about it. For example, Mexico became a diocese in 1530—a rather early date in American history, and Mexico was by no means the first. So that, when our Bishop Carroll was consecrated (1790), other parts of this continent had had bishops, parochial clergy, cathedrals and the rest of the material apparatus of Church life, for centuries.

There were two points in which this remarkable development touched us: in the southeast (Florida) and in the southwest (New Mexico and California). Of course, in these frontier lands of Spain's colonial empire, the Church did not advance so rapidly as in such countries as Mexico and Peru. They were still in the missionary state long after the other portions of Spanish America had arrived at what may be called canonical maturity. Yet they were not so far from that maturity as might at first be assumed; and it will be interesting to trace the steps by which they gradually advanced along the path. As a preliminary we shall recall certain features of Spanish history which must be borne in mind for an understanding of much that took place in her American dominions.

The very name of Spain is sufficient to call up before the imagination the romantic story of the war against Islam. And in truth, Spanish history from the eighth century to the sixteenth may be said to be externally little more than one grand Crusade. Beginning at the Pyrenees and the Bay of Biscay that wondrous struggle was kept up until, in the very year that Columbus discovered America, the last vestiges of infidel domination were swept into Africa. And few achievements can compare in thrilling incident and poetic setting with those that throng the pages of Irving and Prescott. But their emotional appeal must not divert attention from their deeper significance as the mould in which was cast the character of those men who laid the foundations of our Church in America. Nearly eight centuries of ceaseless fighting to win back their land and restore there the Catholic Faith in all its outward splendor had produced a people for whom

Religion and Patriotism were almost the same thing. And with this practical identification of the noblest and most unselfish of human ideals, it is not to be wondered at that the Spaniard developed qualities of bravery, loyalty and fierce devotedness which honorably distinguished him on many a European battlefield, when there were no enemies left to fight at home. Coinciding exactly with the achievement of this result came the opening up of a new field for the display of his characteristic virtues, since he had hardly rested after the fall of Granada when he was called over the Western Sea to continue the work of conquest and conversion. For we must remember that the latter purpose was never suffered to be wholly forgotten, however it might be obscured in the minds of individual *Conquistadores*. The introduction of Spanish rule was looked upon as preliminary to the introduction of the Catholic Religion. Not to perceive this is to misunderstand the greater part of the history of Spanish colonization.

Of course, in itself this was a fine thing, but there is another side to the picture. Protection always tends toward domination; and if, by an alliance with civil authority, the Church stands to gain, she also stands to lose. There is a price for everything, and in this case the price was quite high enough. Bit by bit, from the thirteenth century onwards, through usurpation, through custom, and finally through explicit papal recognition, the Spanish sovereigns had obtained an enormous power over the Church in their dominions, a power that came dangerously near to making the Church in Spain independent of Rome. The peculiar character of the internal development of Spain during the Middle Ages contributed to this result. The process whereby the nations of Europe emerged from the confusion of the feudal system was fundamentally the same everywhere, viz., the extension of a central authority over a mass of disconnected and semi-independent states. But beneath this essential similarity there were certain points in which the process differed in different places, and in the case of Spain this difference had an important effect on the character of the government of the country after the process was completed. From being the least centralized portion of Europe, it became the most thoroughly centralized and despotic, the work of combating the centrifugal forces that

were keeping the various Spanish kingdoms apart being so thoroughly done as to be over-done. The numerous petty states that had to be reduced beneath one sway were not vassals of a single king, as they were (in theory at least) in France and England, but separate kingdoms; and the wars they waged with one another were not petty feudal quarrels but real international conflicts. As there was no single Spanish language so there was no single Spanish king. Besides their geographical situation, the only thing that tended to bring them together was the need of defending their common faith against a common enemy. As a result, the work of unification went on much more slowly in Spain than in most other countries. We can speak of "France" and "England" long before we can get away from speaking of "Aragon" and "Navarre." For that matter, we must still speak of "Portugal," since that part of the peninsula has, except for one brief period, succeeded in remaining out of the union. But when all these regions finally coalesced into a nation, the King enjoyed a power far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors in the little medieval states of the peninsula. The fine old democratic spirit of those days was gone and the royal authority was absolute. But the point to be noted here is this: Religion and Nationality were so closely connected that the overweening power of the King in secular affairs was sure to be reflected in ecclesiastical affairs. It so happened that about the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the very time that the Church was being set up in America, the Spanish sovereigns were in a position to secure from the Popes official confirmation of their power over the Church, until by one concession after another they obtained complete control in that sphere as well as in purely political affairs. During the Middle Ages, the Spanish monarch interfered in Church affairs just as other monarchs did, but the privileges they succeeded in obtaining from Rome put them in a distinct class. And this circumstance had much to do with shaping the destinies of Catholicism in this part of the world. To be sure, they went at times beyond the power granted them, but that power was so great that such usurpation was rarely found necessary by even the most ambitious. It will suffice for our present purpose to recall briefly certain specimen grants, asking the reader to notice the gradual increase in the ecclesiastical authority of the Crown:

(a) In 1482, Pope Sixtus IV agreed to nominate to Castilian bishoprics only natives acceptable to the Sovereign.<sup>2</sup>

(b) In 1484, Pope Innocent VII granted to Ferdinand the patronage of all the churches and convents in Granada and all the territories that had been or would be conquered by the Moors.<sup>3</sup>

(c) In 1493, Pope Alexander VI entrusted to the Sovereign of Castile the selection of the missionaries for the colonies across the Sea.<sup>4</sup>

(d) In 1494, Pope Alexander VI conferred on Ferdinand and Isabella the title "Catholic" and granted to them two-ninths of the tithes throughout the dominions of Castile.<sup>5</sup>

(e) In 1501, Pope Alexander VI granted them all the tithes in the Colonies.<sup>6</sup>

(f) In 1508, Pope Julius II granted to Ferdinand and to Joanna the right of appointing to all benefices in the Colonies, without any exception. The Holy See reserved the right of approving these appointments but such approval seems to have followed as a matter of course.<sup>7</sup>

From these specimens, though given in brief, it will be possible to realize the conditions in which the Spanish-American hierarchy was brought into being. On the one hand there was the truly marvelous zeal that led men to give up everything in life for the spread of God's Kingdom on earth, with all the external dignity and splendor they could command; on the other hand there was secular supervision of the Church, which made the work much easier in the beginning but was almost certain to hinder it later on. Fortunately, this second phase does not concern us here; suffice it to say that, in the course of time, things came to such a pass that without the royal assent no ecclesiastical official, not even a sacristan, could be appointed, transferred or dismissed; none might enter or leave the Colonies; diocesan or parochial boundaries might not be set down or altered; and no church, school or convent be erected. For all practical purposes the King was, as the Spanish historian calls him, the Vicar of the Pope.<sup>8</sup> And so far was this carried that, despite papal protest, communications

<sup>2</sup> PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, Vol. iv, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. v, pp. 338-339.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. vi, p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Vol. ii, p. 26 (ed. 1892).

<sup>6</sup> LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, Vol. i, p. 383.

<sup>7</sup> ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. ii, p. 671.

<sup>8</sup> SOLÓRZANO Y PELAYO, *Política Indiana*, t. ii, book iv.

from Rome were not suffered to be transmitted to America until they had first been passed on by the Government.\*

This was, however, a later development: at the outset the system undoubtedly worked well, and explains the rapidity and comparative facility with which sees and parishes were established. Moreover it must in justice be said that the civil power in many instances used its authority over the Church fairly. In the matter of tithes, for example, the earlier prelates had little to complain of, except that they were supported by the State rather than directly by the people. As we shall see presently, when the Pope at the very beginning attempted to alter this arrangement, he fell foul of the secular ruler and was forced to yield.

Historians trace to Seville the beginning of episcopal jurisdiction in the Spanish colonies of America, and while in practice the honor may have amounted to little, technically it belongs to the ancient See of the last of the Western Fathers. The canonical ground on which the claim was based on the fact that Palos, the little port from which Columbus set out on his first voyage, was in that diocese; and in the Spain of the end of the fifteenth century such a claim was likely to be asserted and jealously advanced. Local pride was stronger in those days than it is now, the concept of national patriotism not yet being fully attained. We must remember that the marriage of the Spanish monarchs did not imply the union of their kingdoms, and consequently an enterprise such as that of Columbus might absorb the attention of one part of the Peninsula without being much noticed in the others. In point of fact that is about what happened. The first voyage of the great discoverer was an affair, not of Spain, but of Castile. Its patron was Isabella, the greater part of the money was furnished by the *Santa Hermandad* of Castile (there is no evidence that Aragon furnished anything), the expedition sailed from the Castilian dominions and returned thither, and the famous Bull in which Pope Alexander VI laid down the Line of Demarcation regards Castile as the ruler of the newly found lands. Indeed, so little did the non-Castilians concern themselves with the matter, that the splendid reception accorded Columbus at Barcelona on

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\* There are some interesting reflections on this subject in *The Messenger* (New York), Vol. xlv, No. 5. See also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. x, pp. 280ss.

his first return is not even alluded to in the annals of that city nor in the Archives of Aragon. Furthermore, intercourse with the Colonies was at first restricted to Castilian subjects. This spirit of exclusiveness tended naturally to accentuate the importance in every regard of Seville. As regards trade, the *Casa de Contratacion*, through which commercial relations had to be transacted, was established there with Juan de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, at its head. As for religion, the first Indians brought back by Columbus were sent there to be trained up as future missionaries to their brethren, and part of the first gold mined in America was made into a chalice for the Cathedral.<sup>10</sup> But no especial significance can be attached to things in themselves so slight. Obviously not much could be done to substantiate any claim to canonical jurisdiction in a land where the Church could hardly be said to exist. At any rate the Fathers who went with Columbus on his second voyage received their faculties from the Pope, Father Buil being appointed Vicar Apostolic.<sup>11</sup> Practical acknowledgment of the rights of Seville was not made until 1511, when it became by papal appointment the metropolitan of the diocese then established.

That establishment was not long in coming. Within a dozen years of the discovery the question began to take on importance, by reason of the great number of settlers as much as the accession of natives to the fold. The step from a missionary to a full canonical status seemed to have been taken when in 1504, Pope Julius II signed the Bull *Illius fulciti* (November 15) which was intended to give this country its first bishops. To be sure, it was not the very first time that episcopal affairs in America had come before the papal court. Centuries before there had been a regularly constituted diocese in Greenland, and at the time when Pope Julius was providing bishops for Spain's new lands, there was living in Germany a bishop who took his title from Gardar in that distant territory. But to the medieval mind Greenland meant (as far as it meant anything) a part of Europe. Besides, the diocese established there in the eleventh century is now extinct, and consequently its history has for us only an academic interest, whereas Pope Julius' sees of 1504, though they never existed

<sup>10</sup> The rest was sent to Rome, where it was used on the ceiling of St. Mary Major's.

<sup>11</sup> PASTOR, *o. c.*, Vol. vi, p. 163.

except on paper, come somewhat nearer home to us, as their creation was the first foreshadowing of that hierarchical organization under which we now live. He chose the Island of Española (Hayti) as the site, since it was the centre of the civil jurisdiction, making it a province of three dioceses, Hyaguata and its suffragans Magua and Bayuna (or Bainúa). But at once difficulties cropped up. To begin with, the sites chosen were not the most convenient, a fact that shows how difficult it was then for persons in even the highest station to secure clear and reliable information about the topography of this part of the world. But this trouble was nothing to that caused by the secular power. At the very outset we see how the close union between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction could work for evil as well as for good. For King Ferdinand strongly objected to the arrangement by which the bishops were to enjoy a part of the tithes on gold, silver and precious stones. He contended that this would violate the right he possessed by papal concession, and as he refused to give way the provisions of the Bull could not be carried out. The prelates appointed were not permitted to come over, and the whole affair came to nothing.

For seven years this situation lasted. Still, despite this fact the statement has frequently been made that the celebrated Las Casas, who spent his noble life in the service of the Indians, was ordained here sometime before 1510, his being the first ordination in America. But who ordained him? For we know of no bishop in Spanish America before 1514. Possibly his first Mass was celebrated here, but an authentic record of his ordination is not forthcoming. It was not until 1511, that the Spanish territories began really to emerge from the missionary state and take their place in the hierarchical scheme of the Church. In the meantime the royal objections were suffered to prevail, the Pope deeming it wiser not to press the matter to a solution for fear of interrupting the missionary work among the natives and thus doing more harm than good.

Nothing could be done without yielding to Ferdinand's demand that the bishops should not share in the revenues mentioned. This policy was dictated by considerations more practical than a tenacious adherence to traditional abstract rights. Without implying that the Crown misappropriated such revenues, we may see how loath it would be to suffer the introduction of

such a practice, which might grow into a serious difficulty. For all during this century the Spanish sovereigns looked to the mines across the water for the means of carrying on their European wars, a need which became especially great when the Ruler of Spain was also Emperor and thus drawn into hostilities with France and the Turks. Even the interests of Christianity were not suffered to prevail in such a case, and the danger no less than the hopelessness of successful opposition in so important a matter led the Pope to agree that the new bishops should receive no share in the precious revenues. This solved the problem and left the way open for the creation of a hierarchy, which was done by a Brief of August 8, 1511, the three dioceses erected seven years before being forever abolished and an entirely new arrangement instituted. San Domingo and Conception de la Vega in Española, and San Juan in Puerto Rico, were made episcopal sees, with Seville as their Metropolitan. The bishops named in the Bull of 1504 were appointed to these dioceses, and the first to arrive was Alonso Manso, Canon of Salamanca, who had been transferred from the suppressed Magua to San Juan. He landed in 1513, the first bishop in the New World since the prelates of Gardar had ceased to visit their diocese. At any rate he so considered himself, as is plain from his language to the Home Government. With him, therefore, the American Hierarchy may be said to begin.

Keeping strictly to the line of events that gradually succeeded in establishing episcopal jurisdiction on our own proper soil, we come next to the erection of the see of Baracoa (in Cuba) which brings us a step nearer to the ecclesiastical history of the United States, for it was to this see, or rather to its successor Santiago, that our first parish belonged.

Though Cuba was sighted by Columbus on his first voyage it was many years before the Spaniards took up the settlement of the island. Until 1508, there was uncertainty as to whether it was an island or part of the mainland. And four years more were suffered to elapse before a colony was established. Then Diego Velasquez laid the foundations of Asuncion de Baracoa, and made it the seat of government of the new colony. Within half a dozen years a number of towns had sprung up, and no sooner was the civil administration organized than negotiations were begun for regularizing the ecclesiastical government. A



better instance than this could hardly be adduced of the thorough earnestness of the Spanish settlers in the spread of Catholicity. Up to 1512, the island had hardly been visited by them; six years later Pope Leo X was drafting a Bull to establish a bishopric there.

As originally created, the diocese of Baracoa included not only Cuba but also those parts of the mainland north of the Gulf of Mexico whither the Spaniards had penetrated. This would include Florida, but for a time such a connection was merely nominal, as the expedition of Ponce de Leon in 1513 had borne no real fruit. But (to anticipate a little) the wonderful eagerness to follow up colonization by church establishment was in evidence again in 1527, when Florida is said to have been made independent of Cuba and a bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed. This time, however, zeal would seem to have outrun discretion, for the disastrous outcome of Narvaez' attempt to make a settlement rendered the diocesan scheme abortive, and the territory was restored to the jurisdiction of Cuba—not, however, to Baracoa, but to Santiago, to which town both secular and ecclesiastical administration had been transferred in 1522. For the next twenty years the Church enjoyed a wonderful progress in Spanish America. One see after another was established, until it became clear that the new organization had outgrown its dependence on Seville. Consequently, in 1545, three metropolitans were established: Mexico, Lima and San Domingo, the last including in its province the diocese of Santiago. But for another score of years this had no practical effect on Florida, and that situation might have gone on longer were it not for the appearance of a rival in that region. It is interesting to note the parallel between the establishment of Spanish rule in the Southeast and in the Southwest. In both cases it came about through the desire of protecting the regions already occupied from the encroachments of an adverse European power. In Upper California the Spaniards were spurred to activity by the advance of the Russians down the Pacific Coast; in Florida the danger was from the Huguenots, who had introduced themselves into the Peninsula. Both were buffer settlements, and in both cases the antagonism was religious as well as racial.

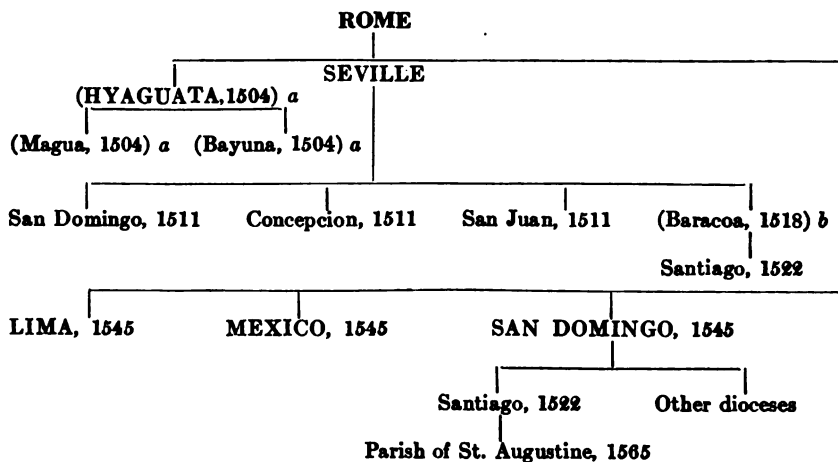
The story of the French attempt to settle Florida is well known. It failed, but only after a cruel massacre had wiped out the settlers. Its interest for us lies in this that it occasioned the establish-

ment of the first parish on soil that is now part of our country; for the danger to be apprehended from a renewal of the attempt moved the Spaniards to make their conquest permanent. A site was selected for a fort, a city was laid out, and the town became the Parish of Saint Augustine in the Diocese of Santiago. This was in 1565, nearly half a century before the English landed at Jamestown.

Thus, three quarters of a century after Columbus first sailed from Spain, the regular canonical government of the Church secured a footing in what is now our country.<sup>12</sup> The beginning were small and the parish had to go through many a trial, but it managed to maintain a continuous existence for two centuries, until Florida became English. Restored to Spain at the end of our War of Independence it renewed its life for forty years until the district came into the American Union. But the story of those years (1565 to 1821) must be left for another paper.

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<sup>12</sup> GENEALOGICAL TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE GROWTH OF DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION TREATED IN THE ARTICLE (ARCHDIOCESES IN CAPITALS).



a Suppressed, 1511.

b Suppressed, 1522.

## A REVALUATION OF EARLY PERUVIAN HISTORY

In the eyes of the general public, Bancroft and Prescott have said the last word on the history of this Continent, North and South. With the majority of non-Catholic readers their judgment is final; all the more so, because it is always decently averse to Catholic institutions and persons. As a result Catholic historical research comes almost to naught unless it also finally reaches the ear of the people. Against Bancroft's misrepresentations Catholics have an antidote in their own historians; in the case of Prescott, they are mostly without recourse, having nothing equally good to oppose to his disfigurement of Catholic Spanish-American history. The latter's work covers too extensive a field to be reviewed here in extenso. But I propose briefly to reëxamine Prescott's treatment of the principal personages connected with the Conquest and the christianization of Peru, and to suggest at the same time the manner in which this subject should be approached anew in the light of modern criticism. The latter work is chosen because it represents the mature outcome of the author's historical endeavors, and because, for sheer audacity of enterprise and felicitous results, the men connected with it overtower anything the New World can boast of.

The winning of Peru and the rapid christianization and civilization of the autochthonous population form one of the most wonderful pages in the Catholic annals of this continent. If we contrast, moreover, the ways and achievements of the Spanish *Conquistadores* with those of their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the North, the Catholic cavalier of Castile loses nothing by the comparison. While obloquy has been heaped on the latter, and while fulsome praise has been bestowed on the former, present-day historical investigation is quite ready to reverse the judgment of ill-informed or biased writers. The ideals of the Middle Ages had not yet passed away, when the New World loomed up dimly on the western horizon. Medieval civilization was essentially Catholic in character. In order to present them in their true light, the bold discoverers who made Spain of the sixteenth century famous, should be studied as part of the civilization that was their very existence. Prescott has strangely over-

stated and misstated the motives that prompted them to almost superhuman endeavors:

"Gold was the incentive and the recompense of the Spanish conqueror and in the pursuit of it his inflexible nature rarely hesitated as to the means. His courage was sullied with cruelty, the cruelty that flowed equally—strange as it may seem—from his avarice and his religion; religion as it was understood in that age—the religion of the Crusader. It was the convenient cloak for a multitude of sins, which covered them even from himself. The Castilian, too proud for hypocrisy, committed more cruelties in the name of religion than were ever practiced by the pagan idolator or the fanatical Moslem. The burning of the infidel was a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven, and the conversion of those who survived amply atoned for the foulest offenses."<sup>1</sup>

Referring to this subject, a Peruvian historian of note, E. Larrabure y Unanue, has written: "It is a fact not sufficiently understood that it was not only the thirst of gold, but also the love of glory and patriotism which were the prime movers that animated Nuñez de Balboa, as well as the sympathetic Hernando Cortez, Francisco Pizarro, Almagro, Juan de la Torre and many others. And it is now time that we should be just, without inclining the balance more to one side than to the other."<sup>2</sup> The picture as drawn by Prescott is dark enough, especially when these Catholics of southern Europe are contrasted with the Protestant Anglo-Saxon races that scattered themselves over the great northern division of this western hemisphere. "For the principle of action with these latter was not avarice, nor the more specious pretext of proselytism, but independence—independence religious and political. To secure this, they were content to earn a bare subsistence by a life of frugality and toil. They asked nothing from the soil, but a reasonable return of their own labor. No golden visions threw a deceitful halo around their path, and beckoned them onwards through seas of blood to the subversion of an offending dynasty."<sup>3</sup> Yet the imperial history testifies that these same colonists practised or were party to similar, if not greater, cruelties on the northern Indian and especially on the Negro. While Rome and Madrid took the southern Indians under their protection, the hapless African had no rights and no recourse against the caprices

<sup>1</sup> *Conquest of Peru*, Vol. i, p. 189, Phila., 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Monografías Histórico-Americanas*, p. 407. Lima, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Conquest of Peru*, loc. cit.

of irresponsible power. John Hawkins, the first Englishman to take part in their nefarious traffic in human flesh, was knighted by Elizabeth for his achievements, which consisted largely in "burning and spoiling" the towns of the natives of Guinea. The English Parliament, far from protecting the black men, encouraged the slave trade. In the century preceding its prohibition by the American Congress in 1776, the number of negroes imported by the English alone into Spanish, French and English colonies, on the lowest computation, was little less than three millions; and we must add more than a quarter of a million, who perished on the voyage, and whose bodies were thrown into the Atlantic. These figures, as Lecky well observes, are in themselves sufficiently eloquent. We have here almost as many negroes ruthlessly torn from their homes and sold into a helpless, abject, and crushing servitude, as there were Indians in the whole of the present territory of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest.<sup>4</sup> The contrast is illuminating, since it gives us an insight into the mentality which ruled Prescott in the composition of his history. He may not exhibit the downright Protestant frenzy of a Kingsley, but he shows himself totally incapable of grasping either the inner soul of the men who pass across his pages, or the deep, noble tendencies and influences which animated them in their gigantic undertakings. When he notices them at all, it is always with a covert sneer. Their success or failure as adventurers interests him above all, while he is often indifferent to the laws and institutions of which they were the moving spirits and by which posterity must judge them. And in this light the contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and Castilian conqueror and colonizer is greatly in favor of the latter.

Prescott is indeed less an historian than a dramatic narrator of picturesque events. He has delved into the old chroniclers only for a thread to connect them, after the fashion of the novelist. With this thread for a guide, he weaves into his narrative those events which appeal mostly to his fancy; and he makes deft use of only those quotations—very freely translated, abbreviated or expanded—which keep alive the reader's interest in his panoramic display, while it moves to its dramatic climax. He is so completely

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<sup>4</sup> LECKY, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. ii, pp. 242ss. New York, 1892.

fascinated by the *Historiadores Primitivos*, that he is little disposed to control their utterances or to challenge the reputation they have given their heroes. He completely fails to appreciate the sense of the supernatural which gripped the very souls of the *Conquistadores*. The principal personage in the conquest of Peru, Francisco Pizarro—although “a son of sin and sorrow”—was not the base and mercenary character so frequently depicted. He and his companions did desire gold, and under the circumstances it could not have been otherwise; but they also recognized that high above gold there was a sphere in which man ennobles himself by serving God and his fellowmen. They thirsted for glory; but they desired to secure it by propagating the religion of Christ which their fatherland, notwithstanding all its weaknesses, loved with an ardor that has never been surpassed. They were first and foremost crusaders of the Faith, the Faith which, as Lope de Vega beautifully expresses it, gave—

*Al Rey infinitas tierras,  
Y a Dios infinitas almas.*

The supernatural was to them the most living of realities, and any historian who fails to grasp that fact, fails also to understand what is best and greatest in them. He lacks the supreme norm by which to judge their lives and actions. Religion entered not only into the theory of the Spanish conquest of the New World, but it furnishes the key to the American crusades, as is evident from their origin, from the sanction openly given to them by the Pope, from the throng of devoted missionaries who followed in the track of the conquerors to garner the rich harvest of souls, as well as from the reiterated instructions of the crown, the great object of which was the conversion of the natives.

A few extracts from the original contemporary documents, unadorned by any comments from extraneous sources, furnish unimpeachable evidence to this effect. The contract between Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Fernando de Luque, which was entered into in the city of Panama in 1526, and which served as the basis for the expedition to Peru, begins as follows: *In the Name of the Most Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and one true God, and of Our Lady the Most Blessed Virgin.* . . . And, after describing in detail the

share each of the partners was to contribute to the enterprise and the share each was to receive from its successful termination, the document continues:

"And to give greater force to their promise that they would comply with all things set down in this document, they took God Our Lord to witness and made their oath on the Holy Gospels, touching them with their hands. And the captain Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro traced the sign of the cross with their own hand, reiterating that they would live up to and comply with everything entered into by this company and agreed upon in this writing under pain of passing as bad and infamous Christians."

The expedition, which had now started southwards from Panama, was almost wrecked for lack of men and means; and with but thirteen followers left, Pizarro landed on the little island of Gorgona. While waiting for further reinforcements, the commander and his soldiers said their morning prayers every day; in the evening they recited the *Salve Regina* and other prayers; they observed the feast days, and kept Fridays and Sundays, as the old chronicles tell us. Some time later, when Pizarro appeared in the bay of Tumbes, an Inca noble came to visit him, inquiring of him whence and why he had come to these shores. The commander replied "that he had come in the name of his Emperor to rescue the inhabitants from the darkness of unbelief in which they were now living. They worshiped an evil spirit who would bring their souls to everlasting perdition, but he would give them the knowledge of the true and only God, Jesus Christ, to believe in Whom was eternal salvation."

In the justly famous *Capitulacion* executed by the Queen of Spain at Toledo, July 26, 1529, in favor of Francisco Pizarro, it is declared in the clearest and most incontrovertible terms:

"It is our pleasure taking into account the good life and doctrine of Don Fernando de Luque, to present him to our Most Holy Father for the Bishopric of Tumbes in the province and government of Peru . . . and while awaiting the arrival of the bulls for the said Bishopric, we appoint him as general protector of all the Indians of that province. . . . When you set out from our kingdom for the provinces of Peru, you will reserve passage on your vessels . . . for all those religious and ecclesiastical persons appointed by us to instruct the Indian inhabitants in our Catholic faith. And you will obtain their advice in the conquest, exploration, and settlement of the country, and you will do nothing without consulting them."

When Pizarro finally set out from Panama on his third and most successful voyage, these regulations were faithfully carried out. Five religious accompanied him; and, as befitted true crusaders of the faith, the event was duly signalized by an imposing religious celebration.

"The banner and the royal standard were blessed in the Cathedral of Panama on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, A. D. 1530. All the soldiers confessed and communicated in the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, on the feast of the Holy Innocents, at a High Mass celebrated with all solemnity. The sermon was preached by Fray Juan de Vargas, one of the five religious who, in obedience to their superior and the orders of the Emperor, accompanied the soldiers of the Conquest."

On his progress through the country, the commander issued a proclamation to all the natives with whom he came into contact, "that he had been sent by his Majesty the Emperor to the Indians to bring them to the knowledge of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to require them to submit peacefully to the Apostolic Church of Rome. . . ." When he founded his first colony, San Miguel, some thirty leagues south of Tumbes, where he had first landed, and public buildings began to be erected, the church was among the first to rise. At the same time several natives were assigned to each colonist to assist him in his labors and moreover in order that "the Christian might teach them our Holy Faith in conformity with the orders of his Majesty." The small army faced the most arduous task of all—the passage of the Andes; and even the lust of gold which had been so often held up as the prime object of the conquerors, made the stoutest hearts quail before the unknown perils that were ahead. Pizarro had but to appeal to their religious convictions and to remind them of the main purpose of the expedition: the spread of the true Faith, in order to reanimate them with a renewed and even greater purpose:

"Let all take courage and comport yourselves as I expect you to do. Exert yourselves as faithful sons of Spain have always done. Fear not the great multitude of people opposed to the small force of Christians. Even if there were fewer of us and our opponents were more numerous than they are, the help of God is all-powerful. He never abandons his own in their extremity, and He will now assist us to overcome and humble the proud infidels and bring them to the knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith."



When they were finally in presence of Atahualpa, the Inca, Father Vincente de Valverde, the Dominican chaplain of the expedition, who afterwards became Bishop of Cuzco, reiterated and amplified the purpose of the expedition, as also did Pizarro when the Inca was a captive in his power. The deepest conviction and sincerity are evident in these different professions of their supreme purpose. This again, when Hernando Pizarro, brother of the conqueror, had been despatched by his chief on an expedition to Pachacamac, with its temple famed all over the country for the oracles delivered from its dark and mysterious shrine—an American Delphi indeed—and after he had forced his way into the sacred edifice, Prescott himself, on describing what ensued, cannot withhold his admiration for the conduct of the fervent Catholic cavalier:

“Tearing the idol from its recess, the indignant Spaniards dragged it into the open air, and there broke it into a hundred fragments. The place was then purified, and a large cross, made of stone and plaster, was erected on the spot. In a few years the walls of the temple were pulled down by the Spanish settlers, who found there a convenient quarry for their own edifices. But the cross still remained, spreading its broad arms over the ruins. It stood where it was planted, in the very heart of the stronghold of Heathendom; and, while all was in ruins around it, proclaimed the permanent triumphs of the Faith. The simple natives, finding that Heaven had no bolts in store for the Conquerors, and that their god had no power to prevent the profanation of his shrine, came in gradually and tendered their homage to the strangers, whom they now regarded with feelings of superstitious awe. Pizarro profited by this temper to wean them, if possible, from their idolatry; and though no preacher himself, as he tells us, he delivered a discourse, explaining to them that they lived in a false religion. In conclusion he taught them the sign of the cross, as an inestimable talisman to secure them against the machinations of the Devil.”<sup>1</sup>

No sooner had Cuzco, the Rome of the Inca empire, been taken by the Spaniards, who now felt themselves complete masters of the country, than they set about with method and perseverance to carry out their plans for the conversion and civilization of the Indians. In the *Capitulacion* referred to above, Pizarro had been required to bring out with him a certain number of priests in his own vessels. Every succeeding vessel brought

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<sup>1</sup> L. c., Vol. i, p. 396.

an additional number of ecclesiastics. And Prescott pays a grudging and therefore all the more valuable a tribute to their labors:

"They were, many of them, men of singular humility who followed in the track of the conqueror to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and, with disinterested zeal devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel. Thus did their pious labors prove them the true soldiers of the Cross, and showed that the object so ostentatiously avowed of carrying its banner among the heather nations, was not an empty vaunt."<sup>6</sup>

This ceaseless effort to christianize the heathen is the most honorable characteristic of the Spanish conquest. The Puritan, with equal religious zeal, did comparatively little for the conversion of the Indian—content, as it would seem, with having secured to himself the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in his own way. Other adventurers, who have occupied the New World, have often had too little regard for religion themselves, to be very solicitous about spreading it among the savages. But from first to last the Spanish conqueror exhibited a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives. Under his auspices, churches were erected on a magnificent scale. Schools for elementary instruction were founded and every rational means was taken to spread the knowledge of religious truth. Almost before the viceroys were aware of it, the missionaries had carried the Gospel into remote and almost inaccessible regions, and had gathered their Indian disciples into communities in order to teach them not only the truths of religion, but also the useful arts of civilized life. At all times the courageous ecclesiastic was ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of certain successful adventurers or against the cupidity of certain powerful colonists. When his remonstrances proved unavailing, as they sometimes did, he still followed to bind up the wounds of his flock, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and to enlighten his dimmed intellect with the revelation of a holier and happier existence in the next world. The Spanish conqueror welcomed him, and seconded him in all his efforts to perform his work of beneficence and to spread the light of civilization over the farthest regions of the New World. The same spirit animated both, and it became stronger in every crisis. There is no need to

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<sup>6</sup> *L. c.*, Vol. i, p. 321.

multiply testimonies to this. It suffices to add the words of an old chronicler, who in describing the assassination of Francisco Pizarro, "the Spanish Julius Caesar," as he not inaptly called him: "His traitorous enemies overpowered him and delt him cruel blows. The Spanish Julius Caesar fell overcome by his wounds. While asking for a confessor and making an act of contrition, he traced the sign of the Cross with his blood and expired." It was a death altogether worthy of the man who, when he founded his new capital, Lima, proclaimed that it was to be founded "en Dios, y por Dios y en su Nombre."

No true historical record can deny that these Spanish empire-builders were cast in the heroic mould of the Catholic Faith. With such convictions to animate them, it is not surprising that civilization and learning should have spread so quickly over all the country they had conquered, and so much more rapidly than in any other part of the North American continent under Anglo-Saxon influence. The Cathedrals of Cuzco and Lima are, in size, appointments and artistic value, superior to any church in the western Hemisphere, Mexico alone excepted. Sanctity and learning kept pace with material progress. St. Rose of Lima and St. Turibius bear testimony to the former, while the founding of the University of San Marcos in Lima bears testimony to the latter. It is the oldest University of the New World, dating from 1551, fifty-six years before the English settlers landed in Jamestown, fifty-eight years before Hudson sailed into the Bay of New York, sixty-nine years before the *Mayflower* touched the shores of New England. By virtue of its charter, it enjoyed all the privileges of the University of Salamanca, which was then one of the most noted seats of learning in Europe. Indeed almost immediately after the conquest and for generations to come, Lima was the center of learning and culture in South America.

I am aware that this sketch of the Spaniard in early Peru does not accord with the view taken of him by many modern historians. But if, in the words of Joseph De Maistre, history has often been a conspiracy against the truth, it has been so particularly in the case of South America. It is not too much to say that the early history of Peru remains to be retold, and that it can be told as it deserves only by a Catholic. There have been excesses, and there is no need to rehearse them here; Protestant historians,

to whom we have left the task, have done that with a vengeance. No character is drawn in darker colors by Prescott than that of the saintly Father Valverde, Pizarro's chaplain, and the first Bishop of Cuzco. At the capture of the Inca Atahualpa in Caxamalca, at his condemnation to death and his execution, he is represented as "a bigoted prelate with a heart so seared by fanaticism as to be closed against sympathy with the unfortunate natives." His biography remains to be written for English readers, and an unbiased reexamination of the records will reveal an altogether different character. Their reexamination is urgently needed, not only in his case, but in the case of many others who shared in the conquest of Peru and in the important events immediately subsequent to it. Not only Americanists, but above all students of American Catholic history, need now more than ever a critical, annotated collection of the "Historians of Peru." The better known chroniclers of the Conquest deserve to be reedited with all the critical apparatus now at our disposal, and sources thus far untouched will yield an abundance of new and surprising material on this subject. The public library of Lima and that of the University of San Marcos contain a wealth of manuscripts practically unknown and yet of the greatest value to the historian. The same holds true of Spanish libraries and those of its various religious orders, especially those of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits. Right at home we have the Widener collection at Harvard, recently enriched by six hundred volumes, the gift of Edwin V. Morgan. This rich mine of South American lore ought to be worked by competent Catholic investigators.

Peru was the center from which religion and civilization radiated practically all over South America, during the time that one discovery after another was made by the men who first set foot on its soil. For lack of documents, often existing but unknown, their services have not always received due recognition, and credit has unjustly been given to government agents and representatives of learned societies who have done their work only in the last hundred years.

It may easily be seen that in this particular field, very much still remains to be done by the Catholic historian. The history of the ever interesting land of Peru has barely been outlined, and has generally been presented in a false perspective. Only patient *Kleinarbeit* among the manuscripts, both those known

and those still unpublished, can give us a true recital of the facts; and there is no doubt that when this task has been thoroughy done, it will compel a readjustment of values in the history of Peru. Then the Catholic cavalier and the Catholic missionary, who were ever in the forefront of every great enterprise, will finally come into their own.

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## CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO (1525-1912)

It is not easy to resume in a few pages all that the Catholic Church has done for the education and culture of the Mexican nation. We know of no one who has given a complete, concise account of the subject from the time of the Conquest up to the present day. It is not strange, therefore, in the absence of such a work, that so many errors on the matter should exist not only in other countries but even in the republic of Mexico, where certainly the glories of the country should be better known. Owing to the fact that we have a more extensive work in preparation in which all the historical proofs of this present paper will be presented, we will give only the general results of our investigation, without entering into the matter in detail.

In the first place, to avoid confusion, a distinction must be made between moral education and intellectual education—usually called culture; for although they mutually aid each other, they are quite different in scope. The first tends to form the heart and to accustom the will to follow the dictates of reason, by conquering any natural vicious inclinations; in a word, it aims to make a man good, honest, virtuous, social and civilized. The second aims to increase the number of useful arts, to enrich the intelligence and to broaden the field of the material activities. Through her clergy the Catholic Church has as its principal office to teach religious truth and to educate the will; and thus to civilize and perfect the morality of the world. The Church has never attributed to herself the exclusive mission of teaching the natural sciences, though it has frequently taught them, either as a means to strengthen good morals or because there was no one else able to carry on such work, especially in those places where the State was disturbed by wars or civil dissensions. The progress of science is a thing which belongs to the whole social body; and it is unreasonable to hold the Church responsible for the lack of advance in this regard, since that is not the principal aim of her activities. In this study, therefore, our attention is drawn not to the moral education of the Mexican people (though whatever education exists today in Mexico is due to the Church and to the clergy), but more particularly to the intellectual

education which, although not the exclusive mission of the Church, has been nevertheless imparted by her with so much zeal and with such a liberal hand that without her aid Mexican culture would be reduced to a negligible quantity. Up to our own time, three distinct epochs in the public instruction of Mexico may be distinguished. The first extends from the time of the Conquest down to the year 1767; the second, from the expulsion of the Society of Jesus to the fall of the Empire in 1867; and the third, from 1867 to the Revolution of Madero. The first may be characterized as an age of uninterrupted progress and prosperity; the second, as a period of general decline and of fruitless effort; and the third, as a time of reorganization, with a tendency on the part of the government to monopolize and secularize all instruction, and a tendency on the part of Catholics to give it a more liberal Catholic character.

#### I. THE COLONIAL EPOCH, 1525-1767

Mexico is not, like the United States, a nation imported from Europe. It is a new native nationality mingled with a third part Spanish and which, little by little, has been transformed by contact with the blood, the religion, the customs, and the scientific culture of Europe. To apply to the Mexican people, therefore, the same laws of evolution as prevail in the United States would be a contradiction, an injustice. In less than two centuries after the Conquest, the entire aboriginal population from New Mexico to Guatemala was completely civilized. It became Christian and it was organized on civic lines by Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and secular priests—a great number of whom laid down their lives in this cause. The incredible exertions of these indefatigable missionaries in learning the native languages, in writing books in these languages, with which to tame the savagery of the Indians and to reform their customs, are triumphs which have lain forgotten in chronicles, waiting for the hand which will do them justice by manifesting them to the world. The entire population of the country in this first epoch knew perfectly the essential doctrines of the Christian faith and the basic laws of Christian morality. Honesty, respect for authority, abhorrence of theft, marital fidelity, hospitality, sociability of a refined order, and urbanity were common virtues which were characteristic of the Mexican people

even after long years of revolution and official irreligion. There were, of course, errors and abuses, as there always have been in all European colonies; but there they were lessened to a great degree by public morality, fraternal union of the races, and by religious unity. In a country so pacified and moralized, the progress of scientific work would have increased continually, if political and religious dissensions had not intervened. Once the country had been won to the Catholic faith, the clergy endeavored to diffuse instruction and to raise the colony to the intellectual level of Europe—and they succeeded in doing it.

Primary schools were established for the children of the *caciques* and Spaniards in all the monasteries where the friars had a permanent residence. The first school established was that of San Francisco el Grande in Mexico City, by Brother Pedro de Gante, shortly after his arrival in 1523. He succeeded in bringing almost one thousand children to the school, where they were taught Christian doctrine, music, singing, literature, the mechanical arts, reading and writing. Some of these children studied Latin and the higher branches. Up to the year 1658, the Franciscans had established fifty-two monasteries and about one hundred and forty-eight smaller residences. The other religious orders did the same wherever they were established. Among the most renowned colleges were: the Franciscan College of Tlaltelolco (1534), and the Jesuit Colleges of San Gregorio, of Mexico City, San Javier of Puebla, San Martin of Tepotzotlan, and the schools at Patzcuaro, Parras, San Luis de la Paz, and Sinaloa. From 1525, the education of girls was begun by the Teresian Sisters and continued by the Franciscan Sisters of the Third Order, in most of the eighty-five other religious convents founded in Mexico. There were also an Academy for Indian girls, an Asylum for the *mestizos*, which was founded by the Viceroy Mendoza, and the famous College of Niñas and of Vizcainas, the endowment of which still remains intact. According to the customs of the time, the young women were educated preferably for domestic life.

Up to the coming of the Jesuits, there was no College in Mexico for the secondary education of the creoles, the only exception being the school of San Juan de Letran, in which Latin was taught, especially to the *mestizos*. The establishment, in 1573,



of the College which received the name of the Royal and Most Ancient College of San Pedro, San Pablo, and San Ildefonso, was an important event in the educational history of the country. There the scholars who honored Mexico for more than two hundred years received their education, as one may see in the bibliographies which exist on this subject and in the book *Alumnos distinguidos de San Ildefonso*, written by Dr. Felix Osoreo. Like the Capital, all other cities of any importance wished to enjoy the advantages of this secondary education, which was given almost exclusively by the Jesuits. There appeared one after the other, therefore, the College of Espiritu Santo in Puebla (with the schools of San Jeronimo and San Ignacio); of San Javier of Valladolid (Morelia); Santo Tomas (with the school of San Juan), in Guadalajara; Zacatecas (with the school of San Luis); Oaxaca; Queretaro (with its school); Merida, Campeche, San Luis Potosi, Chihuahua, El Parral, Guanajuato, Veracruz, La Habana, and Guatemala; and the Seminaries of Durango and Chiapas. The rest of the towns did not then have a sufficient number of lay students, creoles, or *mestizos*, to warrant the erection of a College. By introducing into the country their programme of studies (*Ratio Studiorum*), which had been drawn up by a large number of learned men in Europe on the plan of the most flourishing University of the times—that of Paris, the Jesuits contributed in a potent way to the intellectual development of Mexico. Their programme of studies had the immense advantage of determining clearly the end to which secondary education tended, and of descending to all the necessary details in order to obtain that end. It was based upon Christian religious and moral teaching, and upon classic Greek, Latin and Spanish culture. This literary movement, which was instituted in the Jesuit colleges, was greatly aided by Houses of Studies which the different religious Orders had for their own students, and by the Seminaries of the secular clergy. Mention may be made of the Colleges of San Pablo of Mexico City, directed by the Augustinians (1575); S. Pedro and S. Pablo of Mexico City, and San Ildefonso of Puebla, directed by the Jesuits; Regina-Coeli of Mexico City and San Luis of Puebla, directed by the Dominicans; the celebrated Colleges of the Franciscans, Santa Cruz of Queretaro (1682), Guadalupe at Zacatecas (1707), San Fernando at Mexico City (1734) for missionaries, and

especially the Seminaries of the secular clergy, such as that of San Nicolás in Morelia, that of Mexico City, the Palafoxiano of Puebla (founded about the middle of the seventeenth century), that of Guadalajara (1699), and many others which produced renowned scholars.

Higher studies were also given in some of these Colleges which have been mentioned already, in the Seminaries, and especially in the University of Mexico, which had been founded in 1551, with all the rights and privileges of the University of Salamanca. It had a library of 10,000 volumes which was thrown open to the public morning and evening. Besides the University studies, courses were established there in the Mexican dialects, in medicine, and in botany. Charles III opened the Academy of Beaux Arts of San Carlos. The Universities of Yucatan and of Guatemala were also established by the Jesuits. That of Guadalajara was founded in 1778. The professors of the secondary schools, as well as those for the Universities, generally came from Europe. Tuition was entirely free, and, on account of the endowments they enjoyed, was not dependent upon contributions.

The fruit produced by the system of study followed in the Jesuit Colleges and the Universities may be seen in the bibliographies of Icazbalceta, Andrade and Nicolas de Leon. One thing is worthy of notice: the Mexicans of the eighteenth century prided themselves on being able to vie with European savants, who were the glory of the universities of the Old World; and the Mexican Jesuits in their knowledge of Latin, philosophy, theology, law and the natural sciences rivalled not only the most learned men of Spain, but also those of Rome and Bologna. From what has been said thus far, we can see how much credit is to be given to the criticisms we hear so often on the obscurantism of this period; one needs only to remember that in less than two centuries Mexico, although composed of so many nationalities and of savage tribes, and with a population of not more than 5,000,000, three-fourths of whom were Indians or *mestizos*, produced a wonderful variety of literary treasures and a great number of educated men. On the twenty-fifth of June, 1767, with the expulsion and exile of the Jesuits, public instruction entered into a new period which presents a completely distinct aspect.

## II. FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS TO THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN (1767-1867)

This period of educational decline and moral decadence was disturbed by four different wars—the war of Mexican Independence, the Civil War, the War with the United States, and the French intervention, this last being the most disastrous of all. During this period, scarcely any educational progress was possible on account of the scantiness of resources and the impossibility of entering into the literary movement which was transforming Europe; for there was a war *à l'outrance* being waged against the existing religious Orders and the clergy. The harsh suppression of the Society of Jesus, of most of its institutions of learning, and of its Missions were evils of transcendent magnitude to the social, moral, and intellectual development of the country. All the states of the North, including New Mexico, were reduced to a state bordering on barbarism. The greater part of them remained in that state until the opening of the country by the railroads. The secular clergy and the friars were not numerous enough to take the place of the Jesuits in the Missions. They lacked the necessary preparation for the work, and they were ignorant of the languages of the natives of these States. Moreover, the religious Orders were composed chiefly of men who had been educated in the Colleges of the Jesuits, and after the Suppression they were forced to extend their sphere of action by substituting for those who had been exiled from the Missions, persons without education and sometimes without vocation. Deprived of the stimulus and competition of one Order whose activity was well known, they, as well as the secular clergy, neglected educational work and busied themselves in the administration of their *haciendas*, giving an abortive birth to those clerical pedants and apostates who humiliated the Mexican Church at the beginning of the period of Independence. Mexican society, although diseased at heart by the lack of moral and intellectual education of her youth, continued for some years to make progress, as long as the generation formed by the Jesuits lasted; but it began at last to decay rapidly after the reign of the Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo, a disciple of the Jesuits and the first to vindicate the honor of his teachers and to resuscitate their literary and religious successes.

The University of Mexico City continued to maintain its zeal for serious study as best it could during these wars. In one of its chairs, and for many years as its Rector, was the most eminent jurist then in Mexico, Father Basilio Manuel Arrillaga, who was consulted as the leading legal authority and was a firm supporter of science and orthodox doctrine. The Jacobin, Vicente Gomez Farias, with the design of completely excluding from public teaching the clergy, the learned men, and ecclesiastical sciences, succeeded in suppressing the University in 1833; but the Conservative party restored it again in 1834, modifying certain of its statutes. General Comonfort suppressed it again in 1857, but it was reopened by Zuloaga on May 5, 1858. Juarez closed it on January 23, 1861, but it was reopened under the Regency and remained open until it came to an end definitively at the hands of Maximilian and his liberal ministers, November 30, 1865.

The great problem, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, was to find teachers to take their places in the education of youth. The Royal Decree of October 5, 1767 (inspired by the secularizing work of the French philosophers), which introduced secular teachers in the chairs of literature in the former Jesuit colleges, and that of August 14, 1768, which excluded all members of the religious Orders from the Colleges, Seminaries, and Universities, aggravated the educational disorder of the country. It was almost impossible at the time to find the necessary professors and instructors, and many of these institutions were forced to close their doors, with great subsequent detriment to the provinces far from the Capital. In the more populous cities they were able to form a body of professors from among the old disciples, and these tried to keep alive the spirit and the literary traditions of the Jesuits, under the immediate direction of the Government. Such is the origin of the greater number of those civil institutions which even today are housed in the old Colleges once belonging to the Jesuits.

During the century under consideration all these centres of education fell into decay until they were almost reduced to a shadow of what they had been formerly. This is a very serious thing to say, but it can be substantiated by most conclusive proofs from the letters of the Directors of the institutions which succeeded those of the Jesuits up to the time of Maximilian. It

will suffice to mention the Marquis de Castañiza, who was Rector of the College of San Ildefonso during a period of more than forty years, and his own testimony in regard to the decay of public education in Durango where he was Bishop. There are letters about the Collegio Carolino of Puebla and the bad state of education from 1767 to 1845 from Dr. Luis de Mendizabal and from Father Luis Gutierrez del Corral, who was Rector of the same, showing the evil effects of governmental supervision. Of that of Guadalajara, we have similar testimony from Dr. Francisco de Velasco, who was University teacher for twenty years. On the College of Queretaro, we have the testimony of the Congress of the same State of the year 1849. In Chiapas, Yucatan, Oaxaca, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz, and in other cities, educational facilities were reduced almost to a minimum owing to incompetent directors. It seems a fallacy, and yet it is true, that in these calamitous times from 1810 to 1867, when religious and scientific education were calumniated, impoverished and destroyed, the men with the best liberal and scientific training were educated in the Seminaries of Mexico City, of Puebla, of Guadalajara and Morelia, where Latin, classical literature, civil and Roman law, classical philosophy and moral theology were taught in spite of the intellectual decadence which had settled on Mexico. These institutions indeed saved Mexico from utter barbarism. Their studies were still considered legal by the government; and up to that date noble lawyers and distinguished men of letters are to be found, who began their studies in these Colleges and who flourished in greater number and with a far superior education than those educated in the badly organized civil institutions, where the personnel was being changed with every change of government. Thanks to the Seminaries the newborn Republic preserved her flourishing spirit during the years of religious peace which preceded the reform. The University continued to spread its light; the National Library and the National Museum, the Academy of Language, and the Academy of History were founded and organized then (1835), and at this time also was completed that monumental work, the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografia*.

The question rises quite naturally: Why did not the clergy do more during this period in behalf of education? Simply because they were not allowed to do so, on account of the con-

stant war waged against them by the Liberal party. With great tenacity, the Liberal party prevented all attempts at any educational reorganization of the Jesuit Colleges. We need only to mention the suppression of the College of San Ildefonso in Mexico City in 1821, and again in 1865 by Maximilian; that of San Gregorio by Comonfort and the Congress of 1856; of the Carolino of Puebla in 1821, and of the Seminary of San Camilo in Mexico City in 1873. The only aspect of educational work which continued to make progress, was elementary teaching which continued spreading all over the country, by means of private schools, or because their personnel was sustained by all the partizans.

### III. FROM JUAREZ TO MADERO (1867-1912)

Besides the wars in Mexico, one of the greatest obstacles to the generalization and the solidity of education was the sectarianism of the Liberal party, which spread atheistical doctrines by weakening the Catholic party and by strengthening its own political fortunes. It waged a constant opposition to any kind of teaching not its own. This party, which came boldly into power by the force of arms and not by the popular vote, has always remained a small minority, but in no other phase of activity has it shown a more determined attitude than in its systematic destruction of Catholic institutions. It has deliberately kept the people in religious ignorance in order to strengthen its monopoly of teaching and to impose its own dogmas on the great mass of the population. Among the first to introduce atheism into this official education (though not radically) was Gomez Farias with his Decrees of October 19 and 24, 1833, which completely excluded the clergy from teaching, suppressed the University, and established a uniform regulation of public instruction. On account of the wars, this system did not begin to take shape until after 1885, when Porfirio Diaz ruled the destinies of the country, and especially after the first National Congress of Public Instruction, opened (December 1, 1889), by the Secretary, D. Joaquin Baranda, and his successor, D. Justo Sierra. Since that time, all men of good will, whether Liberals or not, have tried to spread primary State education; though on account of the lack of resources and of professors, they could scarcely establish half the schools necessary for the instruction of the public.

For that cause, Diaz freely accepted the help of the Catholics and of the religious of both sexes; and thanks to this better spirit, the number of public primary schools was raised from about 4,000 to 42,000. The government also established colleges of secondary education in the Capitals of all the States and in other towns of relative importance. The number of these preparatory schools, considering the state of primary teaching and the help of the free Colleges, almost sufficed for the number of the students who desired to follow their curriculum. There was no official University and no titles of Doctor given in any of the sciences—mathematics, philosophy, or literature. Each State had its own normal schools for law, engineering and medicine; but these were often weakened on account of the lack of the necessary means. In Mexico City there were Academies of letters and superior studies, and of archaeology, history, etc. If in some way we congratulate the government for the extension and the organization of public education and for the interest it showed in spreading the study of the natural sciences, especially in the Capital and in the secondary schools, Catholic educators and their spiritual leaders, who are truly patriots of broad mind, cannot but recognize the grievous defects therein, and cannot but make the official interference responsible for the moral, intellectual, material and political destruction which has fallen upon this rich country. Moreover, this neutral teaching (sectarian and positivistic as it was) was a military imposition of one party contrary to the will and the belief of almost all the people; and it was founded on a gross ignorance of Catholic doctrines. This liberal teaching, by eliminating religion and the basic elements of all morality, and by neglecting completely the moral education and the strengthening of the will in the hearts of the children, opened a broad way to the depraving of their instincts. This liberal education was the weapon one political party used to triumph over the power of its opponents and to give employment to its parties who came to power.

It was the instrument of philosophical sectarianism which destroyed Catholic belief, by pretending to centralize the country around this liberal idea, by introducing in the place of Catholic doctrine the positivistic doctrines of Comte, and consequently naturalism and materialism. It was a spirit which atrophied the Mexican mind. It robbed education of higher learning,

of the eternal and immovable principles of justice, of idealism, of the spirituality of the soul, of liberty, of the historical and scientific value of all revealed religion, and even of all natural religion. It atrophied the imagination and the spirit of youth with premature and almost exclusive study of the material and mathematical sciences. It dried up the fountain of all literary studies, suppressing the teaching of languages and ancient classic authors and reducing to a minimum the study of the national language. It made constant and silent war upon those Catholic institutions which could in any way compete with its schools.

Let us pause a little upon this last point. Though the Constitution of 1857 allowed freedom of education, so many restrictions were placed upon the Free Schools that they could scarcely develop or bear the fruit of which they were certainly capable. For motives which are apparent, Catholic teachers had to be brought from foreign countries. The anti-Catholic Laws of Reform which Don Porfirio Diaz attempted to deal in a tolerant spirit with the whole country, left notwithstanding the teaching bodies of the religious instructors in an abnormal condition. After the triumph of the Liberal party, there was a complete exclusion of all Catholic teachers from the educational field; and although later on some of them were admitted, they were never allowed to occupy directive positions or chairs of any importance, as, for instance, of history, philosophy, or ethics. Indirectly the programmes of the preparatory schools of Mexico City were imposed on all the States and even on the Free Schools.

The validity of the studies made in the free colleges was never officially recognized, nor did the Government even consent to send official examiners to them (except in Guadalajara). These schools were obliged, if they wanted to have students, to renounce their own classical programmes and adopt those of the Government, and to send their students privately to be examined in the official schools. The State went so far as to follow the suicidal measure of making the examinations of the students of the official schools as easy as possible, and even of approving them without any examination, it being sufficient that they should have attended a certain number of classes in the Government institutions. The alumni of the Free Schools, however, were



required to make three *muy bien* marks before they were simply approved. Such was the freedom of education in the times of Justo Sierra and of his Secretary, Ecequiel Chavez.

The sad consequences of Liberal education are shown by the small number of men of letters today which it has produced. The ever-widening division among the educated classes into every kind of erroneous system of social revolution is evidenced in the writings published by the Ministers of Instruction, Vasquez Gomez and Nemesio Naranjo. We refer the reader to these writings because, as the work of Liberals, they have incontestable authority.

The Catholics were careful to preserve their own religious training as well as their literary and classical traditions without neglecting the brilliant scientific work they had done in the past; and they tried to establish institutions where they could gather together all these advantages and raise up their children along the highest moral and intellectual lines. Almost immediately after the death of Maximilian, the *Catholic Societies* spread primary Free Schools all through the country. After a few tentative attempts in Mexico City, the Jesuit Fathers founded the Catholic College of Puebla (1870) and the no less famous College of San Juan Nepomucene of Saltillo (1878), which were superior during many years to those of the government on account of their scientific instruction and their literary successes. After them came the Scientific Institute of Mexico City (1896), and that of San José of Guadalajara (1906), which gave to the country (even in spite of having been subjected to governmental interference) an instruction superior to that of many similar institutions in Europe and even in the United States. In these last years, other religious Orders and the secular clergy founded a great number of institutions for secondary teaching, for commerce, arts, and trades; and primary schools were established in the European fashion with acknowledged success. Among these may be mentioned the Schools of the Christian Brothers and of the Marist Brothers, those of the Salesians, who had their Schools of the arts and commerce in Mexico City, in Puebla, Guadalajara, Monterrey, and in Morelia; and the Catholic Normal Schools of Puebla and of Guadalajara, which were directed by laymen.

All the Seminaries of the country had been already formed on the plan of studies used in the Gregorian University at Rome; they also modelled their curricula of studies and discipline, their religious and clerical education, under the inspiration of professors or directors who had been educated in Europe. In many of these Seminaries were teachers thoroughly acquainted with the social and intellectual movement of Europe, who gave lectures on Catholic social action, thus initiating among the clergy a real campaign in favor of the working class. The Seminaries of Mexico City and of Puebla had been turned into Universities, and the latter one gave university courses even for laymen. In Guadalajara, there was a Catholic school of law as a preparation for the establishment in the near future of a University there. In Mexico City an Academy of higher studies of medicine and of sociology were about to be established.

The education of women of all classes was perhaps the one to which most attention was given all over Mexico. The Presidents, Manuel Gonzalez and Porfirio Diaz, brought over from France the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, in whose Colleges of Guajuato, Mexico City, San Luis Potosi, Guadalajara and Monterrey, young girls were being educated in the sciences, social customs, and domestic occupations, with as much perfection as in the most civilized nations. In this work the Carmelite Sisters, the Sisters of the Incarnate Word, and many others, were occupied in the higher branches of education as well as in the elementary schools, asylums, day nurseries, reformatories, etc.

Probably from 4,000 to 6,000 Catholic Colleges were in existence in Mexico, where the rising generation were being taught their civic, moral and religious duties; and their graduates were spreading over the country a social, intellectual and scientific culture with a success which the official institutions never succeeded in reaching.

All these establishments of virtue and learning have been demolished by the vandalism of the past four years. Their libraries and scientific laboratories, their museums, their works of art, and their educational equipment have been destroyed through the rapacity of the soldiers. Their professors have been imprisoned, robbed, or sent into exile, and their teaching absolutely forbidden. No one can say that this has been done to spread culture or learning or virtue; and in consequence the

civilization of Mexico has now reached the low level with which it began in the earliest days of the Conquest.

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Among the sources consulted for this article, which has been translated for the REVIEW by the Rev. David Ramos, O.F.M., of Brooklyn, N. Y., are the following: MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*. México, 1870; BETANCOURT, *Crónica*. México, 1697; ARRECIVITA, *Crónica Apostólica*. México, 1792; J. GARCIA ICAZBALCETA, *Vida de Fr. Juan de Zumárraga*. México, 1881; *Discurso sobre la Instrucción Pública a principios del siglo XVI*, *Obras, Colección de Autores Mexicanos*; DAVILA Y ARRILLAGA, *Continuación de Alegre*. Puebla, 1888; ALEGRE, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Nueva España*. México, 1841; *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República Mexicana durante el siglo XIX*. Guadalajara, 1914; *Costumbres del colegio de San Ildefonso de México* (Unpublished MSS. of 1760); MENENDEZ PELAYO, *Historia de la Literatura mexicana*. Madrid, 1911; J. G. ICAZBALCETA, *Bibliografía del siglo XVI*; VIC. DE P. ANDRADE, *Bibliografía del siglo XVII*; NICOLAS DE LEON *Bibliografía del siglo XVIII*; FELIX OSORES, *Alumnos distinguidos del colegio de San Ildefonso*; *Historia del colegio de San Ildefonso*; ALAMAN, *Historia de México*. Mexico, 1850; F. H. VERA, *Catecismo Geográfico-Histórico-Estadístico de la Iglesia Mexicana*. Amecameca, 1881; BASURTO-SOSA-VERDIA SANTOSCOY-ANDRADE, etc., *Historias particulares de Obispos y vidas de Obispos*; and many unpublished documents from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* of Madrid and of Mexico City.

## MISCELLANY

### A

#### TWO INTERESTING COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF MILWAUKEE

### 1.

#### THE REVEREND ANTHONY PENCO, C.M.

While strolling through the galleries or cloisters of the magnificent Campo Santo (cemetery) of Genoa, Italy, in 1908, my curiosity was aroused by noticing on one of the monuments there what seemed to be the outlines of a geographical map. My surprise increased when, on closer examination, I read the words *Carta dell' America del Nord* (Map of North America), and beheld the course of old Father Mississippi with a black spot marked *San Luigi* (St. Louis). Equally astonishing to me was the inscription engraved on the marble slab. It read:

#### M. PENCO, C.M.

Come nel mondo con le opere e colla preghiera, così nel  
cielo fra gli inni dei Santi nella visione di Dio penso  
et benedico alla mia famiglia

D. Antonio di Giovanni Baptista Penco e di Anna Prefumo.

Nato in Genova, 23 Ottobre, 1813,

Morto in S. Ilario Ligure, 10 Ottobre, 1875.

Solerte Missionario in America. In patria  
degno sacerdote, qual padre in famiglia.

This may be translated as follows:

"M. Penco, of the Congregation of the Mission.

As (were) in this world my works and prayers, so now

in heaven among the hymns of the Saints in the

vision of God are my thoughts and blessings, for my family.

D. Anthony (son), of John Baptist Penco and Anna Prefumo.

Born in Genoa, Oct. 23, 1813;

Died in S. Ilario Ligure, Oct. 10, 1875.

A zealous missionary in America. In his native country  
a worthy priest, as he was a true father to his family."

I then and there made up my mind that, upon my return to America, I would find out who was this Rev. Anthony Penco, missionary in St. Louis. But I forgot until a few days ago, when I came across the notice again in the memorandum which I had made in Genoa eight years ago. Here is what I found:

Father Penco's name first occurs in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* of 1842 in the following notice found on page 81: "Theological Seminary of St. Charles

Borromeo, Philadelphia. The institution is at present under the immediate direction of the Lazarists or priests of the Congregation of the Mission. Number of students, 83. Rev. Mariano Maler, C.M., *President*; Rev. Anthony Penco, C.M., *Prefect*; Rev. Thomas Burke, C.M., *Professor of Philosophy*." The Lazarist Fathers were brought there by Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick in 1841. (SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, p. 568.) The same *Almanac* for 1843 has the following (p. 115): "Ecclesiastical Seminary at Rose Hill, Westchester County, New York. Number of students, 31. The institution is under the care of Rev. Anthony Penco and Chas. A. Roadte, priests of the Congregation of the Mission." This was St. Joseph's Seminary opened at Fordham, by Bishop Hughes in 1841, under the presidency of Rev. Felix Villanis, D.D., C.M. "In 1842, Father Villanis was replaced by Father Anthony Penco, C.M., who remained at the head of the Seminary during 1842, 1843, and 1844." (GABRIELS, *Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary, Troy, N. Y.*, in the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, Monograph Series, No. 3, 1905, p. 23.) The reason why the Lazarists did not stay longer at Fordham as stated by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. x, p. 367) was because "Father Anthony Penco, who was made superior, did not approve of the seminarians teaching in the college, so the community retired from the work." At the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1843, Father Penco was the theologian of Bishop Hughes of New York.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Catholic Almanacs* of 1846 and 1851 we find Father Penco as President of the Lazarist College at Cape Girardeau, near St. Louis, which rose to a flourishing condition under his care. (SHEA, *l. c.*, Vol. iv, p. 218.) In the *Almanacs* of 1852, '53 and '54, Father Penco figures as pastor of the Church of St. Vincent de Paul, in St. Louis. At the same time he was Visitor of the Lazarist

<sup>1</sup> It is not without interest to know that Reverend A. Penco, C.M., was the deacon at the Pontifical High Mass, when Bishop Hughes, on Sunday, March 10, 1844, in the Cathedral of New York, consecrated the three newly-appointed Bishops Byrne of Little Rock, Quarter of Chicago, and his own Coadjutor McCloskey of New York, with the assistance of Bishops Fenwick of Boston and Whelan of Richmond. This day in the year 1844, just fifty-four years after Bishop Carroll's consecration (August 15, 1790), when there were only seventeen Dioceses and Bishops in the country, was assuredly as memorable and important an occasion, if not more so, as the one when Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul nearly seventy years later, when there were already some ninety-three Dioceses in the land, consecrated on May 19, 1910, six Bishops for the Northwest, namely Bishops Busch, Corbett, Heffron, Lawler, O'Reilly, and Wehrle, O.S.B. One week later, Sunday, March 17, 1844, Bishop Fenwick, assisted by Bishop Whelan and Bishop Byrne (the latter consecrated on the previous Sunday), consecrated in the Cathedral of Baltimore Bishop Tyler of Hartford. Two days later, March 19, the feast of St. Joseph, Bishop Purcell, assisted by Bishop Miles of Nashville and Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh, consecrated in the Cathedral of Cincinnati Bishop Henni of Milwaukee and Bishop Reynolds of Charleston. The next Sunday, March 24, Bishop Fenwick again assisted by Bishop Whelan and Bishop Tyler, also consecrated by him the Sunday before, consecrated at Georgetown his Coadjutor, Bishop Fitzpatrick. It is truly a striking fact that these were all and the only episcopal consecrations in the United States during the year 1844, and all within the two weeks centering around the feast of St. Joseph.

houses in America from 1850-1855. Father Penco left America and returned to Italy in 1855. Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, himself a Lazarist Father, in an interesting article on *Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries* (*United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. i (1887), p. 389), in explaining that the appointment of the Reverend Mariano Maler as Visitor of the Lazarists in Brazil had been quite a blow to their community here, says: "But now comes another blow, and not a light one. The Visitor, Mr. Penco, was called to Europe in June, 1855, and Mr. Masnau was appointed Pro-Visitor. Mr. Penco was one of nature's noble men; his appearance and manner indicated his gentle character; his presence at the altar evidenced the saintly priest. His family was one of the wealthiest in Genoa, but by extravagant speculations his brother wrecked his princely fortune and at his death left his family destitute. Mr. Penco was able to save his own patrimony from the general wreck, and educate his brother's children. To this he devoted himself during the remainder of his life, acting at the same time as chief Director of the missionary college Brignole-Sale in his native city, Genoa." This explains the somewhat puzzling words of the inscription on his tombstone, "qual padre in familia."

Archbishop Corrigan, in a biographic sketch of Rev. Penco says: "He had always entertained a very warm interest in the Church of the United States, and when he returned to Europe, continued to promote its welfare, especially by training good missionaries for America." (*United States Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. iii, Pt. ii (1904), p. 290.) Who were the missionaries in the United States who came from the Brignole-Sale in the period of 1855-1875, the year when Father Penco died? My former Bishop, Right Rev. Winand Wigger, D.D., of Newark, N. J., was a student of that college where he was ordained priest in 1865.

When I shall enjoy again the beauty of that Campo Santo in Genoa, I will not fail to look for the grave and pray for the eternal rest of this zealous American missionary, Rev. Anthony Penco.

## 2

## AMERICAN ITEMS FROM AN OLD AUSTRIAN CATHOLIC PERIODICAL

By pure but lucky chance I have just come across some stray volumes of an old German periodical, published in the 'forties at Innsbruck, Tirol, Austria—*Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*. Curiosity made me peep into them, and I found a great deal of interesting and partly original historical material regarding Catholic missions in our country.

The first volume, published in 1843, contains a long series of articles entitled: *Something about the Catholic Church in the United States of America*, written, as the editor states in a footnote (p. 509) "by a man who has worked for several years as a missionary in America and has personally experienced and observed what he tells. He acquaints us not only with the religious and moral conditions of the people, but gives us much wider observations to show what a large field awaits the labors of the missionary there."

In the first article (p. 475), the writer gives a general survey of the conditions of American Catholics. Then he speaks of the population in general, dividing

it into Indians, Americans and Immigrants. Of the Indians he writes, on pp. 509<sup>ss.</sup>, 527<sup>ss.</sup>, and touches also upon the Jesuit missions among them. Of the Americans he writes, on pp. 574<sup>ss.</sup>, 589<sup>ss.</sup>, and concludes: "The Americans are a highly educated nation, a people fervently religious; fanatical Protestants as they are, they become just as enthusiastic Catholics once they have embraced the truth. The government leaves religion alone, although it does so merely for the sake of common peace and not to give preference to any sect." On pp. 606<sup>ss.</sup>, 621<sup>ss.</sup>, he speaks of the Immigrants, especially of the Germans of whom he makes many a remark, little complimentary, but unfortunately true. Pages 637<sup>ss.</sup> treat of the Negroes, about whom he says: "The Catholic Church has, as far as its influence goes, greatly softened the condition of the slaves. Catholics may buy, but not sell slaves; they must treat them humanely and care for their eternal and temporal welfare; otherwise they will be barred from the sacraments." Is this statement true? On pp. 668<sup>ss.</sup>, he speaks of the administration of Church property, and on pp. 753<sup>ss.</sup>, on the Church revenues. He concludes by saying: "Foundations, tithes, land-rents, and patronages are unknown in America. Pew-rent, collections and other voluntary contributions are the only revenues of the churches; with these all must be supported, even the bishops. The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Philadelphia has lately begun to give the places in the churches free and to take up purely voluntary contributions only. But whether his attempt, though most desirable, has succeeded, the writer does not know."

The same writer contributes another article to this same volume of the *Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol* (pp. 648<sup>ss.</sup>), which tells of a very important discussion which had taken place in the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held on May 17-24, 1840, but of which not a word is mentioned in the published Acts of the Council. The writer states that some American Bishops considered the proposition of having an American Seminary established in Germany where German ecclesiastical students were to be trained for the Missions in America. (This was many years before the American Colleges of Rome and Louvain were thought of.) Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati proposed the matter in the Council. The Promoters of the Council (Bishops Rosati of St. Louis and Fenwick of Boston) appointed a committee from the assembled theologians, who were to consider the project most carefully and to report their conclusions at one of the public sessions of the Bishops. "In order that all should be done with due attention and deliberation, the committee was constituted of men who felt great concern for the German Catholics, namely the Very Rev. Dr. Deluol, Superior of the Sulpicians and Vicar General of Baltimore, two German priests and myself."<sup>3</sup>

The text then continues: "We all agreed that the erection in Germany of such a Seminary for America would not be advisable, especially for the following

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<sup>3</sup> Who is this "myself?" There were only three German priests at this Council, the Very Rev. Joseph Prost, Superior of the Redemptorists, the Rev. Joseph Ant. Luts, Secretary of Bishop Rosati, and the Rev. Benedict Bayer, C.S.S.R., who was theologian for Bishop Miles of Nashville. In an editorial note we learn (p. 648) that the writer of this article is the same *former* American missionary who wrote the

reasons." These reasons the writer goes on to explain in a lengthy, but, even today, very interesting disquisition full of most pertinent and shrewd observations (pp. 649-652). *Query*: was it this discussion held at the Baltimore Council in 1840 which suggested to the Very Reverend J. M. Henni, Vicar General of Cincinnati, in 1843, the idea of establishing there a Seminary for the education of German priests? (*See below.*) This whole series of highly interesting articles comprises about forty pages in small German type. An English translation in our usual American form would make a volume of fully one hundred pages.

In these volumes of the *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol* I found another series of equally interesting articles, or rather letters, which are particularly important for the history of the German missions in the States of New York and Wisconsin. They are the letters of the Rev. Adalbert Inama, Canon Regular of the Premonstratensian Convent of Wilten at Innsbruck, Tirol. I am very sorry to say that in our Seminary Library at St. Francis, Wis., we have only the years 1843, '44, '45, '46 and '48. Even these are not complete, since in vol. 1843, pp. 273-353, and in vol. 1848, pp. 681-1289, are missing. I wonder if a complete set of this valuable periodical is anywhere hidden away in some Benedictine or Redemptorist library in the United States. The volumes at our seminary contain 25 letters of Father Inama and one of his fellow-canon, Father Maximilian Gaertner. These letters are found in vol. 1843 on pp. 43, 267, 415, 440, 538, 545, 679, 765, 785; in vol. 1844 on pp. 185, 897; in vol. 1845 on pp. 38, 401, 430, 447; in vol. 1845 on p. 881, 906, 996; in vol. 1846 on pp. 158, 260, 490; in vol. 1846 on pp. 693, 813, 1089 (Gaertner); in vol. 1848 on pp. 276, 676. The entire series covers nearly ninety pages in small type, which would make in English a volume of some two hundred pages.

Rev. Inama's first letter is dated Paris, December 27, 1842. In it we learn that a certain Father Brassac in Paris was appointed Vicar General of the American Bishops for all European missionaries who were desirous of coming to the American missions. He also tells us that his next neighbor in the *Pension* where they stopped at Paris, was the Secretary of Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, "papal delegate for negotiating and concluding a concordat with the Republic at Hayti." The second letter is dated New York, March 13, 1843, and described the sea voyage and his visits to Rev. Rumpler, C.S.S.R., in New York; Revs.

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above-mentioned series on the Catholic Church in America. Consequently he must have been back in Europe in 1843. Consulting the old *Directories*, I find that Revs. Bayer and Lutz were still in America in 1844 and 1845. But the last notice I find of Father Prost is that of his being pastor of the German church in Utica, N. Y. in 1842; after that, his name appears no more. This would seem to point him out as the writer of this very interesting paper. Archbishop Corrigan (*U. S. Cath. Hist. Socy., Records and Studies*, Vol. ii., Pt. ii., p. 250f.) gives a short sketch of the very interesting missionary work of Rev. Prost in the United States from 1835, when he arrived, till 1843, when he returned to Austria. It is curious, by the way, to notice in these old *Directories* the manner of indicating the religious community to which Father Prost belonged. Now it is S.S.L. (Soc. S. Liguori), then O.S.L. (Ord. S. Liguori), the last C.S.R. (only one S). The former two are probably derived from the German appellation *Ligorianor* often given to the Redemptorists in Austria and Switzerland.



Raffener in Williamsburgh (now Brooklyn); Rev. Kunze, O.S.F., in Bloomingdale (?), and Rev. Balleis, O.S.B., in Newark, N. J. Inama's next letter, dated New York, April 5th, is quite amusing, showing that he had already "caught on" to the old and ever new trick of American land owners. He says that Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati invites him to start a mission in Wilksville County, where a land owner offers 2000 acres free if the priest will settle there. But he says "that's only a speculation—the land owner thereby draws a large number of Catholic settlers by which the land, up to now worthless, rises immensely in price and thus the donor gets rich by his gift. But the donee also gains, for the Catholics gain—a priest." In the other letters, Inama describes the parish at Williamsburgh, and his journey to Albany, Schenectady, and Utica. Here he was to take charge of the German congregation. His letter from Utica, September 11, 1843, contains the following interesting notice: "Only lately the Very Rev. Dr. Henni, Vicar General of the Bishop of Cincinnati, wrote to me, whom he does not know at all, that he expects me most ardently; that he desires to establish a German Catholic Seminary for the United States, and that for this purpose he has already purchased a roomy building with a large garden contiguous to the new parish church; that the Council of Baltimore, however, wants a religious community to take charge of it. Therefore he thinks it is God's providence bringing me here to realize this favorite project. I answered at once that I could never do it, and that I had no such permission or commission. However, I would come there this fall and discuss the matter with him." Mention is also made of Inama's missions in Syracuse, Salina and Constableville. Another letter from Utica, October 6, 1845, has an interesting report of the struggle for religious liberty in the Central Insane Asylum, a State institution, where some Catholic female employes had been dismissed because they refused to attend the Protestant service. The letters from Salina during 1845 describe his journey in the fall of 1844 to St. Louis by way of Auburn, Geneva, Buffalo, Makinaw, Milwaukee, Chicago and Sac Prairie, Wis., where he met for the first time the family of the Hungarian Count Haraszthy, a former General in the Austrian army, who had settled on a large tract of land at Sac Prairie. The letter dated Manlius, September 6, 1845, furnishes a copy of the letter from Count Haraszthy, offering one hundred acres of land free on condition that the children of Sac Prairie have a free school, and of a letter from Bishop Henni urging Inama to come and take charge of the mission. Inama's first letter from Sac Prairie shows that he was much enchanted by what he saw; he writes: "I say without hesitation that few regions can surpass Sac Prairie in fertility of soil, variety and romantic beauty of scenery, and healthfulness of climate. Wood and water, stone and clay, lime and sand, everything needed for building, are at hand in plenty." His letters in January and February tell of his mission work at Sac Prairie. But only in the letter, dated March 29, 1846, does he continue the story of his journey to St. Louis in 1844 from Sac Prairie to Mineral Point, Galena, Dubuque (where he visited Father Mazzucchelli, the Italian Dominican and founder of Sinsinawa, Wis.), Navoo, "the new Jerusalem of the Mormons," and St. Louis, where he arrived October 14, 1844. The continuation of this story and the promised visit to Vicar General Henni at Cincinnati are probably contained in the volume for 1847 which is missing here. On pp. 1089ss. of the

volume for 1846, Father Gaertner tells of his sea voyage from Havre to New York. The letter of January 12, 1848, is signed by both, Inama and Gaertner, and gives a full and detailed description of their missionary labors. It also tells of an unexpected visit from an Indian chief of the Winnebago tribe, who turned out to be a Frenchman born at Bordeaux. He came to Canada where he settled down. After the death of his wife he married a young Indian squaw and settled on the Barakoo (Baraboo?) River which empties into the Wisconsin River. Mention is also made of Bishop Henni's intended journey to Europe and of the erection of the new Cathedral at Milwaukee. In the next letter, dated Sac Prairie, April 21, 1848, Father Gaertner refers to Henni's departure from New York, February 23, on the steamer *Washington*, and tells of the fear entertained for his safety in Europe on account of the revolution. However, a note of the editor (p. 680) states that Bishop Henni arrived from Italy in St. Gall on June 14, where he was expected to hold the Corpus Christi procession.\*

Whether the volumes of the *Katholische Blaetter aus Tirol* after 1848 contain any more letters of Father Inama and Gaertner, I do not know. In all probability they do, and it would be worth while to look them up. In the volumes here there are quite a number of other interesting items of Catholic American history. I mention in particular a letter of Rev. Francis Pierz, a companion of Bishop Baraga, dated Arbre Croche, Michigan, March 2, 1843. There are other letters by Father Unterthiner, O.S.F., dated Cincinnati, May 9 and October 29, 1845; by Rev. Caspar Rehrl, pioneer missionary of Wisconsin, dated Calumet Village, Wis., November 5, 1845; by the Rev. Dr. Salzmann, dated Milwaukee, October 9, 1847, telling of his arrival in Baltimore and Milwaukee.

The foregoing pages may serve as a sample of the rich and interesting material bearing on our Catholic American history, which can be gathered from the volumes of Catholic periodicals published in Germany and Austria, at a time when Catholics began to emigrate to the United States, and when German missionaries here were obliged to appeal for help and assistance from the Catholics of the Fatherland.

Milwaukee, April, 1916.

\* S. G. MESSMER.

## B

### FATHER NASH, S.J., ARMY CHAPLAIN (1825-1895).

*"Nash, Michael, age 33 years, enrolled in New York City to serve two years, and mustered in as chaplain (6th N. Y. Vol. Inf.), June 5, 1861, mustered out with the regiment, June 25, 1863, at New York City; commissioned chaplain October 25, 1861, with rank from June 5, 1861."*<sup>4</sup>

This is the brief official record of the Rev. Michael A. Nash, S.J., who volunteered as Chaplain of the 6th New York Regiment of Infantry—better

\* Bishop Henni was a fellow native and pupil of Bishop Peter Mirer of St. Gall, Switzerland. On his second visit to St. Gall in the summer of 1862, I had the honor of serving Bishop Henni's Mass in the Cathedral, being at that time a student in the *petit seminaire* of St. Gall.

<sup>4</sup> Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion*, 3d edition, Vol. ii, p. 1786. Albany, 1912.

known, perhaps, as "Billy Wilson's Zouaves,"—and who served with that command from June 5, 1861, to June 25, 1863, ministering to the men and officers, who idolized him, and accompanying them through all their encampments, marches, battles, sieges and sufferings during their two years' campaign in the trying climate of the far South.

Father Nash was thirty-six, and not thirty-three years old when he became chaplain of this noted regiment. He was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, September 29, 1825. He was five years old when his parents emigrated to America and settled near Louisville, Ky. In due time he entered St. Mary's College, which had been founded by the western missionary, Father William Byrne, and which was then in charge of the Jesuits. Later Father Nash taught here under Father Evremond, S.J. He joined the Society of Jesus in Louisville, April 13, 1844, in his nineteenth year.

In 1846, the Kentucky Jesuits were invited by Bishop Hughes to take charge of St. John's College and Seminary at Fordham, N. Y., which had been opened on June 24, 1841, in the old Rose Hill Manor house, then outside the city, and there the future army chaplain was appointed Prefect of Studies under the presidency of Father Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J. The following year he was sent by his superiors to the Holy Name school which had been recently opened in the city by Father John Ryan, S.J., and when school and church were destroyed by fire, January 22, 1848, the classes were continued in the basement of old St. James' Church, on James Street, until the following May when new quarters were found for it at No. 77 Third Avenue. This was the cradle of the famous St. Francis Xavier's College on West 16th Street; for Father Ryan removed the school, November 25, 1850, to the present site of the College, which he built later and of which he was president until 1855.

Father Nash was his assistant in the inauguration of the Holy Name school and in the founding of St. Francis Xavier's, where he was a member of the faculty until he was again sent to St. John's, Fordham, as Prefect and in order to complete his philosophical course. After a prefecture of four years, his superiors sent him to the scholasticate at Laval, France. He finished his course there, and studied at Paderborn, Germany, where he was ordained August 18, 1859. After spending some time at the house of the Jesuits at Feldkirchen, he returned, being recalled to New York on the outbreak of the war. He was in his tertianship at Frederick, Md., when he was informed that Col. Wilson needed a chaplain for a regiment that was not composed of saints but in which there were many Catholics. He visited the camp on Staten Island in April, 1861, where the regiment was being organized and offered his services. He was warmly welcomed, particularly by the Catholic officers, among whom were Lieut. Col. Michael Cassidy, Dr. Edmund Lynch, assistant surgeon, Captains M. E. Bradley, Robert Mahan, Peter Duffy, Henry Dufraigne, A. H. McCormack, and Lieutenants Patrick and Thomas Duffy. He was mustered in with the regiment on June 5, 1861, and on the fifteenth of June sailed with his command to Santa Rosa Island, Florida, where they began a hard campaign of two years, inaugurated under the scorching rays of a southern sun. The regiment served at Camp Brown, Santa Rosa, Fort Jefferson, and at Pensacola, in the military department of the South; in the department of the Gulf; in the first brigade of

Dwight's division; and in the first brigade, fourth division, nineteenth army corps. Father Nash was with it always, serving continuously without furlough or leave of absence until the regiment's term of enlistment had expired.

Besides his reports to his superiors, Father Nash was a faithful and interesting correspondent of some old friends and benefactors in New York, who occasionally sent him clothing, supplies, and delicacies for himself and his "boys," and from a score of such letters he speaks now through the following extracts:

CAMP BROWN, SANTA ROSA, FLA., SEPTEMBER 9, 1861.

I am burnt as black as a negro and have a long flowing beard as grey as though I were sixty. I wear a blue flannel shirt and trousers, and the heat is so intense that the men and officers go in *négligé*. Not one of us has slept in a bed or seen a house since we left New York. Give me the clear open air with the starry heavens for a roof and a blanket to wrap myself up in, so the snakes and lizards can not get at me, and the soft side of a plank for a bed. The soldiers say that if they had not Mass they could hardly believe they are men. My men attend well to their religious duties, but are suffering from dysentery which is now taking a serious turn in our camp. We buried two officers from a man-of-war the other day. We do not know when the battle will begin. Our officers are trying to draw them into a fight but they will not take. We burnt their docks but they did not notice it; we blazed away at them but there was no response. Our guns are always loaded and ready and the men are kept at their posts day and night. The fleet is in the offing with steam up prepared to shell them across our island. When they fire the whistling of the shells and the roar of the guns make one think of the day of judgment. Pray for peace if only to have the merit of asking Our Lord to stop the carnage. Our camp was flooded by recent rains and my great concern was to keep my little chapel dry. I have two little drummer boys as altar boys and the little chaps are always on hand. One of them has been ordered to accompany a detail of one hundred of our men to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas. Shall I ever see them again? It was really encouraging to see these boys, about ten years old, marching across the burning sands to the beach and rolling their drums calling the men to Mass from the ships at anchor two miles off from the camp.

SANTA ROSA CAMP, OCTOBER 7, 1861.

I am sending some shells which I gathered on the beach of Santa Rosa under the hundreds of guns that bristle through the frowning walls of Fort Pickens. We are now used to other kind of shells. Not long ago some of our men went over the bay to the enemy's shore and burnt their only man-of-war. I was very busy in my confessional before the start. The detachment rowed off though the enemy had 145 guns bearing on them. Presently we saw the flash of the guns and the battle was on half a mile from where we stood. Our men routed the enemy back into the town, spiked their guns and burnt their ships and were back in camp before daylight. I wondered and hoped that there was a priest to shrive their wounded and dying and imagine my feelings when I was told it was impossible for me to render any aid. A deserter who had come over to us told me that they were burying the dead all the next day.

CAMP BROWN, SANTA ROSA, FLA., OCTOBER 30, 1861.

Since the last bloody engagement I have had no rest, being on duty almost day and night attending to my poor boys. About two thousand of the enemy fell upon us while asleep, set fire to our tents and fired volley after volley into us as we fled

from the flames. I do not know how we escaped annihilation, except by the mercy of God. The bullets whistled by my ears like mosquitoes. My drummer boys escaped but lost their drums. Our poor soldiers fell thick and fast about me and I had more to do in ministering to them than in any mission I ever gave. I found a young corporal of our regiment prostrate behind one of the sand banks. He recognized me and said: "Father, I am going fast. I am not a Catholic and I want to be baptized before I die." I consoled him and was about to start to the beach for water, when he cried: "O, Father, don't leave me, don't leave me!" He took my hand and pressed it to his lips and I had to tear myself free from his grasp. I ran to the beach, soaked my handkerchief in the sea water and pressed enough on his pallid brow to make him a child of God. I then told him I had to go as many another poor fellow like him needed me. He again took hold of my sleeve begging me not to leave him, saying: "They are all Catholics and know how to die," and as his strength was fast ebbing I staid a few moments when his poor soul left the scenes of war and strife and blood to take up its abode in the city of eternal peace.

The tide of battle had turned and our troops got the upper hand and put the enemy to flight. Returning from the pursuit our men sent out carts from the fort and brought back the dead and wounded. We found our camp in ashes and it was then midday and we had not broken our fast. After coffee we began to prepare to bury the dead. It was late that night when all the corpses were gathered in and our late enemies separated from our own, all names and addresses were taken where possible. There they lay, covered with blood and wounds their uniforms torn. It was a ghastly sight. No coffin to receive them, no wife or mother to prepare their loved ones for their final repose; but after stern military usage they were consigned to mother earth just as they lay. My little drummers borrowed drums from the fort and with muffled drums and mournful fifes we marched at the dead of night to the spot selected for their last resting-place. How easy it was for me, tired and worn out as I was, to preach the funeral of these dead soldiers all gallant fellows sent untimely to meet their God. The sand was filled in on the common grave, the last volley of farewell was fired over friend and foe, and as taps sounded far over the waters we took our leave and returned to camp about midnight. This is the feast of the Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez, but I was deprived of the comfort of offering the Holy Sacrifice as all my effects, vestments, chalice, altar furnishings, were burnt up. I have written to St. Francis Xavier's for a new outfit but it has not arrived as yet.

#### CAMP LINCOLN, SANTA ROSA ISLAND, JANUARY 15, 1862.

Two bombardments and several skirmishes have taken place since my last, in which we lost a number of men. My heart was sick at seeing so many hurried so suddenly into eternity. One morning I saw nine men killed, five having had their heads blown clean off them. I myself was in constant danger and moreover in poor health. Yet the thought of dying here without seeing a priest or having the last Sacraments is frightful. After a good deal of trouble I obtained permission to go to Key West where I could see a priest and make my confession. As I intended before returning to visit all the naval and military stations on the Gulf, I brought with me everything requisite for the celebration of Holy Mass, but, alas! all fell overboard and though recovered the vestments are nearly ruined, but perhaps good enough for camp life. After a journey of five hundred miles I at last reached Key West and had the pleasure of once more seeing a priest. How good God is! There, now, I made my confession, perhaps the last I shall ever make. Whilst waiting for a steamer to take me back to my post of duty I was requested to give

a mission to the people, the soldiers and sailors of Key West. Thanks be to God, all succeeded admirably and the devotions were largely attended. I preached twice a day and heard confessions at all times. There are many war vessels at anchor in the harbor and nearly all the sailors and soldiers are Catholics. Their attendance and devotion are beyond all praise. One evening I was so beat out and sick that I could not preach but the good people took such tender care of me that I was able to resume my work the next morning. Then, just after Mass an officer from the fort came to inform me that a man-of-war was just starting and that I had not a moment to lose. Off I started without breakfast but the good people saw me and came to thank me for the good they said I had done their husbands, as if it was not God's work. A cutter was ready to take me out to the ship and the jolly Jack tars were delighted to have a "Father" with them and soon they had me aboard of the man-of-war.

I found that it was to cruise after privateers and that gave me a splendid chance to do something for the 600 marines and sailors in her ship's complement. We set sail just as a terrific storm came up that threatened us all, but our Blessed Mother and the guardian angels watched over us and we weathered the gale. Every vessel that came in sight was chased in the hope of catching some of the privateers and I was surprised with what animation and rapidity everything was prepared for a possible battle. The decks were cleared, the guns loaded and shoved out and every man stood to his post as we bore down on any poor craft with all the speed of steam. I reached the camp in due time only to learn that there had been a great fight after my departure in which one of our men was killed. They told me that while dying he called out piteously for me though I was five hundred miles away. He was one I could not get to go to confession; how is it that they won't go to the Sacraments when they can? Our Lord said to the Pharisees who refused to do as he told them: "You will seek me and you shall not find me and you shall die in your sins." Wonderful are the ways of God! What matters the world with its sufferings and its pleasures? I hope no one will have sympathy for me but I ask all your prayers that I may profit by the sufferings the Lord is good enough to send me.

(In the opening of the above letter Father Nash told his correspondent that a box of clothing that had been sent to him and which arrived in his absence, had been rifled. His postscript to the letter is as follows: "Please do not mention to any one about the box being opened. It would be against charity. I had to tell you but you must not tell anyone else.")

#### CAMP LINCOLN, SANTA ROSA ISLAND, FEBRUARY 2, 1862.

I forgot to say that when I was at Key West there was only one priest there and strange to say he had not seen a priest in seven months. So both of us had an opportunity to approach the Sacrament of Penance. Wonderful the ways of the Almighty! I am very weak and may have to come home. I have had a letter from Father Tellier who writes me I am free to go or stay, that I must use my own judgment. Yet, I can not bring myself to leave my poor men, though I am not well. If we serve God faithfully all will be right. This life is short, but another is at hand that will be eternal.

#### ALEXANDRIA PARISH RAPIDS, LOUISIANA, MAY 12, 1863.

I received your letter after I had left Baton Rouge. It was handed to me at Little Bayou Boeuf, just before a battle. Since the ninth of March we have had the most terrific marching and fighting. We have marched 500 miles and fought seven battles not to speak of living on two hardtacks a day and two tins of coffee, and sometimes no coffee. In our last battle the fighting lasted for two days and a

night and our killed and wounded numbered about 400. I never witnessed anything equal to its horrors. Our men were in an open plain while the enemy were concealed in a woods with a full view of our position. Through shot and shell our men advanced and towards evening were the victors. But with what a fearful loss of life and what work remained for me to do. One young man from Long Island named Greenwood, a Protestant, lay mortally wounded right under the enemy's battery. His arm had been shot off and as I was about to venture to get to him two soldiers dragged me back and volunteered to bring him in. It was a noble act and they succeeded. "Father," said he, as a surgeon went to work on him, "I'm not a Catholic but I wish to become one. I am soon to die; I know it; hurry, hurry, or you won't have time." I baptized him while his horrible wounds were being sewed up and he bore the pain like a hero. He lived until the next day and died when I was thirty miles away on another errand. The boys are glad that their term of service is nearly up and that they may see their friends at home once more. We are all like so many Indians, nearly black, and our clothing is all torn and ragged and they'll be grateful for any change. At the last battle my trunk and everything in it, including vestments, etc., was lost, left behind by mistake. One great regret is that it contained my history of the regiment I have learned to love, which history I had kept, day by day, since we left New York.

From the above extracts from a voluminous correspondence it will be seen that Father Nash was one of the ideal army chaplains whom the Church furnished to North and South during the War of the Rebellion; that he was devoted to duty to which he clung to the last though physically unfit; and that like a good soldier he stood to his post to the end with a supreme confidence in Divine Providence which is visible in all his letters.

He reached New York with the regiment, was mustered out of the service and bade farewell to his "boys" on June 25, 1863. After recuperating during the summer of that year, he was for a third time assigned to duty as Prefect at St. John's College, Fordham, where he remained for the next year. He was then sent to St. Stanislaus novitiate of the Jesuits, at Guelph, Canada, and served successively at St. Joseph's, Troy, N. Y., at St. Mary's, Montreal, at St. Francis Xavier's, as a member of the Jesuits' missionary band, at St. Michael's, Buffalo, N. Y., and again for nine years at Troy, from 1874 to 1888, with the exception of one year at St. Francis Xavier's, and three years at St. Lawrence's Church, New York. He was appointed spiritual director of Holy Cross College in 1892, and there celebrated the golden jubilee of his admission into the Society of Jesus. He returned to Troy two years later and died there September 6, 1895, in his seventieth year.

In his *Register of the Clergy Laboring in the Archdiocese of New York*, Archbishop Corrigan pays the following tribute to the one-time chaplain of Billy Wilson's Zouaves:

"Father Nash was a brave man and was always ready for a daring expedition. He was thus eminently suited as chaplain of the Wilson Zouaves, who were composed of the roughest element of New York. He was loved and respected by men and officers, and in turn he would never allow any one to say a word against them. Though Father Nash was not a preacher his retreats to sodalities of men and women

and to religious communities were most successful. His hearers liked his military style and he made use of his military knowledge to encourage and urge on souls in the fight against themselves and the archenemy of mankind. He was a worker and used his leisure moments to translate a number of books from French and German. Father Nash was an exact religious, was much loved by the poor wherever he went, and did not spare himself in laboring for them."<sup>5</sup>

JAMES A. ROONEY, LL.D.

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<sup>5</sup> Corrigan, *Register of the Clergy*, in *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. vi, part 2, p. 194.



## DOCUMENTS

### A VANISHED BISHOPRIC OF OHIO

Almost twenty years have passed since the venerable President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, of New York, Dr. Charles G. Herbermann, contributed to the *Historical Records and Studies* (Vol. i (1899), pp. 77-97) an article of great merit on *A French Emigrant Colony in the United States (1789-93)*. The story he tells in these pages is one of the most fascinating incidents of our colonial Catholic history, and though several attempts have been made to fill in the *lacunae* which occur in the article, it remains substantially the best account we have of this marvelous scheme. John Finley's recent volume, *The French in the Heart of America* (New York, 1915), is silent on this French Catholic Colony on the banks of the Ohio, and it is to be regretted that he neglected to treat it, for it would have glowed with renewed interest under the facile pen of one so sympathetic to the subject. It was not the first time since the coming of Champlain that the French had tried to found an empire within the borders of the present territory of the United States, and the story of the Scioto Company has a pathetic appeal to the historical student in this, that, when the settlers of Gallipolis and Marietta gave up the attempt and left for St. Louis, New Orleans, and elsewhere, it was the beginning of the end of French influence in that great territory of the Mississippi Valley which they had once so gloriously controlled.

"The active part taken by Lafayette, Rochambeau, d'Estaing, Barnave, and many other French noblemen in the War of Independence, the alliance of France with our Revolutionary forefathers, and the enthusiastic admiration of the young republic, ardently proclaimed by many of their countrymen, could not fail to direct the attention of the French to the United States as a desirable home."<sup>1</sup> Prominent among these was M. du Val d'Esprémesnil, one of the leaders of the Scioto Company, which had succeeded in obtaining from the Ohio Land Company a vast territory of about three million acres, situated between the Ohio and Scioto Rivers.<sup>2</sup> An office was opened in Paris, where the American directors of the company were represented by an English engineer,

<sup>1</sup> HERBERMANN, *loc. cit.* Cf. M. HENRI CARRÉ in the *Revue de Paris*, May 15, 1898. Other sources for the history of the Scioto Company will be found in VOLNEY, *Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, Paris, 1803; Eng. trans. London, 1804; *Virginia Gazette*, for May 6, 1790; ROBIN, *New Travels in America*, Eng. trans. Phila., 1783; BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale fait en 1788*, Paris, 1791, three volumes; HUTCHINS, *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina Comprehending the Rivers Ohio, Kenhawa, Scioto, etc., etc.*, London, 1778; DILHET, *Etat de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1796; SPALDING, *Life of Flaget*, Louisville, 1852; Ohio, article in the *North American Review*, Vol. xiii (1841), pp. 320-60; BELOTE, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*, Cincinnati, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *American State Papers*, Vol. i, p. 29, *Public Lands*. Washington, 1834. "Nothing was talked of in every social circle, but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the western wilderness; the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto," HOWE, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, p. 178. Cincinnati, 1847.

William Playfair.<sup>3</sup> Among the French shareholders we find mentioned, besides d'Esprémesnil, the Marquis de Marnesia, the Marquis de Gaville, Viscount de Malartic, Baron de la Bretèche, De Lally, Mounier, Malonet, De Vichy, De Maubranche, Thiébaud, and Madame de Laval. D'Esprémesnil was the heart of the company, and in his plans for this colony at Gallipolis, the settlement of which had been begun by the American promoters in preparation for the coming of the émigrés, he determined to resurrect the spiritual and religious life of his nation that had been swallowed up in the chaos of the French Revolution, which was then high on the road towards its worst excesses. The first emigrants for this colonial dream of empire, in what was then a wilderness, left Havre, on May 26, 1790, and numbered in all 139 persons. These were followed by many others, and during the first half of the year 1790, more than a thousand French colonists reached the United States under the guidance of the Scioto Company. By December, 1790, most of them were gathered at Gallipolis and Marietta.<sup>4</sup> But disaster was soon to fall upon the luckless emigrants. When these lands were sold to the Scioto Company, the Indians were still in possession of them, and the French emigrants were soon made to understand that they could only keep the land they had bought by buying it a second time from the Indians themselves. The colonists then made appeal to the American Government, and General St. Clair, with a regiment of 3,000 soldiers, was sent to drive the Indians from the territory. The sad defeat which followed, in which nearly one-half of his troops were killed and scalped by the Indians, placed the sign-manual of failure on the enterprise, and part of the colonists went to New Orleans, part to the North, and part to St. Louis.<sup>5</sup> Some of the inhabitants of Gallipolis took refuge in Virginia; and others, led by Marnesia, founded the settlement called *Asylum*, near Pittsburgh.

Dr. Herbermann has scarcely touched one important historical fact in his narrative—the appointment of the Benedictine Dom Didier as Prefect-Apostolic of this projected French empire. Didier's appointment, which Shea wrongly construes as another evidence of the confusion in ecclesiastical jurisdiction caused by the interference of Propaganda,<sup>6</sup> was wholly in keeping with canon

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<sup>3</sup> In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow, the political Pamphleteer, went to Paris as agent of the mother-company, the Ohio Company, and under his facile and poetic pen, glowing prospectuses of the Scioto Valley were sent broadcast throughout France. Some of the phrases he used in the proposals show how badly the stockholders were deceived—"frost even in winter almost entirely unknown . . . a river . . . abounding in excellent fish of a vast size . . . noble forests, consisting of trees that spontaneously produce sugar . . . a plant that yields ready-made candles . . . no taxes to pay . . . no military services. . . ." And all this of a land that was reeking with swamp fevers and malaria!

<sup>4</sup> Marietta received its name from General Farnum, who planned the future French city on the Ohio, in July, 1788, in honor of Marie Antoinette. De Warville says of Farnum: "—il portait si loin sa haine contre les Anglais, qu'il voulait qu'on ne parlât plus que grec dans les Etats-Unis!," *op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> A writer in the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* (Vol. v, pp. 45-47) is of the opinion that the tradition, which exists on the Gallipolis refugees in Maine, is without historic foundation. Father de Barth who refused the See of Philadelphia in 1816 was a son of one of the Gallipolis settlers.

<sup>6</sup> SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 480. New York, 1888. For the story of these French intrigues to control the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the United States, cf. *Les nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'Épiscopat Américain*, article in the *Mélanges Moeller* by Zwierlein, pp. 527-56. Louvain, 1914. Cf. also *Documents relative to the adjustment of the Roman Catholic organization in the United States*, in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. xv (1910), pp. 800-29.

law, as is evident from the documents which follow, and which are now published for the first time from photographic copies taken in the *Archives of Propaganda*, at Rome.

## I

The first of these documents is a letter from the promoters of the Sciottu Company to the Papal Nuncio at Paris, presenting the name of the Abbé du Boisnantier to the Holy Father as the prospective Bishop of the new See of Gallipolis, Ohio:

A son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce,

La nouvelle colonie des françois qui se forme dans l'amerique septentrionale, entre le Scioto et l'Oyo, étant presque toute composée de catholiques qui desiront vivre et mourir dans la profession interieure et exterieure de leur foy, considerant a quels dangers ils seroient exposés pour le salut, s'ils se trouvoient sans eglise, sans prêtres, sans culte public, sans hierarchie, et abandonnés a quelques ecclésiastiques mercenaires que les malheurs qui dechirent la france pourroient conduire au milieu d'eux par l'espoir d'y faire fortune, supplie humblement notre très saint père le pape, de leur accorder un évêque qui préside au maintien de la doctrine et de la discipline religieuse, et qui, toujours uni par principes à la sainte église romaine, puisse reprimer les abus qui se pourroient glisser dans ce nouvel établissement, soit contre la foy soit contre les moeurs. La nouvelle colonie desire cette grace avec autant plus d'ardeur qu'occupant un terrain de plus de deux cent lieux d'étendue, il n'y a pas d'évêque à qui on puisse commodement avoir recours soit pour des ordinations, soit pour la Confirmation, soit pour des dispenses que les évêques seuls sont dans l'usage d'accorder, et que d'ailleurs elle espère que la fondation d'une ville épiscopale [Gallipolis] attireroit dans son sein un nombre prodigieux de familles dispersées dans ce pays presque inculte, et qui y vivroient en corps de société comme en unite de croyance.

A ces causes, les principaux Membres de la colonie proposent Monsieur Duboisnantier, prêtre habitué à s. Rock, et supplient très respectueusement sa sainteté de, lui donner le titre d'Evêque, avec toute la jurisdiction spirituelle que peut demander une mission aussi étendue que celle du Scioto.

[Signed]

Guérin  
de Lézay-Marnesia  
Delaroche  
de Val d'Esprémesnil  
William Playfair  
J. A. Chais, de Soissons

MM. Barons de Maubranche, Malartic, Bergent.  
du Bellan  
Smith  
Madame Thiébaut  
de Gravier  
Viscount de Bellon<sup>7</sup>

There is no record, among the papers of the d'Esprémesnil family, of the elevation of Father Du Boisnantier to the episcopal See of Gallipolis in the wilderness of Ohio. Shea is correct in his surmise that Du Boisnantier was proposed prior to Didier. This supposition is strengthened by the *Bruté Papers*.<sup>8</sup> He did not come to America.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 388-389.

<sup>8</sup> "A curious fact.—The late Bishop Bruté, among some papers of his which have come under our notice, states that a Catholic bishopric was proposed to be erected at Scioto, or Gallipolis, in Ohio, as early as the year 1789, which was the period also of Rev. Mr. Carroll's appointment to the See as

## II

The second of these documents, dated Paris, March 22, 1790, is similar to the first. It is a petition from the heads of the company to the Papal Nuncio, asking for the election of a Benedictine monk of St. Maur, Dom Didier, as Bishop of the Colony:

A son Excellence, Monseigneur Dugnani, Nonce Apostolique,

Les personnes reunies pour former une colonie dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, sur les bords de la Riviere Scioto, desirant que ce nouvel établissement qui s'y forme puisse jouir de tous les secours spirituels qui dirigent et assurent la soumission à l'église catholique apostolique et romaine, après les informations nécessaires pour un choix si important ont nommé le Père Dom Didier Benedictin de la congregation de St. Maur pour presider tout cequi serait rélatif au culte divin et aux instructions de la Jeunesse. Les ci-dites personnes, aujourd'hui assemblées, ayant pris connaissance du *Mémoire* présenté par Dom Didier à son Excellence, Monseigneur le Nonce, ont l'honneur de supplier son Excellence de vouloir bien proteger auprés de sa Sainteté les observations qui sont présentées dans cette requête. La colonie sera très flattée d'obtenir par la Protection de son Excellence des secours spirituels, qui pourront contribuer au succes d'un établissement dont tous les principes ont pour objet la gloire de la religion, la pureté des moeurs, et le bonheur de la colonie, et ont signé le present ce 22 Mars, 1790.

[Signed]

Baron de Maubranche  
de Lézac-Marnesia, fils  
M. de Lézac-Marnesia  
Malartic  
de Bondy  
pour mon frère, Didier.

Gravier  
du Val d'Esprémesnil  
Vte de Bellon  
J. A. Chais, de Soissons  
De Graville  
etc., etc.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that some of these names appear on both letters would seem to indicate that there had been no rivalry between Du Boisnantier and Didier. Probably, the first-named, on reflection, declined the empty honor. There is no insincerity in the declaration of their intention to establish a well-organized Catholic life at Gallipolis. Frenchmen of all classes were anxious to leave France to escape "l'intolérable tyrannie des vizirs françois," as de Warville tells us, when they saw the ancient bulwarks of Christianity falling in ruins around them.<sup>10</sup> The *Mémoire*, mentioned in this supplication for Didier's election, gives a general survey of their spiritual plans.

Baltimore. Mr. Bruté being at Paris in 1824, learned this remarkable fact from the Abbé Boisnantier, a canon of St. Denys, who had been himself nominated to the new See in Ohio. No reasons, however, are mentioned, to account for the subsequent withdrawal of these appointments. It was probably caused by the circumstances mentioned in Dr. Spalding's *Sketches of Kentucky* (p. 62), where he speaks of the French Catholics who had settled at Gallipolis. The colonists had been defrauded in the purchase of lands, the title proving defective, and many of them returned to France in consequence of this unfortunate transaction, which marred the prospects of the new settlement, and probably suspended the proceedings relative to the contemplated See. It is rather singular, however, that the fact of the new bishopric having been designed, has never been publicly alluded to in connection with the history of the West." (*U. S. Catholic Magazine*, 1845, p. 407.)

<sup>9</sup> *Arch. de Prop. Fide, American Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 379-379v.

<sup>10</sup> BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, fait en 1788*, Vol. i, p. 377. Paris, 1791.

## III

The Didier *Mémoire* bears the same date as the preceding letter, March 22, 1790. The number of the emigrants, who were almost entirely Catholic, was increasing to a considerable extent; and, since he had been chosen as their spiritual head in the New World, he feels obliged to strengthen the request of the leaders by making a personal application for ecclesiastical powers—either as Bishop of Gallipolis or as Vicar-Apostolic—to carry out the religious and educational plans of the colonists. It is apparent from the *Mémoire* that the Nuncio had already called his attention to the fact that the United States had just been given a Bishop, in the person of John Carroll, of Baltimore; but Didier argues that the distance between Baltimore and Gallipolis was so great that Bishop Carroll could not guide the spiritual destinies of the emigrants. The French people, moreover, were accustomed to have their own Bishops, and Didier begs the Nuncio to hasten the conclusion of the matter at Rome, as he was then ready to start for Havre:

Monseigneur,

J'ai l'honneur de représenter à Votre Excellence qu'une société de personnes distinguées et Catholiques, a fait des requisitions considérables au Scioto, partie de de l'Amérique septentrionale, qu'elle y fait passer plusieurs habitants des campagnes, que plusieurs particuliers suivent cette exemple, que ces émigrations s'élèvent déjà à un degré de population assez considérable pour mériter l'attention religieuse du très saint Père et celle de Votre Excellence. Ils ont droit d'attendre du chef visible de l'église les secours spirituels qui lui seul a la pouvoir de leur procurer. Cette société, Monseigneur, m'a fait l'honneur de me choisir pour son pasteur. Ce choix m'honore, excite mon zèle et me détermine à sacrifier ma personne et mes faibles talents à la Religion, à l'Education, et au bonheur de cette colonie naissante. Mais, Monseigneur, il ne m'est pas possible de remplir ce but, si je n'ai point une mission légale. Votre Excellence sait que l'Etat dans lequel se va fonder cette colonie ayant pour Religion dominante la protestante, et tolérant toutes les sectes, il n'existe aucune puissance ecclésiastique à la quelle je puisse avoir recours. Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de me faire observer qu'il existe un évêque à Baltimore. Qu'il me soit permis de lui représenter qu'on peut regarder cet évêque comme nul pour le Scioto, à raison des distances considérables qui nous separeront; la difficulté des communications, le danger d'abandonner un troupeau que l'on pourra regarder comme une église naissante; tous ces obstacles pourroient, Monseigneur, retarder les fruits que le religion pourroit faire en ce pays, et même détruire insensiblement dans le coeur des habitants les principes religieux qu'ils ont reçu dans leur enfance, par les difficultés qu'ils éprouveroient dans l'exercice, la facilite qu'ils pourroient rencontrer à professer une autre Religion qu'on leur persuaderoit être aussi bonne. Votre Excellence connoit le coeur de l'homme. Elle sait qu'il faut se prêter à l'opinion, aux usages et aux habitudes, lorsque l'on vent operer le bien. Il faut donc qu'elle ait la bonté de considerer la nature des hommes qui vont habiter ces nouvelles regions, ce sont des François Catholiques, accoutumés à être soumis pour le spirituel à des Evêques et à des Prêtres. Je pense, Monseigneur, qu'il seroit dangereux de leur laisser perdre ces avantageuses impressions. Il faut aussi que Votre Excellence envisage le nombre considérable des Emigrants, qui vont former tout d'un coup une masse d'habitans assez forte, pour avoir besoin d'un chef revêtu de pouvoirs spirituels très étendus. Que ce soit un Evêque ou un Vicaire Apostolique, il faut l'un ou l'autre, c'est au très saint Père et à Votre Excellence à juger ce qui conviendra le

mieux. Je n'ai point, Monseigneur, assez de presumption, pour solliciter en ma faveur. Ces titres qu'exigent des talens superieurs et des vertus que je n'ose me flatter d'avoir, un zèle ardent, une religion solide et éclairée, quelques connaissances—d'utilité publique, un coeur compatissant auquel rien ne repugne, lorsqu'il s'agit de soulager l'humanité souffrante, sont des titres pour pretendre au rang de subalterne. Il faut des qualités plus éminentes lorsqu'on est destiné à être placé sur le chandelier, c'est ce qui fait que mes vues ne se portent point à ce degré d'élevation. Le but de ma supplique, Monseigneur, est de vous faire envisager le besoin d'un évêque, ou de tout autre Supérieur ecclésiastique, auquel je puisse m'adresser pour les pouvoirs relatifs à l'emploi auquel je suis destiné par le choix d'une société, la nécessité de sa residence au Scioto, tant pour le present que pour l'avenir; residence à laquelle j'attache le succès de l'établissement de la Religion dans ces contrées et sa propagation future dans cette partie du Globe. Si ces reflexions, Monseigneur, ne sont point assez determinantes, pour faire en ce moment l'établissement que j'ai l'honneur de proposer à Votre Excellence, je la supplie de vouloir bien employer ses bons offices auprès de sa Sainteté pour m'obtenir avant mon depart tout ce qu'elle jugera necessaire pour le plus grand bien de la religion, la gloire de Dieu et le bonheur des peuples qui me sont confiés. Je me contenterai des pouvoirs qui me seront accordés, dans la forme et l'étendue qu'il aura plu à la sagesse et à la providence du très Saint Père de les circonscrire, et je les accepterai avec la reconnaissance et la soumission la plus entière. Je supplie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien presser au Cour de Rome l'expédition prompte de l'objet de ma demande, attendu la proximité de mon depart. Permettez que Votre Excellence trouve ici l'hommage respectueux de mon sincère devouement et les sentimens distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Fr. Didier.<sup>11</sup>

#### IV

The same day, on receipt of this *Mémoire*, the Nuncio sent a dispatch to Rome, dated March 22, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, announcing the project of the Scioto Company and their selection of Dom Didier as Bishop of Gallipolis, Ohio. The Nuncio avers that Didier is unknown to him, but that he will inquire as to his character and talents for the post. He has asked Didier for a more complete explanation of the plans of the company, and when these are presented to him, he will send them on to Rome:

Eminenza,

Una colonia francese di varie centinaia di persone va a stabilirsi nell'America settentrionale. Ha questa fatto l'acquisto di una quantità di terreno sul bordo dell' Ohio a cento leghe di distanza dal mare. Fra le persone, che sono alla testa di questa colonia vi è il Signor d'Espremenil Consigliere del Parlamento di Parigi, e soggetto ben noto il quale credo abbia formato un piano di costituzione a governo di questa piccola repubblica. Uno dei primi loro oggetti è stato di provvedere a tutto ciò che può esser necessario per l'esercizio del culto della nostra santa religione per l'istruzione e per l'educazione. Hanno quindi prescelto un certo D. Didier monaco

<sup>11</sup> Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 380-383v.

di S. Maur, che io non conosco, ma di cui mi procurerò qualche informazione. Questo religioso mi ha fatto presentare l'annesso foglio, in cui espone la commissione, di cui deve essere incaricato, e domanda alla Sacra Congregazione le necessarie facoltà. Io però gli ho fatto rispondere che oltre il suddetto foglio sarebbe stato opportuno che li deputati di questa colonia facessero conoscere alla Sacra Congregazione le loro idee, e li mezzi che si offrono a fornire per l'esecuzione, onde la Sacra Congregazione possa acquistare una sufficiente cognizione di questo nuovo stabilimento, e dare quelle providenze che la natura del luogo, il numero delle persone ed altre circostanze fisiche e morali potranno esigere per il miglior successo. Questa memoria adunque mi sarà mandata nel corrente di questa settimana, che io poi in seguito accompagnerò con lettera d'ufficio all'Eminenza Vostra. Ho creduto soltanto di prevenire Vostra Eminenza, stante che essendo imminente la partenza dell' suddetto religioso, mi si fa premura di qualche risposta.<sup>12</sup>

Parigi, il 22 marzo, 1790.

Umilissimo. . . .

## V

On March 29, 1790, the Nuncio wrote a second time to Cardinal Antonelli, saying that three or four priests were preparing to go to Gallipolis, but that Didier had been chosen as the spiritual head of the colony:

Eminmo. e Revmo. Signore,

Alcune famiglie francesi sono in procinto di partire per l'America Settentrionale. Hanno quivi comprate delle terre sulla riva del fiume Scioto, alla distanza però di 100 leghe dal mare, ed hanno il progetto di stabilire in esse una colonia. Fra i loro primi pensieri hanno avuto quello di provvedersi de' ministri della religione. Vi sono tre o quattro ecclesiastici disposti a partire in breve. Ma oltre a questi, vi è un Religioso della Cong. di S. Mauro, il quale specialmente vien deputato da questa colonia per essere alla testa di tutto ciò che riguarda il culto, l'amministrazione de'sacramenti, l'istruzione, ed anche l'educazione. Questo religioso pertanto mi ha formato un foglio, che qui annetto unitamente all'altro sottoscritto dai capi della stessa colonia. Da tali fogli V. E. e la Congregazione vedranno quanto il suddetto religioso desidera, e quanto gli può esser necessario per contribuire al buon esito dello stabilimento in ciò che riguarda la religione, e i costumi. E con profondissimo ossequio sono.

Dell' E. V.

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

✠A. Arcivescovo di Rodi.<sup>13</sup>

Parigi, 29 Marzo, 1790.

## VI

Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26 1790, appointed Didier—not Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic, as he wished, but Vicar-General in *spiritualibus* for the space of seven years. A copy of this Brief exists in the *Catholic Archives*, at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, and the following translation was published in the *Researches* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. xii (1895), pp. 50-51).

<sup>12</sup> Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 381-382.

<sup>13</sup> Arch. di Prop. Fide America Centrale, Vol. ii (1776-1790), fol. 378.

26th April, 1790.

Whereas, it has been communicated by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Rhodes, in France, that some men of illustrious piety and distinguished family have formed the design of emigrating to North America and establishing a colony on the lands of the river Scioto, where they have already, to this issue, bought considerable land; and whereas, for the sake of Catholic worship to which they are and will be most attached, they have arranged to bring with them a priest who may, as well on the way as in the settlements where they will fix their homes, administer to them the Sacraments, undertake the preaching of the word of God, look after the care of souls, they humbly ask of the Holy Father to grant to Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine Monk of the Order of Saint Benedict, Congregation of St. Maur, all the faculties which may seem opportune for the spiritual government of so many Catholic families: the Sacred Congregation, through the most eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, agreeing to their petitions, decreed, if it should please the Holy Father, that the faculties of *Formula IV* could be conceded to Father Didier, if he should be approved for pastoral work by the Archbishop of Paris, or his Vicar-General in spiritualities, for seven years, with complete jurisdiction over all the French who emigrate with him, *on condition that the lands and place where they should found their lands and Colony should not be within the diocese of any Bishop within the limits of the government and sway of the United States, which altogether lies under the jurisdiction of the Bishop lately appointed in Baltimore by the Apostolic See.* Further, Father Didier can in no way use the above faculties unless by the consent of the said Bishop, and is bound every year to inform the Sacred Congregation of the state of his mission, the number of faithful and their spiritual progress.

Which decree being communicated to him by the Most Eminent Cardinal Prefect, at an audience given on the above date, His Holiness graciously approved in every particular, and conceded the said faculties *ad Septennium*.

L. Cardinal Antonelli, *Prefect*.

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790.

G. Carpeyna, *Secretary*.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, twenty-sixth of April, 1790.

Through Most Eminent Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect, the Sacred Congregation appointed Rev. Father Didier, Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, Superior of the French Colony on the banks of the river Scioto, for seven years, with the authority necessary for the spiritual government of the said Colony, according to prescription of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and with the limits placed as to their exercise, and at no other time and in no other way.

L. Cardinal Antonelli, *Prefect*.

Dated Rome, April 28, 1790.

G. Carpeyna, *Secretary*.

## VII

It is evident from the original *Brief* of Appointment that Didier's powers as Prefect-Apostolic of the Colony were in no way to interfere with the jurisdiction, enjoyed by Bishop Carroll, over all the United States. The territory beyond the Alleghenies was an obscurely known one, and in 1790 it was not altogether certain whose was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this part of the Ohio Valley. But the *Brief* reads with a definitiveness which leaves no room for doubt that the Sacred Congregation had no intention to shorten the diocesan limits of Bishop Carroll nor to give Didier any faculties which could be used without Carroll's express consent. In his letter of May 10, 1790, to Cardinal Antonelli,



the Papal Nuncio of Paris also understands that Didier's faculties would have to be confirmed by Bishop Carroll before they could be used. About Didier himself he could find little, but he has been informed that he is a religious of good character, sound in doctrine, though somewhat of an impetuous and idealistic nature. Didier had already left for Havre, at the date of the Nuncio's writing (May 10, 1790), and was preparing to leave about the end of the month for America. Bishop Carroll, in a letter to Plowden, dated September 3, 1791, speaks of "the arrival, last year, of a Benedictine Monk, with a congregation, on the banks of the Ohio."<sup>14</sup>

Emmo. Illmo. Signore,

La nuova colonia de' Francesi che parte per l'America, va a stabilirsi lungo il fiume Sciotto dentro lo stato della Virginia, anzi essa formerà in appresso una porzione di d<sup>o</sup> Stato, onde per ragione della località, la missione della Colonia med<sup>ma</sup> pare compressa nella giurisdizione di già accordata dalla S. Cong<sup>ne</sup> al Vic<sup>o</sup>. Aplico. degli Stati Uniti. Circa le qualità personali di D. Didier, sono assicurato esser egli un buon religioso, e di sani principii circa la dottrina, ma a quanto ho inteso, è un po' vivo e progettista. Egli è già partito per *Havre de Grace*, e di là verso la metà di questo mese s'imbarcherà per l'America. M<sup>r</sup> d' Espremenill fa però qui gli affari della compagnia, ed egli si caricherà di trasmetter la risposta, che la S. Cong<sup>ne</sup> farà al sud<sup>o</sup> religioso come questi arrivato in America troverassi in notabile distanza dal Vic<sup>o</sup> Aplico, ne potrà aver da lui le necessarie facoltà, se non dopo qualche tempo, così implora fin da ora della S. Cong<sup>ne</sup> le opportune facoltà provisionali finché queste gli vengano confermate da quel Vic<sup>o</sup> Aplico

Dell' E. V.,

Immo etc.

Parigi 10 Maggio, 1790.

✠A., Arc. di Rodi.<sup>15</sup>

### VIII

Propaganda intended, therefore, that the new colony would depend almost immediately upon the Bishop of Baltimore. A further letter of the Nuncio to Antonelli, dated Paris, May 17, 1790, is interesting because it appears to hint that Du Boisnantier was asserting his right to the See of Gallipolis, as mentioned in the *Bruté Papers*.

Emo., etc.,

Essendo D. Didier già partito da Parigi, non ho potuto eseguire che per lettera le commissioni di cui V. E. mi ha onorato. Non so se il mio piego arriverà in tempo di raggiungerlo a Havre de Grace, ove da vari giorni era egli sul momento d'imbarcarsi, ma quand'anche fosse partito, M<sup>r</sup> d' Espremenill mi ha fatto sapere, che potrà facilmente spedirglielo essendo imminente la partenza d'altre navi mercantili per la med<sup>ma</sup> destinazione. Qui in Parigi vi è un Prete, che bramerebbe di divenir vescovo di quella colonia, ed a ottenuto, che i capi di essa s'interessino per la sua elezione. M<sup>r</sup> d' Espremenill mi ha quindi presentato il foglio, che annetto. Per

<sup>14</sup> Cf. HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, Vol. i, Pt. ii, p. 754. New York, 1910. It is curious to note also in this connection that the Sulpician Father Galais, during the discussions preparatory to the foundation of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, suggested "that the Seminary should be founded at Gallipolis, where many emigrants from France at that time proposed to settle." SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 377.

<sup>15</sup> *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 384-386.

quanto credo che la cosa non convenga in alcun modo sì per le disposizioni, che si annunziano nel soggetto, sì per le misure già prese circa la dipendenza della colonia dal vescovo di Baltimore, e la facoltà recentemente accordata a F. Didier, non ha potuto ricusare di mandarle il sud<sup>o</sup> foglio. Se V. E. crede mi basterà d'avere una lettera ostensibile per M<sup>r</sup> d'Espremenill il quale non lascia di essere un soggetto, che merita de riguardi, e delle attenzioni. E con profond<sup>mo</sup> ossequio,

Pariji, 17 Maggio, 1790.

Dell' E. V., etc.<sup>16</sup>

The failure of the whole scheme is but another incident in the already long list of utopian projects which have had their stage in America from the early colonial days and later, when such attempts as the New Ireland Plantation and the Celtic Republic were made for the oppressed people of Europe. It is difficult to say with any degree of accuracy what became of Dom Didier after the collapse of the Gallipolis colony. O'Hanlon (*Life and Scenery of Missouri*, p. 64-5), states that Father Didier officiated at St. Louis from 1793 to 1799.<sup>17</sup> It is surmised that he went to New Orleans in 1800, and it is probable that the ecclesiastical archives of that province would shed some light on the rest of his life. Shea calls him the pioneer Benedictine in this country and says that he died at St. Louis. "Left without a priest, the settlement at Gallipolis soon lost all coherence and dwindled away. Religion gradually faded out. Children were no longer baptized; they did not even ask Dr. Carroll to send them a priest. On Sundays instead of prayer and Catholic instructions, meetings were held where deism and infidelity were openly advocated. Such was the end of the Prefecture-Apostolic of the Scioto."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Arch. di Prop. Fide, America Centrale*, Vol. ii (1776-1790), ff. 387-387v.

<sup>17</sup> Mention is made in BILLON, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), p. 465, of a John Pierre Didier; but it is not stated whether or not he was a priest.

<sup>18</sup> SHEA, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 481-2. When Fathers Badin and Barrières visited Gallipolis in September, 1793, on their way to the Kentucky missions, their arrival was hailed with joy and they stayed several days ministering to the people; they baptized forty children. (Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 455.) It would look from this as if Didier had deserted his people. BRECKENBRIDGE in his *Recollections*, says "they had vanished like the palace of Aladdin. Cf. for the whole melancholy tragedy, VOLNEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 381-93. "Night was coming on when I reached the village of Gallipolis. I could only distinguish three rows of little white houses built on the flat summit of the bank of the Ohio. . . . I was struck with its wild appearance, and the sallow complexions, thin visages, sickly looks, and weary air, of all its inhabitants. They were not desirous of conversing with me!" (p. 385, *English trans.*). There is a letter in ROBIN, *Nouveaux Voyages* (p. 17), from Dom Didier (undated but written after his arrival at Gallipolis) to Father Piot sub-Prior of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, to which Didier belonged. It must have been written during the first days of the colony, for it breathes great hope for the future. He says in part: "J'ai rencontré beaucoup d'Américains catholiques. J'ai baptisé beaucoup de leurs enfans; ils ne voyent de Presbytres que quatre fois par an. J'ai vu des Sauvages catholiques, parlant un peu Français, qui m'ont baisé les mains. . . ." It is strange that no letters of Didier exist in the *Gallipolis Papers*, now in the *Van Wormer Library* (Ohio Philosophical Society), of the University of Cincinnati. These papers have been arranged and some of them edited by Belote, in the seventh volume of the *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* (Vol. vii, 1907, No. 2). Other documents exist in the collection of the *American Antiquarian Society* and in those of the *New York Historical Society*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans. The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain.** By Arthur Percival Newton. With an Introduction by Charles M. Andrews, Ph.D., L.H.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914. Pp. x+344.

In his introduction to this important work, Prof. Andrews tells us that the first forty years of the seventeenth century in England, although primarily of interest as a period of constitutional conflict, were marked by an outburst of romantic activity which sent hundreds of Englishmen out into the western seas in search of adventure and profit. The entire colonial activity, together with the half piratical expeditions and organized commercial enterprises, cannot be fully understood unless the impulses which fashioned them, partly religious and partly economic, be viewed in their entirety. It is difficult, he says, to grasp the full significance of the settlements of Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and Saybrook, without a knowledge of the circumstances under which the colonies of Bermuda, the Barbadoes, and Old Providence were established, for while no single motive governed the men who voyaged to the new world during this romantic period, these different impulses were so inextricably interwoven that the movement must be viewed as a whole. Our American historians, up to within very recent times, have been handling individual efforts of colonization as separate movements, "thus giving to our era of beginnings the appearance of a running track laid out in separate and mutually exclusive courses." It is hard to say whether it is more advisable to study the European backgrounds of our American history or to view the history of the old world through the focus of early American endeavor; but for a satisfactory appreciation of the settlements on the American seaboard, the colonizing activities of the different religious elements in England must be thoroughly understood. This is the great value of Mr. Newton's book. Though he deals with the colonizing experiments of the English Puritans in the West Indies and the States of Central America, he ranges over a large field of

English activity during those intense years of royal and parliamentary conflict from 1600 to 1660.

In the time of Elizabeth, the English Puritans had become a veritable religious clan, bound together by ties of blood, marriage and religious institutions; and in treating the Puritan colonizing activities, one is impressed by the fact that it is almost the same as dealing with a family. The Providence Company, which settled in the very heart of the Spanish Main, is the story of organized opposition on the part of these Englishmen of the seventeenth century to Spanish dominion in the West Indies; and in following the history of the company which undertook the colonization of the islands of Henrietta, Providence, and Tortuga or Association, in the Caribbean Sea, the impression is brought home upon the reader that the history of English colonization of the first part of the seventeenth century is peculiarly a part of the history of England itself and that it can only be understood in so far forth as the causes are detected in the background of English political history, enlivened with the highlights of the forces which were tending for and against the power of the royal Stuarts. The story of the Providence Company falls naturally into two periods, from its foundation, in 1626, down to the year 1635, and from 1635 down to the beginning of the reign of Charles II, 1660. Mr. Newton builds up a very interesting story from the contemporary records of the times and from the *Calendars*, both *Domestic* and *Colonial*, of the Public Record Office. The history of Puritan immigration, the planting of Tortuga and the settlement of Providence, with their failure to hold their own against Spanish and French attacks, pass before the eyes of the reader with all the interest of a romance; and its impression—no matter what we think of the morality of the piracy which assisted England so greatly in her colonizing enterprises—makes it impossible not to be thrilled by the story of these sturdy Puritans who were instrumental in building up the first permanent settlements on our coast. The close relationship which existed between their leaders in England, in the American colonies and in these tiny island settlements of the West Indies is here explained for the first time. It is a work which should be found in every American library, for no other book on the subject illustrates so clearly the development of the policy of English hostility to Spain during this period of its greatest vigor.

**The Presidency—Its Duties, Its Powers, Its Opportunities, and Its Limitations.** By William Howard Taft. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1916. 145 pp.

This volume comprises the Barbour-Page Foundation Lectures which Mr. Taft delivered at the University of Virginia, January, 1915. Like most of the author's utterances, they are marked by judicial poise, moderate conservatism, and fundamental sanity. While he points to many features of the Presidency which could be modified to advantage, he thinks that on the whole the need for changes is not extremely urgent, and that the improvements can be virtually brought about by indirect and common sense methods. For example, in dealing with the criticism that the President can do nothing toward initiating legislation except through mere recommendation, and that he is not authorized to discuss proposed laws in Congress, Mr. Taft declares that this defect is more theoretical than actual, inasmuch as the President is usually supported by a Congress of the same political faith as his own, and is therefore able to exercise considerable moral influence in shaping legislation. Opinions will naturally differ as to whether this informal process is an adequate substitute for the more direct and formal power which is exercised in the legislative body by the cabinet in European countries. It is interesting to note that Mr. Taft agrees with the pronouncement of the Democratic party in favor of a single term for the President, without, of course, calling attention to the parallel. He would have the term of the Presidency lengthened to six or seven years. Another reform which he favors is the removal from Presidential appointment of all postmasters, and collectors of internal revenues and customs, and their inclusion in the classified civil service. The book is well worth reading for its practical, brief, and yet comprehensive presentation of the most important problems connected with the office of President of the United States.

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**Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850.** By F. A. Golder. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914. Pp. 368.

No phrase can better describe the contents of this volume than the title which the author has chosen for it. It is, indeed, a story of "Russian expansion on the Pacific." A detailed account is given of the discoveries, by Russian navigators, explorers and

geographers, of the great hardships they had to undergo, and of the gradual extension of Russian influence over the many Siberian tribes. Many of these men, such as Bering, Spanberg, Waxel, Walton, Steller and Delisle de la Croyère, were not Russians; but when we reflect that Peter the Great was accustomed to surround himself with the geniuses of other nations, we are not surprised at this.

Commencing with the establishment of a Russian province at Jakutsk, in 1641, Mr. Golder, in his first chapter, describes conditions existing in eastern Siberia in the seventeenth century. We are given a brief description of the form of government and the functions of various officials, *woewods*, *golovas*, *prikaschiks*, *atamans*, etc. The chief duty of these men was to collect tribute consisting mainly of furs. There is a touch of humor, though doubtless unconscious, in the account of the thieving proclivities of the tribute gatherers.

The second chapter relates the efforts of Russia and China to secure control of the lands bordering on the Amur. Many historians, in writing of this period of Russian history, assert that in the battles with the Chinese the Russians were on all occasions greatly outnumbered. The author disputes these statements and introduces much evidence to support his contentions. He very properly notes the important part played by the Jesuit missionaries in the Treaty of Nertchinsk, which ended these struggles. In his examination of Deshnef's voyage the author endeavors to show that Muller's account is not accurate, and that Deshnef did not proceed from the Koluima to the Anaduir by water, nor was the headland mentioned by him East Cape. The fourth chapter is devoted to Russia's struggle for the possession of Kamchatka and to an account of the several voyages to the Kyril Islands; then follows a description of the confusion reigning among geographers of the time, European and Asiatic, concerning Terra de Jeso and the attempts made to solve this vexing problem.

Chapters VI, VII and VIII contain rather detailed accounts of the voyages of Bering, who to most readers is but a name, of Gwosdef, Spanberg and their contemporaries. The object of these voyages was chiefly to discover whether or not Asia and America are united. They were instituted under the patronage of Peter the Great and afterwards the Empress Catherine, and

though not successful in their principal aim, they contributed much to the geographical knowledge of the day. In reading these chapters one is struck with the thought that had there been more harmony and less jealousy among the commanders much better results would have been obtained. The author has possibly crowded too much matter into these chapters, especially in his treatment of Bering's second expedition. In our opinion the suppression of some of the details would not have materially affected the accuracy of the volume. The ships employed in these expeditions were frequently named in honor of Saints, which shows that the men, although as a rule rough and uncouth, were by no means devoid of religion. After being saved from grave dangers, invariably their first action was to return thanks to God.

The geographical relations of Asia and America were definitely established in 1823 by Wrangell. This theme is one of the subjects of the concluding chapter. In it are contained also an account of the survey of the Amur region, a task originally assigned to Bering, and the solution of the Sakhalin Island problem. The work concludes with a well merited tribute to Russian navigators. Several appendices translated from the Russian, French, and German, an index, and a bibliography complete the volume.

Mr. Golder has consulted mainly original sources found at Harvard University, the Library of Congress, the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Archives de la Marine* and the archives at Petrograd, the material of which he has had to condense and present in English. The secondary sources, with which the author does not always agree, are, however, of the highest standing. In this book we see the efforts of a descriptive and narrative writer of ability, who, by his style and method of presentation sustains interest in matter that is often far from attractive. "Russian Colonization on the Pacific" is a valuable contribution to a field that, as yet, has received but scant notice.

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**Abraham Lincoln.** The Lawyer-Statesman. By John T. Richards. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. Pp. vii + 260.

According to the publishers, this volume "is the result of years of searching among the records of the courts before which Lincoln practised, disproves many traditions, and illumines from a new angle the life and character of the real Abraham Lincoln."

It presents the main subject in three chapters, entitled, "in the courts," "the lawyer-president," and "criticism of the judiciary." These are preceded by a brief sketch of Lincoln's early education, and followed by a short appreciation of him as an orator, some gems of his thought, and an appendix containing his cases in the supreme courts of Illinois and the United States. The first claim in the quotation given above from the publisher's announcement, is well established by the contents of the book, but the second and third are somewhat exaggerated. One of the traditions which the author aims to disprove is the assumption that Lincoln did not have a proper respect for the courts, nor properly appreciate the value of an independent judiciary. It is doubtful whether any such tradition exists. All that has been claimed in this respect by the fair critics of the courts in recent years is that Lincoln used as strong language and employed the same arguments in differing from the Dred Scott decision as they have indulged in when they call into question some of the judicial decisions of recent years in the field of social and labor problems. As Mr. Richards points out, Lincoln severely criticised the judges who concurred in that decision, declaring that the decision itself was based upon ignorance of historical facts and prompted by the views of the judges regarding the merits of slavery, and affirming that the people were competent "to overthrow the *men* who pervert the constitution." The author tries to show that this line of criticism differs from that followed by the present day critics of the judiciary; but the fact is that the two lines are strikingly parallel; for the critics of the present day point out that decisions declaring unconstitutional labor laws, such as that involved in the New York bakeshop case (*Lochner vs. New York*) have proceeded from judicial ignorance of the actual conditions of industry, and from a certain bias acquired through early education and social affiliations. This was exactly the contention of Lincoln in essence. Even the extreme critics of today, those who desire the recall of judges, or the recall of judicial decisions have not desired to do more than "overthrow the men who pervert the constitution," and few of them have put their demands in such strong language.

The chief merit of the volume is that it presents Lincoln from a single and important point of view. It will, therefore, be found convenient by those who wish to consider him under that aspect.



The book is well printed, and contains several excellent illustrations.

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**Wraxall's Abridgment of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751.**

Edited with an Introduction by Charles H. McIlwain, Ph.D.,  
Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. Harvard  
Historical Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.  
Pp. cxviii+251.

In this volume of the Harvard Historical Studies, Prof. McIlwain has edited Peter Wraxall's "Abridgment of the Indian Records in the Colony of New York from 1678 to 1751." Wraxall was Indian Secretary for the Province of New York, and his abridgment was compiled to oppose the Albany plan for control of Indian affairs by a board of Colonial representatives. It contributed to the defeat of the Albany scheme and resulted in the appointment by the Lords of Trade in 1755 of Sir William Johnson sole superintendent of Indian affairs in the colonies. Wraxall became Johnson's secretary and rendered him valuable assistance in that office.

The early rivalry between England and France in America was not prompted by the desire for territory, the motive generally ascribed by both contemporary and modern historians, but was induced by the desire for Indian fur trade. It was the commercial treaties between the Five Nations and the Dutch and later between them and the English on the Hudson that prevented the realization of French colonization schemes; the success of which doubtless would have completely changed the political aspect of America. The French could not compete with the cheaply manufactured goods of the English traders and it was this, rather than the kindness of the English, which contributed to the French losses in America. The author says: "During the whole history of the English fur trade, the evidence indicates that most of these traders were the very scum of the earth, and their treatment of the Indians was such as hardly to be suitable for description." We recommend this quotation to English chroniclers of Spanish cruelty in America.

The importance of the study of these early Indian records is found in their significant effect upon the extension of French and English influence in the north and around the Great Lakes, a study which has not always received its merited attention. The

editor prefaces the original text with an instructive introduction supplemented profusely by citations principally from original sources. The Abridgment itself is amplified by explanatory notes.

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**Union Portraits.** By Gamaliel Bradford. Pp. 330. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co.

In this volume Mr. Bradford continues his series of biographical studies with "portraits" of nine Union leaders of Civil War times. Lee, the American, as well as Confederate Portraits are familiar works by the same author. He has selected as representative men of the North, Generals McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, and Sherman, and Secretaries Stanton and Seward, and Charles Sumner and Samuel Bowles. We look in vain for Sheridan. The biographies of Hooker and McClellan are substantially those first published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Bradford finds his materials in the writings of the men themselves and in those of their contemporaries to which he makes frequent reference. His appreciation of the characters and achievements of the northern generals, still the subject of controversy, are impartial and fair. It is not necessary to state that the author knows the Civil War period and its literature.

The "portrait" of the brilliant organizer but unsuccessful soldier, Gen. McClellan, is a composite of his many admirable qualities and excessive self-confidence. McClellan's supporters—and they are many—are never so enthusiastic as the General himself, and their praise is frequently "in the nature of an apology and lacks entirely the trumpet tone with which the General proclaims his own feats of arms." There is abundant testimony of the high regard and loving devotion of the Army of the Potomac for their leader. Although McClellan had ability, he lacked enterprise, and had he been a subordinate under men of the stamp of Grant, Sheridan or Thomas his campaigns would doubtless have been more successful. Mr. Bradford is just in saying: "He was a man of real power given too great an opportunity. As an able soldier, true patriot, and loyal gentleman, he did what he could."

"Fighting Joe" Hooker, so-named, as the author tells us, not by his troops but in pure accident by a newspaper compositor,

was a thoroughly human figure. He was a great organizer, surpassed only by McClellan, and he could plan campaigns ably, but lacked the ability to execute them. It was he who wrote, "We lost no honors at Chancellorsville," while Lincoln, "fell on his knees and told his God that the country could not endure another Fredericksburg or Chancellorsville." This is characteristic of Hooker. His confidence in himself and his inability to admit failure did not desert him. Hooker was unpopular with his associates because of his hasty speech and habits of criticizing and fault-finding; yet Lincoln said of him, "When trouble arises I can always rely on Hooker's magnanimity."

General Meade is a difficult person to understand and his personality and inability to win men make him less well known than other generals whose achievements were not so great. The casual student remembers only that he took a defeated army and in three days successfully met and stopped the hitherto victorious forces of Lee in the great battle of Gettysburg. Meade was a man of peace; he was modest, quiet, and unassuming yet not without substantial qualities making for success. "He was surely the man who fought Gettysburg. After all perhaps, that is something."

Gen. Thomas, like Lee, a Virginian, was confronted with the choice of serving either his native state or the Union, but unlike Lee he found his duty lay in service to the nation. For this he has been in turn criticized and commended by his biographers. Mr. Bradford argues that before Sumter he was undecided as to the course of his future allegiance. In Thomas we see the exercise of self-control and reserve in all things and at all times and an analysis of his character and motives is difficult. Yet notwithstanding his punctiliousness and exaggerated conception of the dignity of his position, he was kind of heart and tender of emotion on the rare occasions when he permitted himself the liberty of natural expression.

The author writes of Sherman: "He wore his coat unbuttoned and his heart also, exposed the inmost linings to all the winds of heaven. . . . This exposure is almost as baffling as Thomas's concealment, though in another fashion. We like to see a soul clean and wind-blown. But I am not sure that we always like to see it thrashing on the clothesline." This quotation is illustrative of the perspective of the author, and makes us believe

that in "Portraits" he has selected an expressive title for his work.

Of the biographies of Stanton, Seward, Sumner and Bowles, that of Stanton is the least cheering, but he was not found to be a very agreeable person by those who knew him. The author suggests that the Secretary of War was perhaps the only member of Lincoln's Cabinet who was not politically ambitious. He discounts the contention of many that Stanton was a personal coward, and holds that the true appreciation of this unusual character lies in the fact that "under all tactlessness and all indiscretion there lay the one passionate masterful purpose, to fight over all things and through all things and beyond all things that the inheritors of the American Revolution on this continent might find one indissoluble, prosperous, peaceful nation, the United States of America."

Seward was a natural politician, a popular orator, and without doubt the ablest and most influential member of Lincoln's and Johnson's Cabinets. Yet there appears to be a vein of insincerity, a hidden purpose, in what was said and done by this many-sided man. Mr. Bradford finds his key to the secrets of Seward's career in his "artistic temperament," which enabled him to view what was going on about him as a spectacle in which he stood apart.

Charles Sumner is described as a man who "had a magnificent tongue and one idea, the abolition of slavery. . . . He was simply the vocal organ of one of the greatest moral movements of the world."

Weed, Greeley, Garrison, Dana, and Raymond have left wider reputations as journalists, but the author has selected Samuel Bowles, Editor of the *Springfield Republican*, as the study best suitable to conclude this series. Bowles was sympathetic, yet uncompromising. He developed a struggling weekly into a great modern newspaper whose power he appreciated both as a moulder of opinion and disseminator of news. His biographers agree that he was given to faultfinding and grumbling, and he frequently used his own paper for personal attacks. Yet withal his editorials and letters were eagerly read and given a general circulation, and in Springfield there was public mourning for his death.

It is evident that Mr. Bradford makes no special plea for the distinguished men about whom he has written: His effort is

rather at an estimate of their characters and services. The student of American political history will find "Union Portraits" interesting and instructive reading. A chronology precedes each chapter and a bibliography with notes is appended.

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**The Postal Power of Congress, A Study in Constitutional Expansion.** By Lindsay Rogers, Ph.D., LL.B., Adjunct Professor of Political Science in the University of Virginia. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXXIV, No. 2. Pp. 180.

The purpose of this scholarly essay is "to trace the legislative and judicial history of the grant to Congress of the power 'to establish post offices and post roads,' and to discuss the constitutionality of the proposals that, under this clause, Federal control may be extended to subjects over which Congress has no direct authority." The study is one in constitutional interpretation rather than of the efficiency or development of the post office system. The author has revised and he republishes as a part of this volume his articles which have appeared in the law reviews of Harvard, Yale and the Virginia University law schools.

Chapter I. treats briefly of the attempts at regulation of the inefficient postal service in the colonies; the work of Benjamin Franklin, first as postmaster-general at Philadelphia, and later as postmaster-general of the Colonies; and the faulty organization and control under the Articles of Confederation. The grant of postal power received little consideration in either the Constitutional Convention or in the ratifying conventions of the several States. It was generally accepted that the postal service was by nature monopolistic and should therefore be under the exclusive power of the Federal Government. It cannot be urged, however, that the controverted powers later exercised under this clause were contemplated by the framers or "within the range of possibility" when the Constitution was adopted.

In Chapters II. and III. are discussed the power of Congress to establish post offices and post roads, the legislative acts and their judicial interpretations, and the various crimes and prohibited acts under Federal postal statutes. We are particularly interested in the ample treatment by Dr. Rogers and in his conclusions concerning the authority of the Postmaster-General to exclude

objectionable publications from the mails, a subject which is discussed in Chapters II., IV., and VIII. The failure of the so-called "Fitzgerald Amendment," in the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and the opposition which it provoked in the committee hearings are mentioned. Although Congress has absolutely prohibited the use of the mails for the transmission of obscene literature, *i. e.*, obscenity as defined at common law, it has only denied the postal facilities to all "matter otherwise mailable by law, upon the outside envelop or outside cover or wrapper of which . . . any libelous, scurrilous, defamatory, . . . intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, (that) may be written or printed or otherwise impressed or apparent."—See *United States vs. Boyle*, 40 Fed. Rep. 664. It is significant that scurrilous or defamatory matter to be denied postal transmission must appear on the *outside cover or wrapper*, and all the attempts to amend the act relating to obscene publications by adding the words *scurrilous or defamatory* have failed. The postal laws of Canada, we believe, do authorize the exclusion of publications of a scurrilous character and their laws have been invoked against certain anti-Catholic newspapers published in the United States and their transmission by mail is no longer permitted. Congress has this power, too, the author concedes, but he finds objection to the recently proposed method of its exercise. Such remedial legislation would be proper if it "simply made such matter non-mailable and penalized any attempt to use the post office for its carriage. . . . But under the bill, if it was established that a person made a practice of sending such matter through the mails the postmaster general would have absolute authority to deny him facilities for *all* his mail matter, much of which would be admittedly innocuous. . . . This official's authority would, in effect, be to punish for acts not made criminal by Congress. Such legislation would for this reason seem unconstitutional as well as ill-considered."

The interference of the States with the mails, especially during the Civil War, and the attitude of Southern statesmen, and the generally accepted denial of the right of State interference are treated in Chapter V. Prof. Rogers holds that the legitimate expansion of Federal control over post roads will permit of Government ownership of railroads, postal telegraphs, and telephones.

The importance of these studies has not been fully appreciated by our political writers. Yet the exercise of no administrative power of government is of more vital concern to the people, nor has any single provision of the Constitution been more widely extended in its application by Congress and the Judiciary. Prof. Rogers intimates the promise of further researches in this direction, the publication of which we hope to see at an early date.

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**The Life of William McKinley.** 2 Vols. By Charles S. Olcott, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. xii+795.

President McKinley has not lacked numerous biographers. The works brought out by Fallows, Porter, Halstead, Corning, Ellis, McClure, Roe and many others have made the facts of his career familiar. But the present volumes contain the first satisfactory treatment of the subject that has appeared. The superiority of Mr. Olcott's work lies possibly more in his handling of the matter than in any new facts he makes known.

A short account of McKinley's ancestry leads up to the story of his life. Born in 1843 in humble surroundings and in an environment that promised little for his future, William McKinley manifested qualities that slowly pushed him forward. The honesty, manliness, and industry of his boyhood gave earnest of the sterling character which was later to win the confidence of the nation. From the school bench he passed to the teacher's chair in a little District school and then to the position of clerk in the post office. He was eighteen when he responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers. This step was the first momentous one of his career. A very interesting chapter describes McKinley's life as a soldier and closes with the young man a major at twenty-two. After the Civil War, McKinley took up the profession of the law and here, too, he was successful.

His interest in political questions and his acquaintance with some of the leaders of the day ushered him into politics, first as a political orator, later as a candidate for Congress. A prominent figure in Washington when tariff and currency were the great issue, then Governor of Ohio, he loomed larger and larger in the public eye till at length he became the Republican nominee for the Presidency in 1896. The administration of McKinley is well

known to our generation. To the ever-recurring matters of tariff and currency were added those of Civil Service Reform, the Isthmian Canal, Hawaii, Cuba, the Spanish War, the Philippines, China, and a host of minor problems. All of these the President handled admirably. He developed with each new responsibility. Of course his policy, like any other, was open to criticism and did not meet with unanimous approval but both in motives and results it reflected high qualities of integrity and statesmanship which earned him a reelection in 1900. In the last days of his life President McKinley could find gratification in the splendid fruits of his work and in the trust of the people, and he looked forward to plans for the increased development and prosperity of the American Nation. The tragedy of September 6, 1901, ends Mr. Olcott's narrative and the book closes with an appreciation of the martyred president and an appendix containing the Buffalo speech, an account of the trial of Czolgosz, and a description of some McKinley monuments.

The writer is very frankly a panegyrist of McKinley, but his admiration is supported by well presented facts. The biography is based on the material collected by Mr. Cortelyou, the Secretary to McKinley, and on letters, diaries, and reminiscences of numerous associates and friends of the President in his public and private life. It is therefore a very intimate picture, rich in details which many biographers cannot obtain. This mass of sources Mr. Olcott has fashioned into a very valuable and a very readable book. He is not content with a mere chronicling of events but approaches the discussion of McKinley's policies with brief sketches of the questions at issue. While the chief interest of the book centers about McKinley as a public figure, McKinley the man, the loyal friend, the devoted husband, the Christian of a lofty idealism is revealed with sympathetic insight. That the book is, consciously or not, a plea for the principles of the Republican party need not detract from its value. An enthusiastic description of McKinley cannot but defend his policies and those of his party. But the work can be recommended none the less heartily to every reader.

The thirty-two illustrations are a pleasing addition to the text, and the publishers have given Mr. Olcott's volumes a most acceptable form.



**Pastoral Letters, Addresses and Other Writings of the Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Trenton.**  
Edited by the Rev. James J. Powers. Pp. 403. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1916.

The present volume contains thirty selections from the pen of the Bishop of Trenton. They are now presented to a larger public in the hope that they "will help to solve some of the perplexing problems of the day and also lead to a better understanding of social, civil, and religious conditions." The voice of an American Catholic Bishop speaking on such topics as Education, Labor, Citizenship, the Home, Socialism, Race Suicide, the Press, cannot but appeal to a wide circle of readers, and even in treating of subjects of less popular interest the author often has that to say which gives his words a worth that outlives the particular occasion that called them forth. Questions of the day are handled with outspoken vigor, the bishop being one who prefers entering the arena of discussion to the "state of siege" attitude maintained by too many Catholics. The dominant note of the whole book may be said to be the application of Christian principles to modern American life, in the family, in politics, in the relations of Capital and Labor, in every phase of social relations. And as a patriot no less than as a Churchman, the Bishop of Trenton urges that the solution of our problems can best be found in the leavening of our institutions and of ourselves by the saving morality of the Gospel.

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**Famous Days and Deeds in Holland and Belgium.** By Charles Morris. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915. Pp. 348.

The eyes of the world have been centered for the past two years upon Belgium and its neighbor, the Kingdom of Holland. These two countries, formerly known as the Low Countries, have had a history as intensely interesting as any in Europe. From the time of Charles V down to the Independence of Belgium in 1830, their history can hardly be divided. The work of Motley has made the history of Holland better known to English-speaking peoples than that of Belgium, and the reading public cannot but welcome any book which tells us the story of King Albert's people. Belgium has been the battle ground of Europe from the days of the Battle of Bouvines, and she has centered in herself

some of the most tragic events, both political and religious, of modern times. The purpose of this present book is not to give us the history of Holland and Belgium, but rather the more notable historical tales which concern these countries. The greater part of the book deals with the reigns of Charles V, and Philip II, who is continually called a merciless bigot and the instigator of a Gehenna of awful torment and terror. The work is largely religious propaganda, and among its many defects is the absence of any treatment of the English Pilgrims during their exile around Leyden. The work is advertised as written with the greatest skill, with sound knowledge and with fire and enthusiasm. Even boys and girls, we are told, as well as men and women, will be spellbound at its reading. The book is especially recommended for Sunday School teachers and pupils, and the children are promised the greatest inspiration in its perusal. If modern historical science had made no progress since the pioneer days of Gachard, and if Pirenne had never written his perfectly balanced *Histoire de la Belgique*, Mr. Morris might be able to make us believe that all his enthusiasms, which are mostly unsympathetic to the religion of the whole of the Belgian people and a large part of the population of Holland, were founded on fact. Fortunately, those who wish to know the real story of the reign of Philip II have books at hand which will give them more accurate knowledge of the times. Mr. Morris continues the legend of Stanley's treason; he has nothing but praise for Philip Sydney and Leicester; and his chapter on the Armada is as little historical as if he had never seen the documents for this period. The book is exactly what it pretends to be, an historical tale, and will be no help to the student who would look into it for the background of the story of the Pilgrim Fathers or of the early history of New York. The work has no index.

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**Theodore Roosevelt: The Logic of His Career.** By Charles G. Washburn. Illustrated. New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. 245.

Some observers of political affairs after the recent State and congressional elections gave public expression to the prophecy that June, 1916, would find Theodore Roosevelt without a party or a following. There is fragmentary evidence, however, that the Progressive party has not entirely ceased to exist and abun-

dant proof that the distinguished Colonel is one of the three central figures in American politics. He continues to write about many subjects, the personal one included; and he, his friends and those who do not permit of this classification, are assured of interested and numerous readers for what they may write about him. Theodore Roosevelt is a talking and much talked of gentleman.

The book is an interesting and "intimate biography by a friend of forty years" and a class-mate at Harvard. Although the biographer does not agree with Mr. Roosevelt on many of his political theories and found "parting company (1912) with him deeply painful," it is his conclusion that "Roosevelt has never been a politician; that his opinions, regarded by many as radical and by some as even revolutionary, were carefully considered for many years before they found expression; and that in the campaigns of 1912 he was seeking to advance a cause and not any personal ambition; . . . incidentally, that Roosevelt is, and has always been, a person of great simplicity of character, of the highest ideals, and with a wider range of genuine human sympathies than any other man who ever occupied the Presidential office." The author makes no attempt at a history or even "a finished sketch of his life," and the reader may notice with regret that some incidents have been either entirely omitted or summarily treated. The contents include in outline the eventful activities of the ex-President from his graduation to the campaigns of 1912, and conclude with a chapter on his personal characteristics. Roosevelt's Carnegie Hall address, *The Right of the People to Rule*, is reprinted in the Appendix.

Mr. Washburn has drawn many hitherto unpublished citations from his personal correspondence with Mr. Roosevelt, and he materially strengthens his contention "that his (Roosevelt's) opinions were carefully considered for many years before they found expression." The justification for this conclusion he finds in a comparison of views expressed in messages to Congress and elsewhere. A decision in the New York Court of Appeals in 1885 declaring unconstitutional an act of the legislature prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses first aroused Roosevelt's wrath "against that kind of judicial mind which is blind to changed social conditions and which was disposed to limit the area of 'police power' as to make it impossible for the

correction of such abuses," a remedy for which he sought during many years and finally believed he had found in the limited application of the doctrine of the recall of judicial decisions, advocated in his Columbus speech of 1912. Reference might here be made to the so-called Vatican incident. Mr. Washburn says: "Roosevelt has been advised and urged not to go to Rome and thus to avoid trouble. He said that he would not invite trouble but would not go a hand's breadth out of his way to avoid trouble when he knew that he was in the right." It is true that much was made of the unfortunate incident that was not warranted by the facts. It may be questioned, however, whether in this particular instance he was justified in knowing "that he was in the right." Mr. Roosevelt might well have shown the Pope the courtesy and respect which he himself so energetically demanded from others.

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**Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx.** By W. J. Howlett. Mission Press, S.V.D. Techney, Ill. 1915. Pp. 434.

This new biography of Father Nerinckx has three ends in view. By means of hitherto unused documents it seeks to present his life more completely and more accurately. It would clear his character from the frequent charges made against him, and to some degree the author's underlying thesis is that Nerinckx was a saint. These purposes are pursued through thirty-three chapters of interesting and well-connected narrative.

The measure of success attained by the writer in these endeavors is open to criticism. Father Howlett's work marks an advance, possibly, on those of Maes, Spalding, and others who have touched the subject but the book does not come with the finality of a last word. Unless we err, the archives of Baltimore might be made to yield additional material which should not be neglected. Again, the vindication of Nerinckx in the matter of rigorism, of his relations with some of his co-workers, and of the other disputed points, is not such as to silence controversy. To call attention to these facts is not to disparage the work. The author's championship of the saintly missionary awakens a

universal response of hearty sympathy, though it may leave the question as open as ever.

Inexcusable, however, is the absence of bibliography and references to sources. One looks in vain to learn where the documents cited are to be found, and printed sources are quoted with never a mention of a page. Despite these shortcomings, however, the book takes its place as one of value in the growing field of American Church history.

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**The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630.** Translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, Annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis. Pp. xiii+309. Chicago, Privately Printed, 1916.

In his introduction to this work, Charles F. Lummis says: "This Memorial is one of the scarcest of all *Americana*. A copy of the thin, parchmented volume, printed in 1630, and of only 104 pages, is worth at least its weight in gold. To the student of the Southwest it is as precious as to the collector—an indispensable source. Benavides was an eyewitness and a part of the history-making era he records. He was an honest chronicler, though an enthusiastic one—a religious 'promoter,' as it were. The very zeal which made him risk his life and make naught of his hardships as a frontier missionary for a number of years, colors his report—which was purely to induce the King to send more missionaries to New Mexico and build more churches there for the conversion of the Gentiles. Naturally he was optimistic, so far as populations go; sixty per cent is none too large a rebate for his figures, which were of necessity mere guesses. There was no census; and these Indian populations almost invariably impress one as more numerous than they are. Less pardonable writers than Benavides have gone much farther astray in these estimates, in our own day. Barring this, and his natural 'prospector' faith in 'mines' which never panned out, Fray Alonso is a most trustworthy witness; and by grace of his position, a most important one."

Referring to the present edition, here under discussion, Mr. Charles F. Lummis gives the following interesting information:

"One of the few extant copies of the original Spanish edition of Benavides is in the possession of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, the first president of the Field Museum of Natural History, a trustee of the Newberry Library, a frontier-made American who has gathered one of the noblest libraries of *Americana* in existence. Mrs. Ayer, in full sympathy with his passion, has set herself with rare devotion and patience to the translation of Benavides; and with as great modesty has given me plenary editorial authority upon her manuscript. I have scrupulously compared it word for word with the original, have made whatever correction or comment that seemed fit, and am prepared to vouch for the translation as it stands. Mr. Frederick Webb Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, supplies over his own initials a connotation which adds greatly to the value of the work."

In regard to the translation as such he says: "This is not a literal translation. It is merely an accurate one. It gives what Benavides said, so that our reader can understand him in English as clearly and as closely as his seventeenth century reader understood him in Spanish. No liberties whatever are taken with his meaning or his vocabulary. . . . It is enough at present to say that . . . the whole is tested by a reasonably thorough familiarity with the documentary Spanish of Benavides's day and fellows, with every mile of the ground Benavides writes of, and with the language as it is still spoken there."

The last sentence will be readily assented to by all who are acquainted with the work of Mr. Lummis in the Southwest, and it tends delightfully to enhance the value of the present work.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part gives us the English Version of the Memorial, with numerous foot-notes by either Mr. Charles F. Lummis or Mr. F. W. Hodge, pages 1-75. The second part gives the Spanish Text of the Memorial, pages 77-183. The third part contains the "Notes," 72 numbers in all, chiefly by Mr. F. W. Hodge, pages 185-285. Thereupon follows a copious Index, which enables one to easily find especially the proper names occurring in the text or the notes upon it. The "Memorial" itself, of course, makes most interesting reading with its optimistic tone, and one can well understand why it created, in the time of Benavides, such lively enthusiasm in

Spain and other European countries. The brief footnotes give the necessary elucidations of the text, and historic hints. But the quite elaborate "Notes" in the third part of the book might be called a book by itself. They comprise 100 pages in smaller print of most valuable information. In character they are critico-historical, giving more accurate accounts of the various personages and places, the several Indian Nations and their customs, whenever the text calls for further explanation on these matters. Aside from the interest they awaken in the reader, they give him a complete review of the subject-matter, which could be supplied otherwise only by consulting many books treating severally on the various subjects. It goes without saying that being merely "Notes" they are condensed as much as possible, yet they contain a great wealth of information which is most satisfying to the inquisitive mind. As already stated they mostly, in fact practically all, are from the pen of Mr. Frederick Webb Hodge, who is an authority on matters Indian.

The exquisite illustrations that are inserted, forty-four-page copperplate prints, embellish the book delightfully, besides which there are also inserted in the text of the notes, the title-pages of the four first translations into other languages. It is noteworthy that within four years from the publication of the Spanish original in 1630, this Memorial appeared also in French (in 1631), Dutch (also in 1631), Latin (in 1634) and German (probably also in 1634).

The present edition is a very scholarly one. We find only one footnote (page 67), which needs correction. It refers to the so-called Cuaresma de los Benditos, or "Lent of the Blessed," which applies only to members of the Franciscan Order, and not, as the note says, to all members of the Catholic Church. The paper of this edition is very good, as also is the print, the Spanish version standing off from the English print in bold antique type. In every respect it is a valuable addition to any library, and it is to be hoped that many others of its kind will follow. There is an extensive field of work ahead for American historians, in bringing to light the thousands of manuscripts of these early periods of American history which are as yet hidden away in the various libraries, especially of Mexico and of Spain. The collaborators of the present work, Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, Mr.

Frederick Webb Hodge, and Mr. Charles Fletcher Lummis, deserve our congratulation for having presented to Americans their beautiful "Benavides." Though only printed privately in 300 copies, let us hope that it will some day be placed on sale for all lovers of American history.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

An anxious time it was for the Church in Pennsylvania, when, after the death of its first Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, O.F.M., on July 22, 1814, the Diocese was without a spiritual head until the consecration of Bishop Henry Conwell, at London, September 24, 1820. The six years of *interim* did not pass without an attempt being made to fill the vacant See. Several names were suggested to Archbishop Carroll before his death (December 3, 1815), and by him to Propaganda. Among them were Dubourg, who became Bishop of New Orleans (1815); David, who became coadjutor-Bishop of Bardstown (1819); Gallitzin, the Russian prince-priest, who might have been chosen, had it not been for the financial burden he had personally assumed in the support of his missions; Hurley, the pastor of St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia; de Barth, who was acting-Administrator of the widowed Diocese, and who was steadfast in his refusal to accept the position; and Harold, one of the leaders of the factionists at St. Mary's Church. Propaganda yielded to the wishes of Bishop Flaget in the case of David, and, passing over the other candidates, appointed the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore to the See of Philadelphia (January 16, 1816). It was not the first time Maréchal had been mentioned for a bishopric, since it is evident from one of Concanen's letters that, had that venerable prelate succeeded in reaching his Diocese in 1810, he would have proposed the future Archbishop of Baltimore for the coadjutorship of New York. Maréchal refused Philadelphia, and de Barth was selected in July, 1816. De Barth was equally averse to the burden of the episcopate, even threatening to sign, as Administrator, his own release from the Diocese in order to escape the responsibility. Philadelphia then remained vacant until Conwell's consecration in 1820.

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The *Archives* of Propaganda contain several interesting letters from these ecclesiastics during the *interim* of 1814-1820; and some of them give us an entirely opposite impression of the principal personage concerned—Ambrose Maréchal. Maréchal's *Report to Propaganda* (October 16, 1818), embodies a very frank insight into the troubled condition of the Church in the United States at the time. There were apparently disturbances everywhere, especially in Philadelphia; and in the traditional history which has survived, the third Archbishop of Baltimore has not been allowed to escape without some rather bitter accusations of party-spirit, tyranny, and ambitious self-seeking. Maréchal's letters to Propaganda show us, on the contrary, a man who feared sincerely the responsibility of the episcopate and one who felt he estimated better than his friends his own capacity for filling it. In one of these letters, dated Baltimore, April 9, 1816, to Cardinal Litta, then Prefect of Propaganda, Maréchal solemnly protests his inability to cope with the situation in Philadelphia, and humbly declines the appointment, which had been made in the month of January of that year. He disclaims any part in the influence brought to bear upon Propaganda by Bishop Dubourg, of New Orleans, who

was then in Rome; he censures Flaget for his selfishness in not allowing David to be nominated to Philadelphia; and states that David's absence from Kentucky would relieve a poignant situation there, due to Father Badin's unreasonable jealousy: "Semel enim R. David amoto, omnia in pace fore arbitrabatur Archipraesul [Carroll]; dum e contra si in Kentuckiana Dioecesi remaneat valde timendum est ne occasione ejus praesentia magna exoriantur scandala." One of David's letters in the *MS. Irish College Portfolio* corroborates this statement.

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Maréchal then enumerates the reasons why he should not be appointed to the See left vacant by Bishop Egan's death. The Catholics of Philadelphia had heard the rumors of Dubourg's intrigue at Rome in favour of his fellow-Sulpician, and they would be easily persuaded that his election was not to be attributed to zeal for the glory of God, but to ambitious plans which originated with the newly consecrated Bishop of New Orleans. Moreover, Philadelphia possessed at that time a priest of exceptional oratorical ability—the Rev. Father Harold, who was ambitious for the post of Coadjutor under Bishop Egan—and, since Maréchal was not proficient in the art of preaching, comparisons would be made by the Haroldites, which would be detrimental to his episcopal authority. The most important reason, however, for his refusal was the fact that St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where he was then professor, needed him more than ever. Father Nagot had died the very day he was writing this letter (April 9, 1816), and his worthy successor, Father Tessier, was dangerously ill, and therefore unable to attend to the education of the young clerics. "These are the reasons, my Lord Cardinal," Maréchal writes, "which duty compels me to submit to the wisdom and piety of Your Eminence; for before Christ, Who is my Judge, I bear witness that, if I refuse to receive the bulls, of which Your Eminence speaks, I will be led to do so, because the present conditions are such, that my appointment can only turn to the detriment of the Church here." After professing his loyalty to the Holy See and his obedience to the Pope, Maréchal explains further that it is against the spirit of the Society of S. Sulpice for its members to accept any ecclesiastical dignity. Should, however, the Supreme Pastor of souls oblige him under obedience to accept any such charge "*quamquam suprema ejus innixus bonitate atque misericordia spero illud nunquam fore adventurum*,"—"then, as a victim led to the sacrifice, I will submit myself in fear and trembling to the yoke imposed."

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In a second letter to Cardinal Litta, dated Baltimore, December 1, 1816, in reply to his Eminence's letter from Rome, of July 13, 1816, Maréchal again urges the election of David to the See of Philadelphia. Rumors had also arisen, he says, that he was to be appointed Coadjutor of Baltimore, with the right of succession; and he begs the Cardinal Prefect for the good of the Church not to consider him for the post, but to nominate Cheverus, the Bishop of Boston. Maréchal shows in this letter that he foresaw all the sad difficulties which awaited Neale's successor in Baltimore, and which indeed he had to meet when he was raised to that metropolitan See the next year (December 14, 1817). The

last paragraph of this letter points clearly to his aversion from any responsibility higher than that which he held in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore:

"Neque Te celabo, Ill. ac Emm. Praesul, quod anima mea doleat dolore amarissimo, prospiciens tribulationes quae in hisce regionibus me manent. Vix namque unum devitavi periculum quod in aliud longe majus statim conjiciar. Secundum Deum, solantur me S. Pontificis insignis misericordia atque S. Congregationis summa sapientia, mihi gratam afferunt rationem sperandi fore ut me sinant obscuras quidem at utilissimas quibus vacat St. Sulpitii Societas functiones prosequi et adimplere."

A further letter to Propaganda, dated March 15, 1817, reiterates the stand he has taken, and he again urges Cheverus as the successor of Archbishop Neale.

On June 27, 1817, nine days after Neale's death, he wrote again to Cardinal Litta (this time in French), telling him that news had come from Paris that the Sacred Congregation was about to transfer him from Philadelphia (which he had never accepted) to Baltimore. The letter is worthy of preservation in the original—

"La révocation du Décret Apostolique relatif à l'évêché de Philadelphie est certainement une mesure très sage et des plus heureuses pour la religion. Je ne conviens nullement pour occuper ce siège. M. David est le seul dans les États-unis qui puisse le remplir avec dignité et avec fruit. . . ."

His resolution not to accept the coadjutorship of Baltimore is equally firm.

"Il ne peut être maintenant question de me faire Coadjuteur de Baltimore . . . je puis assurer V. E. que ce choix ne seroit que très malheureux. Je ne vous ferai point ici l'énumération des raisons qui prouvent que je n'ai ni les vertus ni les talens que demande cette place éminente. Vous ne me croiriez peut-être pas, d'après les exagérations que l'on a fait de mon prétendu mérite à la S. Congrégation . . . Ma nomination entrainera évidemment (?) la ruine du Séminaire de Baltimore . . . Etant une fois sacré Archevêque, il me faudra le jour même de ma consécration sortir de cette maison chérie, et alors que deviendra-t-elle? puisqu'il n-y [a] absolument personne ici qui puisse la soutenir depuis la mort du saint M. Nagot, et qu'il paroît inutile d'en espérer de nos MM. de Paris . . . V. E. est instruite que feu Monseigneur Neale a demandé à la Propagande de lui accorder pour Coadjuteur Monseigneur Cheverus, Evêque de Boston; et en effet, c'est le seul qui vraiment mérite d'être notre Archevêque. Il est pieux, zélé, savant, et très éloquent. Le laisser à Boston, c'est tenir une lumière éclatante sous le boisseau . . . Si donc, ma nomination n'est point une affaire terminée, je me jette aux pieds de Votre Eminence et la supplie humblement aumom de l'église des États-Unis de faire usage de toute la grande influence que vous possédez, pour porter la S. Congrégation à accorder aux vœux de nos vénérables Prélats, qui tous demandent avec instance: 1. la nomination de M. David au siège de Philadelphie; et 2. celle de MM. Cheverus à celui de Baltimore."

We know now that neither of these wishes, which Maréchal tells us were those of Neale and the other Bishops of the time, was fulfilled by Propaganda. David

became Bishop of Bardstown (Bull, dated July 4, 1817), resigned in 1833, and died in 1841. Cheverus was transferred from Boston to France, and died as Cardinal-Archbishop of Bordeaux, in 1836. Philadelphia lay vacant nearly four more years. Maréchal was appointed Coadjutor to Neale, on July 24, 1817, and was consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore, December 14, 1817. His letter of acceptance to Cardinal Litta, dated Baltimore, December 26, 1817, protests still his reluctance to accept the great burden the Church wished to impose upon him; and he tells Litta that his acquiescence is due entirely to the urgent counsels of the priests around him, who saw in his refusal great danger to the Archdiocese and to the American Church.

"Jamvero per plures dies coram Domino tremens perpensi utrum revera bonum religionis promoverem necne praedictas bullas recipiendo. Neque forsitan unquam adduci potuissem ut eis assentirem, si mihi concessa fuisset libertas adhaerendi proprio meae mentis iudicio. At cum viri pietate et doctrina insignes quibus rem totam patefeceram, mihi unanimiter declaraverint oblatam dignitatem me non posse repellere quin ecclesiam catholicam in foederatis Americae provinciis abijcerem gravissimis periculis atque simul laederem virtutem perfectae huius obedientiae quam ab incunabulis palam professus sum erga Sanctam Sedem, bullas praedictas me recipere, quamvis multum reluctantans, tandem declaravi, quod statim atque notum fuerit, RR.DD. Cheverus, Bostoniensis episcopus, atque RR.DD. Connolly, NeoEboracensis, Baltimorem sine mora venerunt et die 14 decembris praesentis anni, solemniter coram immensa catholicorum multitudine sacratissimum episcopatus ordinem mihi indigno contulere. Nihil ergo nunc mihi superest, nisi ut adjuvante Christi auxilio, gravissimis officiis quae mihi incumbunt pro viribus et modulo meo perfungar. Secundum Deum, Eminenter Cardinalis, tua summa humanitas ac benevolentia me reficiunt ac solantur. Confido namque quod in multiplicibus difficultatibus quae in administratione vastissimae meae dioeceseos certissime occurrent meae infirmitati opitulari Eminencia tua non recusabit."

Philadelphia thus lost the unique opportunity of numbering this great prelate in the illustrious line of its Bishops and Archbishops. Maréchal, as Archbishop of Baltimore, evinced a very strong affection for the Diocese he had refused and of which he was practically the spiritual head, until Conwell's arrival in December, 1820. "It was no easy thing to get the right sort of man to accept the position of Bishop of Philadelphia," as Kirlin has observed (*Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 212); and had Maréchal accepted it in 1816, the sad tragedy of Conwell's reign might have been avoided.

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The question has often been asked whether any documents exist at San Isidoro in Rome relative to Bishop Egan of Philadelphia (1808-1814). Bishop Egan was Guardian of this famous College of the Irish Franciscans from 1787 to 1790. He came to America in 1802, and was appointed Bishop of Philadelphia in 1808. He died July 22, 1814. A letter of inquiry sent to that venerable Franciscan, Father Luke Carey, who is probably the best-known Irishman in the Eternal City, brought us the following reply:

*St. Isidore's College,  
Via degli Artisti,  
Rome, March 8, 1916.*

*My dear Doctor:*

Your kind letter was very welcome, and I congratulate you on the success of the *Catholic Historical Review*. I am sorry to say that we have no documents in St. Isidore's relating to Bishop Egan. In the *College Book* there is just the single entry of his appointment as Superior of this House. I dare say the Archives of the Cong. of Prop. Fide contain papers relating to him. In case I should come across any documents suitable for the *Review*, I shall not fail to let you know.

*Very sincerely and gratefully,*

*L. Carey.*

Only a few documents on Egan exist in the *Propaganda Archives*, to which access has of late been reluctantly granted. They are in *America Centrale*, Vol. iii, ff. 155-6 (Letter of Egan, Phila., requesting faculties, dated December 11, 1803); ff. 165-166. (Letter of similar request, dated March, 1804); ff. 216-18.) (Translation of Letter of Father Michael Egan, May 11, 1805, on the new province of Franciscans established at Baltimore); ff. 20-21 (Resolution of the S. Congregation on same subject); f. 268 (On the division of the United States into Dioceses and the proposal of Egan for that of Philadelphia); ff. 270-1 (Brief of April 8, 1808, naming Egan Bishop of Philadelphia). The first Bishop of this important See deserves to be better known. Griffin's *Life of Egan*, of which only 100 copies were printed, contains much valuable material, but it can in no sense be called a biography.

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There are many valuable documents and printed sources on American Catholic History in the *Archdiocesan Archives* of Westminster (London), and many others, no doubt, of which only the custodian knows, in the *Chapter* or *Old Brotherhood of the Clergy Archives* at Hammersmith.

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The first successful attempt to establish secondary Catholic education in the United States was that of the Jesuit College of Bohemia Manor, Md., opened by Father Thomas Poulton, S.J., in 1745 or 1746. Schools had been maintained by the Society of Jesus from the time of Fathers White and Rigby, and plans for the erection of a College had been submitted to the English Provincial a hundred years before the opening of Bohemia College. The terms of annual tuition were forty pounds for the Classics and thirty for those who took only English. The best people of Maryland sent their sons to the College. The establishment was closed in 1773, and when the Society took up again the work of education about twelve years later, it was at Georgetown College that teachers and pupils were reunited. An article on *Bohemia College* will be found among the old files of the *Catholic Standard* of Philadelphia, for the year 1888, under date of February eleventh.

As early as the thirteenth century, the Constitutions of the Dominican Order prescribed that every student, sent from his own province to one of the *Studia Generalia*—Paris, Cologne, Oxford, Montpellier and Bologna—was to be provided with three books—a Bible, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (for which the *Summa* of St. Thomas was afterwards substituted), and a History. It is affirmed on good authority that the history mentioned in this part of the Constitutions was the *Manual of Church History*, written by one Peter, surnamed *Comestor*, because he “devoured” all the books which came into his hands. A glance at Heimbucher’s list of Dominican historians (*Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, vol. 2, pp. 146–163. Paderborn, 1907) will show how prominent a part Church History has had in the literary and scientific labors of this great community, now rounding out its seventh century of devotion to its motto *Veritas*. Among these historians are Bartholomew de las Casas (†1566), the Apostle of the Indians, who wrote the first history of the New World (*Historia de las Indias*, 1492–1520), published at Madrid, 1575, in five volumes; Ciacconius (†c. 1602), the author of the *Historia Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium* (Rome, 1787, 3 vols.); Orfanel (†1622), the Catholic historian of Japan; Quétif (†1698), the author of the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*; Le Quien (†1733), the author of the celebrated *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus*, and many modern writers, including such well known names as Denifle (†1905), Mandonnet, La Grange, Weiss, Coleman, Mortier, Scheil, and others.

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On December 21, 1915, as a tribute of respect and esteem for one of its founders, a portrait of the late Martin I. J. Griffin, the writer on historical subjects, was unveiled at the American Catholic Historical Society’s headquarters, Philadelphia. It would be interesting to know what became of Mr. Griffin’s papers and manuscripts after his death; we have found no record of their accession to the valuable Collections of the Society.

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A young Mexican disciple of Cauchie of Louvain, the Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., has just published an important collection of forty-two original documents, all of which bear the seal of the famous *Conquistador* Hernando Cortés, from the *Archivo de las Indias* of Seville—*Cartas y otros documentos de Hernán Cortés, novísimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de las Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla e ilustrados por el Mariano Cuevas, S. J.* Only 350 copies of this collection have been printed.

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Napoleon Bonaparte had one dream which never came true. How far the idea was original with his exceptional genius is still a matter of discussion among his biographers; but the stupendous and far-reaching effects of it all are as startling today as they must have been a hundred years ago, when the great conqueror made it known to Europe that Paris was not only to be the pivot of the political world but the intellectual centre as well. To conquer the world was not an impossible achievement; that he had proven. It had been done before; it may be done in the future. To stretch the strong arm of his power from Gibraltar to the steppes of Russia was more than a fleeting dream, since he accomplished it for a moment, before failure overtook him. It is the other dream which

never came true. And it was an ideal—this centralization of all the archives of the world in Paris. The whole world was to be drained of its historical treasures; a second Louvre was to be erected to contain them all; and the road to scholarship in all historical study would lead to the French capital. Under the aegis of the French Empire, scholars from every quarter of the globe would be found laboring side-by-side to bring the hidden truths of history to light and to resurrect the dead past of their countries and the stories of their peoples. Gigantic idea as it was, the lesson was not lost on the *savants* of the world. After Napoleon's fall, the different countries of Europe, including the Papacy, awoke to the necessity of preserving their documentary treasures, and schools arose—schools of paleography, diplomatics, and archival economy—for the preservation of all that remained from the destruction brought on by the wars.

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Venerable Bede complains in his *Ecclesiastical History* of this lack of centralization in his time; and, although he wrote nearly twelve centuries ago, his historic method was far in advance of much that is done by Catholic historians today. It was not enough, he saw only too clearly, to make use of the historians who preceded him—Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Basil, and Gildas—nor could he depend solely on the oral traditions which began to flow into Jarrow, when it was known that the Venerabilis Pater was writing an *Ecclesiastical History of the English Race*. For this reason, he wrote to all the kings, princes, and learned men of the realm, asking for chronicles, annals and other historical documents; and—what is truly significant of his fine scholarship—he sent his friend Nothelmus to Canterbury and Rome for the purpose of copying in the *Archives* there whatever would serve his purpose. It is to Nothelmus, perhaps, as Harnack has concluded, that we owe the celebrated story of *Lucius rex Britannorum*, for he must have copied it from the *Liber Pontificalis*, as it existed in that day.

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There is one striking contrast between the alacrity with which Bede's requests for documents and for their preservation were met, especially on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the continual note of despair which runs through the letters of the author who tried to do for the Church History of America what Bede did for England. One cannot mention the list of crimes committed against the history of our Church by this wanton neglect and destruction of documents, without appearing to criticise those who have gone before us or without seeming to complain against the indifference of those who, placed over the Church here, ought to consider the preservation of past records a duty which cannot be left to others. "We may influence some one in authority," John Gilmary Shea wrote, in 1891, in a letter to a friend on the destruction of documents that was being carried out all over the country, in which he speaks of a certain Benedictine who had kept a *Diary* for many years, "so that the volumes formed a pile several feet high," in which was recorded every event in the community and in the Church in that part of his State. These volumes were all destroyed by order of his superior. "Bishop de St. Palais ordered all the papers of Vincennes Diocese (collected, bound, and indexed by his prede-

cessor) to be destroyed. These were cases of deliberate destruction, while of those resulting from ignorance or indifference it would be impossible to make a record!"

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This condition of affairs has not ended, and in the centuries to come these facts will be known and appreciated with no acceptance of persons. The spirit of *mañana*, which reigns in this field of Catholic educational endeavor, is blotting out the records of a past that is worthy to be placed side-by-side with the early history of any country in Europe. It is not alone that we have proven indifferent to the preservation of our archives; we have not yet, as a body, awakened even to the intelligent realization of their value. Parochialism, diocesanism, and corporation spirit are evidences of that *esprit du clocher*, which keeps us from forming for ourselves and for the Church in America a national breadth of view, and a profound sentiment of our undeniable place in the history of the United States from 1492 down to our own day. The future Catholics of this country will judge us severely for our neglect to hand down to them the records of our forefathers and the records of our own times.

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Napoleon's dream of a great Central European Archives never came true; but there is no reason why a central *National Catholic Archives* should not be erected at once for the housing of all the documents relating to the Church of the United States. Surely some wealthy Catholics exist in the land, whose intelligent outlook on the future of the country is big and broad enough to understand the necessity of this central store-house, built on the same plan as the projected National Archives at Washington, with all modern equipment for the care and preservation of documents, and under the strict control of ecclesiastical authority. It is false to conclude that the centralization of all the Church documents of the country into a *National Catholic Archives* would mean that they would be thrown open to the public. This is not the rule in any of the Archives abroad. At the Public Record Office in London, for example, where all the English *State Papers* are kept, documents later than 1801 cannot be seen without a very special permission from the Foreign Office, and those prior to that date, so far as American students are concerned, can only be seen after the applicant has been identified by the American Ambassador. Reasons must be given for the research work intended, and no copies are allowed to be made without special permit. Rule 9 reads: *No Departmental Minutes or unfavorable criticism of the conduct of officials, and no document of a personal or confidential nature calculated to cause pain to private individuals or injury to the public interests of this or other countries may be copied as quoted.* The same is true of the *Vatican Archives* and of the manuscript collections in the Vatican Library. In general these series are open to students, down to 1815. In every case the student must be a person of approved scholarship, and must await an answer from the Cardinal Secretary of State to his application before presenting himself. Each student or research worker is obliged to register daily on entering and on leaving the research room. Similar rules might be drawn up for the *National Catholic Archives of America*. It must be remembered that the purpose of Archival buildings is not primarily for *research work*, but for the *preservation* of the docu-



ments of the past. This is the principal motive for this centralization here in America, and it would be hard to point to any one incident, since the opening of the *Vatican Archives* (1883), where a scholar has made a wrong use of the privileges accorded to him.

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O'Daniel's careful study of the *Life of Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York* (1808-1810), which has appeared in the pages of the REVIEW, has given a new interest to that ever-fascinating topic, the *Rise of the American Hierarchy*. Hidden away in a special volume, which his former students presented to him in 1914, the *Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller à l'occasion de son Jubilé de 50 Années de Professorat à l'Université de Louvain* (1863-1913), there is an article by a former American student of Moeller, the Rev. Dr. F. J. Zwierlein, now Professor of Church History at Rochester Seminary, entitled *Les nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat Américain*. It deserves to be translated into English for the benefit of American readers in general. It contains many documents, hitherto unpublished, from the Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec and Baltimore. We understand that Dr. Zwierlein is at present occupied on the *Life and Times of Bishop McQuade* (1823-1909), which is to appear within a year.

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The January (1916) issue of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* contains three readable articles of historical import: John J. O'Shea, *Rediscovery of Ultima Thule*; Marc F. Vallette, *Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory now known as the United States*; and R. P. O'Connor, *The Church in Western Canada*.

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Seldom has any problem in early American history been found more difficult to solve than that which the Rev. Dr. Ryan treats in his article in the present number, *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies*. Gams' *Series Episcoporum*, as is known to all scholars, must be used with caution, for the dates of the creation of Sees and the election and transference of Bishops in Spanish America are more or less uncertain. The first to write about Episcopal Succession in America before the origin of the present Hierarchy (1789) was Gil Gonzales Davila, in his *Tedtro ecclesiastico de la iglesia primitiva de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid 1649-55, 2 vols.); but his volumes are so filled with obvious errors that little historical faith can be placed in them. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzano, Archbishop of Mexico City (1766-72), who published his *Series Episcoporum regni Mexicani*, in 1769-70, and Antonio Alcedo, whose *Diccionario de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1786-89, 2 vols.), has been followed by Gams, are by no means the works of scientific historians. Gams tells us (p. 168) that when half way through the compilation of the Mexican Hierarchy, he received much valuable aid from a Father Emmanuel Gonzales, a priest of Peru, who had come to Munich to study the problem; but even this help has not cleared away the confusion which rests on the hierarchical succession in Spanish America.

There is not, for instance, any mention in Gams of that rather hazy prelate, Bernard Buil, the first Vicar-Apostolic of the New World. Historical writers

have spelt his name twelve different ways—from the Latin *Bucillus* to the Irish *Boyle*. Who Buil was, is a mystery not yet unravelled. There were, some hold, two ecclesiastics of this name—Buil and Boil—the first, a Benedictine, the second, a Franciscan. This theory is based on the fact that the original Bull of Appointment, discovered by Father De Roo in the Vatican Library in 1892, was directed to *dilecto filio Bernardo Boil, fratri Ordinis Minorum*, while the Bernard Buil, who came out to Hispaniola with twelve other priests in 1493, was a Benedictine. Some ten years ago, that skilled literary master, Dr. Heuser, of Overbrook Seminary, in an article in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. vii (1896), pp. 141-154), came to the conclusion that King Ferdinand had deliberately availed himself of the similarity of the two names to substitute that of his favorite, Buil the Benedictine, for that of the saintly Provincial of the Spanish Franciscans, Boil, who in reality had been designated by Alexander VI. In view of this almost general acceptance of the solution here given, we are more puzzled than ever by the statement made in the *Supplement* to the second volume of Hernaez, *Coleccion de Bulas, etc., etc.* (p. 1069), to the effect that Buil or Boil was *first* a Benedictine of Monserrat and *later* a Franciscan—*Este es aquel Bernardo Buil ò Boil primero monje Benedictino de Monserrate, y despues Religioso Minimo*. Hernaez gives no authority for the statement, but it affords a characteristic example of the obscurity which still prevails over many of our earliest historical events.

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Miss Ella M. Flick concludes her translation of the *Diary of Father Marie Joseph Dunand*, the Trappist, in the March (1916) number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society.

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A volume of more than ordinary historic interest is in course of preparation—*Selected Essays, Sermons and Addresses on Notable Occasions*, by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore. This important publication, which it is hoped will appear in the autumn, will contain the sermons delivered at the Eucharistic Congresses of London (1908) and Montreal (1910), Cardinal Gibbons' Letters during the Vatican Council, his Memorial on the Knights of Labour, and the article which aroused so much admiration some time ago, *Will the Republic Endure?*

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Readers of Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), have often regretted that he did not complete his character sketch of Father Lambert Young. "Of Father Lambert Young," he says, "and of his labours in that city, the writer might say much that would be as pleasing to him to write as for others to read; but he is not disposed to risk his friendship by giving publicity to the recital (p. 536)." Webb, however, could not pass over that now almost-forgotten episode in Father Young's life, in 1868, when a revolting crime aroused the people of Frankfort, and when the courageous priest threw himself between the mob and the door of the jail where the criminal was imprisoned. The mob was made up of all classes, and all loved and respected Father Young; but their anger had reached such a height of passion that his efforts were fruitless. The United States District Court, shortly after the

lynching, arrested Father Young, and the judge endeavored to have him inform the grand jury of the names of the persons he saw that night in the mob. Father Young bravely refused, and he was jailed for contempt of court. Later he was allowed out on bail on the sum of two thousand dollars, but no citation was ever made for his appearance and the case was allowed to lapse. The present Bishop of Covington, the Right Reverend Ferdinand Brossart, D.D., was his most intimate friend, and, in a letter to one of the Editors of the *Review*, gives us additional details of this celebrated case:

"When the horrible crime, which led to the arrest of my dearest friend in the Priesthood, was perpetrated in 1868, I was a student at Louvain, and at the time only nineteen years of age. After my return to Kentucky, I was appointed pastor of White Sulphur, Scott County, in 1876, and thus I became the neighbor of Father Young, and for twelve years we exchanged our "delicta" in Tribunali. When I was appointed Vicar General, in 1888, by the late Bishop, Father Young, the pastor of Lexington, became disheartened on account of our separation and finally returned to his native country, Holland, where he spent the rest of his days living with his people and acting as Chaplain of a convent in Wybosh, Schyndel. Webb will give you an accurate account of the scene at the jail. I will only add that, when Father Young (his real name was Yonge) arrived at the jail, the mob was engaged in breaking in the door with an ax. He at once jumped in between the ax and its wielder and demanded that he desist. This man was not a Catholic, as Father Young told me, but admired Father Young very much as did all the people of Frankfort and the vicinity; and he assured him that the men were determined to kill the criminal and that all interference would be ultimately useless. The United States Court officials feared to place Father Young in the Frankfort jail after refusing to testify in court, so they sent him to Louisville, where he would be, as they supposed, removed from the danger of being liberated by another mob. The case was afterwards the occasion of enacting a law in Kentucky, exempting priests, ministers, doctors, and others, from certifying in matters that pertained to their professional duties."

Many of the younger generation in Kentucky will no doubt welcome this authoritative statement about one who will always be a Catholic hero in Kentucky Church annals.

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His Eminence, John Cardinal Farley, of New York, is at present occupied on a volume, the *Life and Times of Cardinal McCloskey*, preliminary chapters of which he published some ten years ago in the United States Historical Society's *Records and Studies*. Recently, in an editorial in the *New York Sun*, the Cardinal was urged to write his *Memoirs*. There is no doubt that this volume will contain the authentic history of the Catholic Church in New York for the period of Cardinal McCloskey's years in the episcopate (1844-1875). It is earnestly to be hoped that His Eminence of New York will find time amid the many engaging duties of his Archdiocese to leave to posterity his own reminiscences. No one has taken a more prominent part in the development of the city and Church of New York the past fifty years than this first citizen of our greatest metropolis.

A proclamation has been issued by His Excellency, President Wilson, setting aside a tract of land in central New Mexico for an international monument to one of our Indian and Spanish historians of the Southwest—Adolph Bandelier. The importance of Bandelier's contributions to history and archeology can hardly be overestimated. It is a remarkable fact that he never attended school after he was eight years old, and yet he mastered French, German, English and Spanish, besides many Indian tongues. Bandelier died in 1914, in Spain, where he had gone to finish some research work in the *Archivo Nacional* of Madrid. The Catholic Church of the United States lost a faithful son and a skilled historian in his death.

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The story of Eunice Williams has a distinct place in New England history. At the massacre of Deerfield, Mass., on February 28, 1704, the Reverend John Williams, with his wife and children, were among those captured by the Indians and forced to make the long journey on foot to Montreal. Mrs. Williams was tomahawked on the way, and her husband was redeemed by Governor Vaudreuil and sent back to Deerfield, in 1706. His daughter, Eunice, who was only eight years old at the time of the massacre, was left behind with the Indians who adopted her. She subsequently forgot the English language, became a Catholic, and married an Indian named John de Rogers. She adopted Indian habits, and though she visited her relatives several times after her marriage, she refused to return to English customs. The Legislature of Massachusetts offered her a tract of land, if she and her family would settle in Deerfield, but she refused, saying that it would endanger her faith. Her conversion and loyalty to the faith caused many bitter attacks upon the Church, and some of the early controversial literature can be traced to her capture.

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Among a host of possible subjects, for which there is excellent material scattered through the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, of St. Louis, may be mentioned in particular an accurate study of German Catholic Journalism in the United States.

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The Reverend Louis Smet, of the Richmond Diocese, probably the only *Licencié en Théologie* of Louvain in this country, contributed a comprehensive sketch of our early missions to the Seminar of Cauchie, in 1909, which deserves translation—*L'Histoire des Missions Catholiques de l'Amérique du Nord jusqu'en 1763*. It can be found in the *Annuaire de l'Université de Louvain*, 1909, pp. 415ss.

A very edifying story could be written on the *Lost Catholic Cities of the Potomac Valley*—St. Mary's, St. Clement's, St. Inigoes, Port Tobacco, and others. Port Tobacco must be given the honour of being the birthplace of the contemplative Sisterhoods in this country. The Carmelite Nuns of Port Tobacco are to the United States what the Ursulines of Quebec are to Canada. Between 1754 and 1781, five American ladies had entered the English Carmelite Convent, at Hoogstraeten, Belgium—Ann Matthews, Ann Teresa Matthews and Susanna

Matthews, her nieces, Ann Hill and Mary Mills, all Maryland girls. Ann Matthews (in religion, Mother Bernadine of St. Joseph) was elected Prioress of Hoogstraeten in 1774; and after the Treaty of Versailles, she planned to begin a House of the Order in the United States. Accompanied by her two nieces and another nun, she left Hoogstraeten, April 19, 1790, and came to Maryland, where she founded the first American convent of the contemplative life at Port Tobacco. There they remained until 1830, when the present convent at Baltimore was built, and Port Tobacco was abandoned. From Baltimore they made other foundations—St. Louis (1863), New Orleans (1877), Boston (1890), Philadelphia (1902), Wheeling, etc. Port Tobacco is practically a deserted village today; but in 1790, it was one of the centres of the old aristocratic and wealthy families of Maryland.

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The American Church History Seminary Library has been enriched with the following brochures: J. J. Riordan, *Catholicity and its Growth in Worcester, Mass.*; R. P. Odorc-Marie Jouve, O.F.M., *Les Franciscans et le Canada*, Vol. i (*L'Etablissement de la Foi*, 1615–29). Quebec, 1915; *Souvenir and Program of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of St. John Berchmans Acholythical Society of St. Joseph's Parish, St. Louis, Mo.*, 1916; Charles E. Brooks, *Life Insurance for Professors* (University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 4, No. 2); Rudolph Schuller, *Native Poetry of Northern Brazil; South American Popular Poetry; Erroneous Interpretations of the "Tears Greeting;" Zur sprachlichen Stellung der Millcayac-Indianer; The Ordaz and Dortal Expeditions in search of El-Dorado*; W. B. Farrell, *Priest Baiting in 1916*; Schmidt, *Catholic Echoes of America*; Pratt, *American Indians, chained and unchained; Answer of Hon. T. St. John Gaffney to charges filed by State Department, which led to his resignation as American Consul General, Munich, Germany*; Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *Character Glimpses of Most Reverend William Henry Elder, D.D., Second Archbishop of Cincinnati* (1883–1904); *Biographical Sketch of Mother Margaret Cecelia George (née Margaret O'Farrell)*, one of the first companions of Mother Seton, and Mother Seton, *Foundress of the Sisters of Charity*, by the same authoress (Cincinnati, 1909); *The Year Book and Book of Customs of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Washington Heights, New York* (1916); Lobkowitz, *Statistik der Päpste* (Freiburg im B., 1905); Monsignor O'Brien, President of the Michigan Historical Society, *Two Early Missionaries to the Indians* (Lady von Hoeffern and Father Pierz); *Life Work of a Saintly Prelate* (Archbishop O'Connor, of Toronto, Canada); *History of St. Patrick's Parish, Cleveland, Ohio*, 1853–1903; Gallitzin, *An Appeal to the Protestant Public*, Ebensburg, 1819; *Souvenir of St. John's Church, Bellefonte, Pa.*, 1897; *Index to a Collection Americana (Louisiana Books), Miscellanea and Art, Private Library of T. P. Thompson*, New Orleans, 1912.

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### PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

#### II. Chronology

It has been freely asserted, that up to within sixty years ago, History was scarcely more than a branch of literature, a field of intellectual endeavor with distinctly literary aims. That a change and a great change has come over this attitude is evident to all who will but compare the productions of the historical schools and seminars of the world with the popular historical literature of our grandfathers' day. History has now become a science—a cut-and-dried science, if you will, but a science which has made, perhaps, more progress the past half century than any other. History has become a technical science, which is limiting itself more and more not only to research work among the sources and materials, but also to the strict critical appraisalment of these sources, and to a system of rules, as rigid as those of Euclid, for the use of the conclusions based on these judgments. Many deplore this change, for it is felt that it can only culminate in a process whereby History will be robbed of all her attractiveness. None ought to welcome this change more than those who are members of the Catholic Church. It may not be just to agree with De Maistre that History has been for the past three hundred years a conspiracy against the truth and against the Church, but if any corporate body is to profit by these more skilled efforts to learn the truth, it will be that Church which brought civilization to Europe and to America, and which has always cherished within her ranks the highest ideals of devotion to learning, to art, to science, and to religion. The popular Catholic American mind seems never to have gained the sense of the antiquity of its Church in this country. Few apparently appreciate the fact that our history goes back to the days of the Middle Ages; that the colonists who came here from Spain and France brought with them the conscious values of medieval institutions; and that the settlers from England did hardly more than establish laws which were strictly in accordance with the Capitulations of Runnymede of 1215. The present tendency in all our American centers of learning is to lay special stress on the European background of American history, or on what may be called the American foreground of European history. This fact alone would postulate among the students of American history a knowledge of all those kindred or auxiliary sciences, which are of vital import in the study of European history. It may be true that history tends to lose her soul in the presence of these temptations to specialize distinct branches, such as Chronology, Paleography, Diplomatics, etc., etc., but accuracy of time, of place, of event, and of *dramatis personae* is too valuable an asset to be preferred after style and pleasure.

Chronology and Geography have been called the two eyes of History, without the use of which all is confusion and uncertainty. There are two general branches in the science of Chronology—*Mathematical* (Theoretical, Astronomical), and *Historical* (Technical). *Mathematical* Chronology is that part of the science of mathematics which determines the laws to be used in measuring

time. *Technical or Historical Chronology*, of which we treat here, has for its object the system of authenticating the dates given in the documents and of bringing these dates, if necessary, to their corresponding place in our system of computing time. Up to modern times, as we can see at a glance from the pages of Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatie*, Chronology was a confused mass of systems and methods. There have been not only different methods of computing the eras, but also many diverse systems of numbering the cycles of the years, the beginning of the year, the days of the month, and the parts of the day. Now, the date, as has been observed, is the most indispensable single factor in the study of a document, both from the historical as well as from the legal point of view. A knowledge of the systems of time-calculation employed in the Middle Ages and in modern times is, therefore, a *conditio sine qua non* of historical research. The year was begun, for example, in different parts of Europe, on January 1 (*Style of the Circumcision*); March 1 (*Style of Venice*); March 21 or 22 (*Style of the Vernal Equinox*); March 25 (*Style of the Annunciation*); August 11 (*Style of Denmark*); September 21 or 22 (*Style of the Autumnal Equinox*); December 25 (*Style of the Nativity*); Easter (*Style of France*). There were also, under the Julian Calendar, the divisions of the months into *Kalends*, *Nones* and *Ides*; and the much-used divisions of *indictions*—a relic of the days of the Roman Empire, when the year was divided up into units of fifteen for the purpose of revising the collection of taxes. These various modes of beginning the year, not only in different countries, but even in the same country, have caused the confusion which would still be resting on the science of Technical Chronology, had it not been for the great classic of the Benedictines of France, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which was begun under the direction of Dom Maur d'Antime, and continued by Dom Clemencet and Dom Durand, who published the first edition of the work, in Paris, in 1740. Dom Francis Clement revised the work and published subsequent editions in 1770, and in 1783-87. A fourth edition was published by Saint-Allais between 1818-44, in two separate forms: one in forty-four volumes *octavo*, and the other in eleven volumes *folio*. One of the first scholars to attempt a reform of this science was Joseph Scaliger, in his *De Emendatione Temporum* (Paris, 1583), which has since become the basis for all chronological study. In 1627 Petavius, better known for his theological works, published his studies: *De Doctrina Temporum* (Paris, 1617), and *Rationarium Temporum* (Paris, 1633). The most complete of all the Manuals on Chronology is that of C. Ludwig Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie* (two volumes, Berlin, 1825-26), of which a short compendium exists: *Lehrbuch der Chronologie* (Berlin, 1831).

We see the sun rise in the morning, Ideler says in the *Preface* of his *Handbuch*, we see it reach its full zenith at midday, and withdraw itself from our sight in the evening, and during the time of its "coming and going" we have been living through parts of the day, month, year, and era, as humanity has done since the beginning of creation. The attempt to measure these periods of time has given rise to several sciences, and among them *Chronology* has attempted to place order in the series of centuries which have gone by; for no surer test of the authenticity of a statement or the genuineness of a document exists, than the perfect agreement of any two or more dates which may be mentioned therein. There are

few subjects of an erudite nature, says another writer, of greater utility to the historian and at the same time fraught with thornier difficulties than that of Technical Chronology. The first difficulty to be borne in mind by the student of American Church History is that a very important change occurred in our system of time-calculation by the Bull *Inter gravissimas pastorales officii nostri curas*, of Gregory XIII, February 29, 1582. The errors in the Julian method of computing the year and the discrepancy which existed between the astronomical year (as sustained by Mathematical Chronology) and the ordinary reckoning in use amounted, in 1582, to ten days, so that the Julian system, introduced by Caesar (45 B. C.), had fallen ten days in arrear. The alteration made by Gregory XIII, since known as the *New Style* (often abbreviated to N. S.), and as the *Gregorian Calendar*, consisted in this: that by pontifical law the fifth of October, 1582, was to be called the fifteenth. St. Teresa's feast day, although she passed away in reality on October 4, 1582, is now celebrated October 15, 1582. Gregory XIII determined that the year should begin all over the Western World on the same day, January 1. In order to prevent the Julian error from causing an arrear in the future, he ruled that three leap years should be omitted in every four centuries, namely, those of the centennial years the first two figures of which are not exact multiples of four, as 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, etc.

For the purpose of ascertaining the exact dates of documents, it is important to remember when the *New Style* was adopted in the various countries of Europe. Denmark, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy (not wholly), Holland and the greater part of Belgium, and Lorraine adopted the Gregorian Calendar in 1582; in Germany and Switzerland the *Catholic* provinces adopted it in 1584, the *Protestant* provinces, in 1700; in Poland it was adopted in 1586; in Hungary, in 1587; in Tuscany, in 1749; and in Great Britain and Ireland, in 1752. Since the Catholic life of the United States has been more closely united with that of Great Britain and Ireland, especially in the days before the organized Hierarchy (1607-1789), much confusion has occurred from the discrepancy of the time-computation made at London and at Rome—our chief ecclesiastical centres during this period. The usual example of this discrepancy is the date of Queen Elizabeth's death. This occurred in what was then styled in England March 24, 1602, being the last day of the legal year. On the Continent, and wherever the *New Style* prevailed, this day was April 3, 1603. To avoid ambiguity, historical students frequently express this difference as  $\text{March } 24, 1602 \frac{2}{3}$ .  
 $\text{April } 3, 1603$   
Our history books have modernized all these dates; but with the history of the Catholic Church of America, which in large part remains to be written, the research-worker must proceed with the strictest caution, if the sequence of cause and effect is to be kept unbroken in his narrative. Not only must the difference of ten days be reckoned in Irish and British history before 1752, but the two "New Year's" days of January 1 (the historical year), and of March 25 (the civil, ecclesiastical, and legal year), must be kept separate. For example, the execution of Charles I, according to one system, is January 30, 1648; according to another, January 30, 1649.



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The student of Church History can dispense with several of these works on *Chronology*; but he should possess BOND or HAYDN, and preferably GRY's *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), which is the best compendium on the subject. In the next issue of the REVIEW we shall take up two other Auxiliary Sciences—*Paleography* and *Diplomatics*.

(To be continued)

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# The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME II

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NUMBER 3

## OUR COUNTRY<sup>1</sup>

A land broad and fair and free, its shores washed by two mighty oceans; its giant mountains guarding priceless treasures; its trackless forests yielding the hoarded wealth of centuries; its mighty rivers bearing the fortunes of untold millions; its endless myriads of resources still but scarcely touched and beneath their surface boundless realms of prosperity and abundance; that is our country—that is what in our admiring love for it we, the children of this great nation, are wont with good reason to call God's own country, America. No empty rhetoric is this; not fancy but fact furnishes the reason of our enthusiasm for such a birthright as every citizen of America can call his very own.

Were this a gathering of financiers eager for still greater wealth, of merchant princes yearning for still bigger markets, of adventurers sighing for still richer fields, the story of this country's material resources, of mines still hidden, of rivers still wasted, of railroads still unplanned—in a word, the recounting of the money power of all these things still waiting to be energized, would be a theme to thrill such an audience eager to learn more and more of all of America's future and America's promise to those who can wrest her secrets from her and lead the way to her boundless treasure-house.

And yet, when all that fascinating story has been exhausted, the true core of the hold America has upon our faithful love still remains unrevealed. And so, to those who like you here present are dominated not by mere material aims and hopes and selfish purposes, but by nobler and higher impulses and instincts and ideals, the enumeration of the sources of wealth of our country, while interesting enough to hear, will still leave you not unim-

<sup>1</sup> The authentic text of the Address delivered before the Federation of Catholic Societies, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, August 20, 1916.

pressed but almost apathetic and cold. And the reason is not far to see.

For well you know that out of the teeming millions of our population few indeed will ever be asked to sit at the banker's desk, few, very few, will ever occupy a chair at the board meeting whose sole business is to count its wealth and make it grow to even larger proportions. By far the great bulk of the people in America, as elsewhere, will ever bear the burden of the day and the heat, and the unknown millions here as in every other land must daily bend to the weight of toil and labor—a toil and a labor which well we know grow at times into a burden almost intolerable. Surely, to these millions the story of the wealth and resources of America must have but a small fascination, since they know full well that they will never either see them or touch them or hold them. There is but one thing in all this world that for these millions of toilers can lighten their burden and lessen the weight of their labor. It is that sacred light shining through the gloom of the workman's life which converts his heavy burden into a joyous hope. It is that sacred spark of heavenly fire which, amid all the benumbing pettiness of a sordid life, gives him the courage and the spirit to lift his eyes to the level of every man, however far above him, with a sure sense of fundamental equality.

It is the knowledge that he is a man as any other man, whatever his station; that he is neither chattel, not thing, nor possession, but an individual, a person, free in body, in mind and heart; in a word, the one thing that constitutes his earthly happiness is his freedom. That is the wealth dear to the human heart beyond all the kingdoms of the world. And that, more than all else, infinitely more than all the treasures of this country, is the very heart and core of the love we all bear for America.

It is because America is the home of freemen and because over all alike waves her sacred banner of liberty, that we love her with a love next only to that we owe to the Kingdom of God. It is because every man living on her sacred soil can say those three little words, "I am free," whether he be rich or poor; that whatever his race or color or creed, he can tread the earth upright, and freely measure the power of his brain and the strength of his sinews with all the other millions of men about him; it is because he has a government which he helps to make and an

opportunity which he helps to create, that he is hemmed in by no legal disadvantages, that he is neither bondsman nor serf nor slave; it is because of this and this alone that every citizen of this land loves her with an undying love and strives for her stability and perpetuity.

Take away freedom from a nation and what is all the rest? The deep mines of gold and silver and copper, the endless wealth of industries, with the comforts and luxuries they purchase—what are all these without freedom? Nothing, nothing, less than nothing. It is as if you had blinded a man and then in mockery bade him gaze at the beauty of the heavens. Even in a gilded cage the prisoner beats upon the bars, tears them and rends them, or dies still crying the heart-rending cry of the human soul—liberty.

And what is liberty? Since it means so much to all human life that nothing can take its place or supplant it, it is well to study just what it is and what depends upon it. One thing we know is certain, that upon our answer hangs not only our own individual happiness, but the very existence of America itself. For if it is true that America has given us liberty, it is truer still that liberty alone can preserve America. This is no paradox, but the simplest truth. Let us see. If by liberty is meant that every American is a law unto himself, then let me say here, frankly and fearlessly, that neither America nor any other land ever had the right to grant such liberty. For America, good as she certainly is, never has intended to be so good as to destroy herself. And nothing is more certain than this, that any nation granting to each man the right to be a law unto himself—that moment signs her own death warrant.

There certainly can be no need to labor this argument. Is there any one in the whole land who does not see that under such terms of liberty there can be neither crime nor criminal, neither court nor prison, neither law nor law-giver, nor property, nor rights, nor state nor government. Such liberty of America would mean her suicide. That much must be clear to everyone. And since we see all about us courts and legislatures, the officers of government and the prisons for criminals, the clear interpretation must be that even American liberty means freedom with restraint, a freedom according to standards, fixed and settled by law. Indeed, liberty and law must always go hand in hand.

Now let me ask, since restraint must ever accompany true liberty, in what is a free man truly free? The only answer to that question is, he is free for good, not for evil. And here we are at once before another all-important question—what is good and what is evil? And since it is the purpose of civilized government to answer that question in every statute it frames, we pass immediately to the dilemma, between the horns of which every organized state must finally be driven, either the absolutism of tyranny formulating its own inflexible decrees of right or wrong, and maintaining itself by force alone, or the divine right of justice resting upon the eternal principles of God and inscribed upon the nation's statute books as the highest guide to all her citizens.

This means, if it means anything at all, that as there can be no liberty without law, there can be no law without God. And so every human being in search of liberty must inevitably accept one or another of these three things,—absolute anarchy, absolute state tyranny, or the law founded upon the eternal principles of divine justice; either the whim of a tyrant resting alone on force of arms, or sacred law founded upon the principles of religion, or no law at all. Let him seek and seek forever, but from this inexorable logic he can never hope to escape.

It follows very clearly from this that the state which throws off religion must by inevitable necessity accept either anarchy or tyranny, and both end in utter destruction. No one who knows anything at all of past history can help seeing that this is the positive teaching of facts. The whole story of Rome and Greece and Assyria and Egypt points clearly to this one only conclusion. Every single one of them was founded on a religious basis of law. And whatever of strength they gathered or gained they wrested from popular faith in those principles. As in time the falsity of their superstition became manifest, their false divinities were thrown to the winds. Yet, utterly false as they were, they lent some fundamental ideas of a spiritual responsibility to a power outside and above themselves.

So long as that idea of responsibility lasted it gave strength to authority and power to the nation. When the people discovered the folly of their own incredulity all authority went with it and anarchy was at the door. And soon luxury, effeminacy, avarice and the whole family of human vices weakened

every shadow or law, and the greatness and power of all these nations utterly disappeared. For a short while the tyranny of absolutism was substituted for the restraint in which even their superstitions served to hold them. But soon the tyrants met the usual fate of all tyrants, the door was suddenly wrenched open, the eternal enemy, the barbarian, stood in the threshold and a great empire had fallen.

It is a far cry from America to ancient Assyria and Egypt, and yet from out the graves of fallen empires the warning voice of history speaks even to this youngest of all the nations, our own America. But nearer, much nearer, comes many another warning. Not once, but a hundred times, have even the modern Christian nations learned the awful cost of that lack of eternal vigilance which alone can safeguard liberty. And even today, poor blood-drenched Europe, though she strive to hide even from her own eyes the true cause of this suicidal war, is at last thoroughly convinced that the Voltaires and the Vivianis, the Haeckels and the Nitzsches, the Tolstois and the Huxleys, the Kants and all the rest of that monstrous brood, who for now many years have impoisoned the thought and embittered the heart of the student youth, are now reaping their terrible but abundant harvest.

The children before whose eyes the crucifix, the sign of renunciation and restraint, was torn from the wall of the school-room, and from whose little books the very name of God was blotted out in infamy, the generations trained in the selfish principle whose chief dogma was: "Let us live for today, for tomorrow we die," are dying by the millions. And unless an all-merciful God soon rescues Europe, only a small fragment will be left to tell the story, the bitter, heart-rending story of how much sorrow and suffering it takes to lead a nation out from the blindness of infidelity up again to its ancient vision of God, of the law of Christ, and of the happiness of a Christian state.

No, the lessons are not far to seek, but who, even now, takes the pains to read them? Even today when all Europe is expiating its crime against God and its desertion of His law, on every square of our great cities an apostle of open infidelity is shouting his gospel, his appeal to the millions. Freedom, freedom, is their cry and their shibboleth. Free thought, free life, free love—that is their Trinity and their whole gospel. We know there are

thousands—yes, hundreds of thousands—who are rushing to meet that cry, men who want neither law nor restraint nor government of any kind. Their conventicles are wide open; their existence is no secret.

But there are millions—yes, millions—and the number is growing yearly, who, though not openly joining their ranks, have accepted their principles. Any one who knows anything at all of this country must know that this is the actual condition of things; and, knowing that, can he for one moment doubt that this government and this nation are on trial for their very life in a thousand tribunals all over the land?

Do you think that people like these who have cast aside God and law are merely looking calmly on while a few, by fair means or foul, are gathering in such wealth as even emperors have never dreamed? And do you think that the child, whose only catechism teaches him that God is a myth, that property rights are legal robbery and that marital laws are sheer nonsense, is going to grow up tomorrow an inactive witness of the intolerable conditions all about him? Do you think that he is not waiting for the day when he will be big enough and strong enough to put into violent practice the solemn lessons so sedulously taught him? Why, the very streets of the whole nation are filled with the cries of every manner of doctrine against organized society and all that it stands for and everything upon which it rests. Here under our very eyes the axe is being laid to the root of the tree. We have only to look to realize that the very corner-stone of our government is menaced from a hundred different angles.

If ever America needed the whole-hearted love of her children, it is today. If ever she needed to prepare not merely to guard against attack from without, but more, a thousand times more, against dangers which threaten her very existence, it is today—dangers all the more insidious that they don the cap of freedom and clothe themselves in the garb of Guardians of Liberty. I know there are thousands—yes, millions—of our best citizens who see these dangers and are alert to their malicious and corrupting influences. But of all that vast array of those who love America, upon none may she so surely and reliably depend in every need and emergency as upon the eighteen millions of Catholics, who are proud to be at the same time subjects of the kingdom of God on earth and citizens of America. It is not we Catholics



but the leaders of all the non-Catholic bodies who openly declare that Protestantism has lost its hold upon the masses—that every year hundreds of their churches are closed and those still left open are half empty. It is not we but the Protestant leaders themselves who say that the descendants of those who a century ago had a living faith in God, in Christ, and in the tenets of their belief have in our own day drifted into open infidelity and scepticism which has eaten out the whole fabric of their faith. And if they who best know avow these things, then undoubtedly they must be true. And if this is true, then it means just one thing—that the moral fiber and the moral principles upon which alone this government depends for its strength are just by so much the weaker; and it is equally true that American liberty has just so many less to defend it and to safeguard it.

We are making no accusations here—we are merely repeating the very words of hundreds of those who are recognized as leaders and prophets among their own co-religionists. But side by side with these admissions is the other fact which we know and which they all know quite as well as we: one of the startling phenomena of the age is the tremendous growth of Catholicism in America—a growth so startling and so impressive and so urgent that each year it taxes to the utmost capacity the ever-increasing number and size of the churches and the tireless labor of bishops and priests whose care it is to minister to them. And it is well for the present and future of America that this is so, for here at least is a religious organization upon whose sterling and steadfast worth she can absolutely rely, as the very cornerstone of law and order, the prop and support of government, and a bulwark against the corrupting forces of anarchy and decay, of irreligion and infidelity. Look out over the whole field of the nation's activity and tell me what other organization in that whole field has her experience in dealing with the great masses of the people. What other organization has won as she has, and as she today right here in America possesses, the full confidence and loyalty and respect of the general population? Why are her churches forever overcrowded and her ministers forever overworked? Surely there must be an answer to this question.

Ask the ordinary man in the street and he will tell you—it is because no government owns her, but all government needs her.

It is because she will minister to the rich, but not one nor a thousand capitalists can purchase her or dominate her. It is because she holds the rich to a moral reckoning, and the richer and more powerful they are the less she flinches. It is because in a world which has gone mad for wealth she stands by the poor. It is because even from the poor she can still exact duty and virtue. It is because, though she loves all the outcasts and victims of the selfish world, she can unflinchingly make them throw down the arms of vengeance and take up the cross. It is because she loves even the blackest sinner and sends to his knees the false-hearted pharisee. It is because before her altar all men are equal, not in word but in very truth. It is because not one of the twenty millions who in America call her by the tender name of Mother but knows that though all the world forsake him, whether in shame or disgrace, in sorrow or in black despair, her arms are always open, through the whole day and through the darkest night, in love to his embrace, to strengthen him, to guide him, to comfort him. It is because of all the whole world he has found her alone always the same.

These and a hundred other motives, if you care to listen, the man in the street will give you as the reason for the Church's hold upon the people and the people's unwavering affection for the Church. And this wonderful and universal influence over the hearts of men is the reason why no one who has the welfare of the whole people at heart can afford to ignore her.

We are well aware of the suspicions with which she is regarded, the jealousy which her influence arouses. To the suspicious she answers: "Here are my principles, read them—they are no secret but the same for all alike." And to those jealous of her influence she replies: "Is thy eye evil because I am good?" Though her enemies and those who distrust her ask her brutally: "What do you want, and what are you after here?" she answers frankly, honestly and sincerely—"Nothing but liberty. We want only what is our right, the right of every legitimate organization in this whole country—no more, no less."

We are strengthening your hand as a nation by strengthening the moral fiber of the whole people. We teach them to love America even when often they can see small reason for unselfish affection. We teach them to obey your laws and respect your authorities; we care nothing for your mines, your wealth, or your

riches. We are neither a trust nor a syndicate who seek to control your franchises or exploit your resources. We inculcate truest patriotism founded upon divine law. We are here to help men to keep alive the light of their souls, the hope of heaven, the love of God. That and that alone is why we are working here. And for that we demand and insist upon our perfect liberty—a liberty which in the end brings far more help to you than you can summon from any other organization living under your flag.

We have not committed to this country the safeguarding of our lives, our fortunes, our property with any other understanding than that in return for our loyalty you guarantee us protection in what to us is the most essential of all human rights—religious liberty.

We ask no favor. Your protection of our liberty is no favor—it is a part of this dual contract between our country and ourselves. We pledge ourselves to keep our part—see to it that you keep yours as sacredly. We have a right, an unquestionable right, to legitimate representation in all the affairs of the country. If you discriminate against us, you are not keeping your contract; we are not getting true liberty.

If because a citizen is a Catholic, a thousand plausible pretexts are set out to discard him and discredit him in your cabinets and your courts, you are not keeping your contract: this is not liberty. If you stand by inactive, while under your very eyes, yes, through your very mails, which we pay for, we are insulted, scurrilously maligned and openly vilified in filthy journals and nasty, indecent literature, unfit to be printed or read, spread broadcast that dupes and bigots may be poisoned against us, so that we may be robbed even of our public rights—then you are not keeping your contract—this is not liberty. You are only wounding the hand, the strongest hand held out to help you; you are spurning the aid of those who again and again you have found in your hour of direst need the most willing to die for you. O yes, we know very well the whole litany of accusations against us. We give only a divided allegiance. We are scheming for government. These are all lies so patent that they need no answer. Indeed, those who fling them out will never listen to my answer. But I am going to answer them once and forever here tonight.

As a Cardinal I may be supposed to know what I am saying

on this subject. And on my word as a gentleman of honor I am speaking the simple, absolute truth. I have known intimately, personally and officially three Sovereign Pontiffs—three Popes of the Catholic Church. I am a priest now thirty-two years; I am a bishop fifteen years and a Cardinal five years. I have had the closest relations with not only the Pope, but the whole Roman curia. I know well every priest in my diocese, and every bishop in this country. Yet never, never in all that experience have I ever heard spoken, lisped or whispered, or even hinted by any or all of these, anything concerning America and American institutions but words of affection, of tender and kindest solicitude for her welfare; never a syllable that could not be printed in the boldest type and distributed throughout the land; neither plot nor scheme nor plan—but only sentiments of admiration and love. If there is plotting I ought to know it. Yet absolutely and honestly of such things I have never heard even a whisper. This is my answer to all these insinuations. That I know the truth I think no one will deny; that after such a pledge I am still concealing the truth, that I must leave to those who, I repeat, will never listen to my answer.

The Catholic civil allegiance divided? Why, look across the sea, to where all Europe is in arms. Every Catholic is fighting loyally, giving his very life for his own country. And though some of these countries have merited little gratitude from any Catholic, still the very priests are in the trenches, each a defender of his native land. Where, I ask of any honest witness of these facts under his very eyes, where is this divided civil allegiance? And the Pope—is there one in this country who after this war will ever dare to accuse the Pope of interference in civil affairs or of weakening the loyalty of citizens? Behold him the universal Father of the faithful, looking out over all the world, and weeping and praying for the peace of all the nations, offering solace and counsel to all alike—a lonely, pathetic figure like Christ—begging the world to listen that he may heal all and help all. The world knows the truth today of the position of the Pope in relation to all the nations. Not another word is needed.

Our country—the land which above all others we love most—God keep you free from such enemies, the worst of all that confronts you, whose hate would rob your most faithful sons of that for which they love you—liberty, true liberty, blessed holy

liberty—the freedom to worship God. Beyond our lives we love our Faith, and with these same lives we stand ready to defend the land which gives us liberty. These are the sentiments of every Catholic throughout the land; these the sentiments of every member of the Catholic Federation of America. It is that these sentiments may be better understood and more widely known that Federation exists and works and strives.

This great metropolis may well be proud of this gathering here tonight; yes, and America may well thank God that the Catholic Church, heeding neither malice nor slander, goes peacefully along her glorious way, fortifying the souls of men with the hope of a blessed immortality and building up the strength of the nations as she passes. For they who adore the King of Kings and recognize His dominion over all the world are always they who also learn to bow reverently to the just mandates of earthly authority. Such, America, is your good fortune—that while from a thousand sides your very existence is threatened by false and pernicious principles, the Catholic Church and this Catholic Federation stand ever ready in your defense by safeguarding the sanctity of law and the sacred principles of government. The Catholic Church and all her children abiding here love America with a sacred and undying love for the liberty she has promised to secure for her. Let America also learn to love the Catholic Church and Catholic Federation as the staunchest safeguard of American liberty.

WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL,  
*Archbishop of Boston.*

## FOLLOWING THE CONQUISTADORES

A sense of thoroughness, accuracy of fact, deep research, and splendid historical proportion and perspective mark three valuable works on South America written by the Rev. Dr. Zahm, C.S.C.<sup>1</sup> Indeed we may say that a writer has at last been found in the person of Dr. Zahm who, through indefatigable labor, judicial mind, and deep sympathy, as well as the broadest literary scholarship, has succeeded within the compass of 1,456 pages in giving us a complete study of Latin America. His trilogy, which may well take the general title *Following the Conquistadores*, will be ranked among the most comprehensive and satisfying works that have appeared so far dealing with the history, civilization, and progress—religious, social, and political—of the South American Republics.

Let us say at the outset that no traveler or student can hope to do justice to the genius and work of a people or to their tendencies and ideals, as bodied forth in their culture and civilization and revealed in their moral and social life, unless he breaks with predilections and racial traditions and substitutes in their place the fullest sympathy and truth. South America and its people have been described to us in so many unsatisfactory ways by the narrow-visioned and superficial tourist or by the prepossessed traveler, who, heretofore, has seen everything in this heroic and romantic land through glasses adjusted to his sight in the cottage of his birth, that we eagerly give a welcome to the plain and impartial truth of the facts. Of course there are travelers and travelers. Without the gift of comparison one cannot very well reach values. The traveler or observer may be honest, but his scholarship and experience may be too limited to give value to his judgments. He may, too, be constitutionally dishonest, keeping his prejudices on tap as a sweet beverage

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<sup>1</sup> *Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena*, by H. J. Mozans, A.M., Ph.D. (Illustrated.) New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1910; *Along the Andes and Down the Amazon*, by H. J. Mozans, A.M., Ph.D. With an Introduction by Col. Theodore Roosevelt. (Illustrated.) New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1911; *Through South America's Southland*, with an account of the Roosevelt Scientific Expedition to South America. By Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Ph.D. (H. J. Mozans.) Sixty-five Illustrations. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1916.

to allay his racial or religious thirst. Sooner or later, however, truth will reach the public mind and all misrepresentation of fact will be detected. For nothing creates such suspicion in a jury of world readers as the wholesale indictment of a people. The civilization of a people in its registration and appraisement is in no instance a certain or fixed thing but is always relative, depending upon the point of view and upon the standard of valuation. Full allowance must in every instance be made for race characteristics and for the sliding and shifting values of racial qualities.

It is evident that Dr. Zahm has traveled through South America, as the French say, *avec les yeux grand ouverts*. He did not flit from city to city, from capital to capital, and then patch together, hurriedly, hearsays and impressions in a picturesque mosaic intended to entertain the fancy of those who live on fairy tales. He knew that if he would indeed gain a knowledge—an intimate knowledge, of South America and its people, such knowledge as would warrant him in offering it to the world as a contribution dealing with the Latin civilization planted in the New World and developed in the centuries following the Discovery of America, he must make a prolonged stay in, and study of, the various countries where the Spanish Conquistador in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries set up the standard of his sovereign and established a new order and form of government among these ancient peoples whose historical beginnings are lost in the mists and legends and myths of time. It must be added, too, that Dr. Zahm went to South America well prepared and well equipped for the task which he undertook to perform. Opportunity was given him, in company with his distinguished companion, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, to gain access to representative South American statesmen, captains of industry, Governors of States, illustrious prelates and brilliant publicists. He visited, too, leading institutions of learning and thus gained a first hand knowledge of the intellectual *niveau* of the people. With a desire to tell the truth about South America as he saw it and found it, Dr. Zahm spent, in all, nearly three years following the Conquistadores and the scenes of their heroic labors, now in Brazil, now in Uruguay, now in Argentina, now in Chile, now in Peru, now in Colombia, and now in Venezuela.

It is no wonder, then, that in these three volumes devoted to

South America and its people, Dr. Zahm has given us a deep and accurate grasp of the civilization, culture and development of our Latin neighbors dwelling in those lands where flow the majestic Amazon, the silver-crested La Plata and the expanding tides of the Magdalena and Orinoco. But perhaps what makes Dr. Zahm's works on South America of greatest value is the light which he throws on the moral and intellectual life of its people. We read nothing in his pages of the alleged abject immorality of the South American people, nothing of the oft-repeated charges made by reckless, itinerant, evangelical missionaries from the North against the Catholic clergy. Inferentially, we have the moral side of South America touched upon by Dr. Zahm in the following paragraph found in his chapter entitled: *Among the Progressive Paulistas*, in which he deals with the people of the city of Sao Paulo, in Brazil: "One cannot fail," our author says, "to be impressed by the large families one meets in the city of Sao Paulo. It is no uncommon thing to find them comprising ten or twelve or even more children. The birth rate is nearly thirty-six per thousand. This is almost twice as great as that of London and shows that race-suicide is not making the terrible ravage here that it does in many of the great cities of Europe and the United States. More impressive still is the fact that the birth rate is more than double the death rate—something which can be said of few cities of this size. The mortality of the city varies between seventeen and twenty per thousand."<sup>1</sup> We think it may be assumed that nearly all these children are the legitimate offspring of marriages blessed by the Church; and even if a small percentage were born outside of wedlock, the moral condition would still be better than that which obtains in many of the great cities of Europe and the United States where race-suicide is so prevalent and so common that many old families are becoming extinct and governments are growing alarmed at the lack of increase in the population.

It is generally observed as an axiomatic fact that, wherever the influence of the Catholic Church most prevails, there the moral condition of the people as evidenced in the birth rate is best and most satisfactory. Take for instance the France of our day and it will be found that in Brittany and the French Pyrenees, where the Catholic people follow implicitly the teaching

<sup>1</sup> *Through South America's Southland*, p. 93.



of the Church, there is but little race-suicide, as evidenced by the birth rate.

When we turn to consider the intellectual status of South American countries, Dr. Zahm leaves us in no doubt whatever. A distinguished scholar himself, not in one but in many departments of knowledge—science, philosophy, literature, language, history, archaeology and ethnology, Dr. Zahm is able to give us the judgments and conclusions, not of a narrow-visioned and dogmatic pedant, but rather the judgments and conclusions of a broad and sympathetic scholar. We learn from Dr. Zahm's three valuable works that ample provision for primary, secondary, and higher education exists in almost all the South American countries. Not only does the State support State Universities and secondary and primary schools, but the Catholic Church, true to her mission and tradition, builds everywhere Seminaries and Academies, seeking out religious vocations and training young men and women fittingly for the altar and the cloister, for good citizenship, and for the great work of Christian charity in the home.

Referring, for instance, to the educational facilities of Colombia, Dr. Zahm writes: "There were at one time no fewer than twenty-three Colleges in New Granada (Colombia). The first of these was founded in 1554 for the education of the Indians. The following year another was established for the benefit of Spanish orphans and mestizos. In one of the Colleges was a special chair for the study of the Muisca language. The Royal and Pontifical University began its existence in 1627—thirteen years before the foundation of Harvard College. In 1653, Archbishop Cristobal de Torres founded the celebrated College del Rosario which, by reason of its munificent endowments, was able to render such splendid service to the cause of education, and was long recognized as the leading institution of learning in New Granada."<sup>3</sup> It was also in New Granada that the first astronomical observatory was established in America. The city of Bogota is known as the Athens of South America. Dr. Zahm refers to the great number of public and private libraries in this city and tells us that on account of the many secondhand book stores in Bogota, he fancied himself back again among the bookshops of Florence, Leipsic or Paris.

<sup>3</sup> *Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena*, p. 301.

American scholars sometimes speak slightly of the degrees won in South American Universities, but of one thing we have been assured: that the degree of Doctor of Laws, conferred by a reputable University in South America, entails more study, more research, and a wider culture than does the same degree in the Department of Law in any North American University. Practically, the student in the North American University may be more solidly grounded in the mere knowledge of law, but he lacks the breadth and culture of his brother in South America. No doubt the conditions and ideals that obtain in these two portions of the continent are responsible for the difference. Spanish tradition in the South emphasizes literary and historical knowledge and makes of rhetoric an important thing, while, in the North, precedent and fact and cold, cogent reasoning take first place.

With the expulsion of the Jesuits, South America lost its ablest educators and not a few of its most learned men.

Perhaps, among South American countries, Argentina may be said to take the lead in things educational. Chile is a good second. The Argentine Government is alive to the need of maintaining a system of education which will train a highly intelligent citizenship and afford every child in the country a means and an opportunity of being well educated. Between the ages of six and fourteen, primary education in Argentina is compulsory and gratuitous. The entire number of children of school age in the republic in 1909 amounted to 1,200,212. Secondary education in Argentina may also be said to be almost gratuitous. In the larger cities are to be found sixteen Lyceums and thirty-five Normal Schools. Argentina has five Universities: the University of Buenos Aires, that of Cordoba founded in 1612, the National University of La Plata, and the two provincial Universities of Santa Fe and Paraná. The University of Cordoba is in proud possession of illustrious traditions. The historic old city of Cordoba itself is known as *La Ciudad docta*—the learned city. Dr. Zahm points out that, as it was once said of the old university town of Bologna, *Bologna docet*, because of the thousands of students who flocked to her classic halls from all parts of Europe, so it may be said of Cordoba—*Cordoba docet* (Cordoba teaches). And this is particularly true when one considers the number of earnest and learned instructors found in the University and Convent Schools of this venerable home of letters and culture.

It would seem that the Republic of Brazil is one of two or three countries in South America which do not possess a University. This is indeed difficult to understand, for its needs of higher education are pressing. As a Republic, its citizens must be educated to realize their responsibilities, and to bring to the administration of affairs the greatest intelligence and highest capacity; and these must be sought for through the gift and bestowal of higher education. It is true that many of the most promising and ambitious young men of Brazil pursue University studies in the United States and in Europe; but this cannot entirely satisfy the needs of a democracy where opportunity is or should be open to all, irrespective of wealth or family, and where everyone is on an equal civic footing.

In his chapter: *South America's City Beautiful*, Dr. Zahm refers to the absence of a University in Brazil in the following terms: "Rio de Janeiro is fairly well provided with primary and secondary schools and with professional and technical institutions of various kinds. But what is most astonishing for a city as large and as wealthy as the capital of Brazil is that it has no University. And more astonishing still is the fact that there is not and never has been a single University in the vast Republic. In this respect, Brazil is far behind the other nations of Latin America for, with one or two exceptions, they can all point to their University and some of them to several institutions of this character. One needs instance only such homes of learning as the University of Cordoba in Argentina, the Universities of Santiago, Quito, Bogota, and the venerable and far famed University of San Marcos in Lima."<sup>4</sup> As to the scholarship and intellectual capacity of Brazilians, Dr. Zahm has this to say: "For an evidence of their scholarship and intellectual capacity, it is not necessary to inquire about their past achievements in literature and science. It suffices to glance through the pages of some of their leading magazines, several of which are beautifully illustrated, or to read the masterly articles in some of the daily papers of Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, instance only such dailies as *Jornal do Commercio*, *O Paiz*, and *Jornal do Brazil*. The first named journal was founded in 1827 and is by far the best and most important news organ in Brazil. Not only that, but there are few newspapers in the United States or Europe which are

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<sup>4</sup> *Through South America's Southland*, Chap. iv, pp. 67, 69.

better edited, or more dignified, or which make a greater and a more successful effort to supply their readers with the news of the world. In it appear articles from the pens of the greatest literary lights of Brazil—articles which are frequently exquisite specimens of Portuguese literature and conclusive proofs of the capabilities of expression of the noble language of Camoens and Nogueira Ramos.”<sup>5</sup>

We have already stated that, next to Argentina, Chile has given greater impetus to higher education than any other country in South America. In truth, the material and intellectual progress of this Republic has been most marked during the past few years. Dr. Zahm, after paying a well-merited tribute to the character of the work done in the National University of Chile and to the organizing gifts of its great rector, Don Andres Bello, whose scholarly works on literature, philosophy and jurisprudence have given him a just right to be considered among the most illustrious names in South American history, refers in the following complimentary terms to the work done by the Catholic Church in higher education in the city of Santiago, Chile: “But the National University is not the only institution for higher education in Chile that deserves special notice. I should ignore one of Chile’s noblest homes of learning if I did not bear witness to the splendid work being done in the great *Universidad Catolica* which, thanks to the munificence of a number of wealthy Chileans, was founded in 1888 by the late Archbishop of Santiago, Don Mariano Casanova. Its magnificent buildings, which are unsurpassed by any of the numerous and superb educational structures in South America, are among the most imposing edifices in the National Capital. Its teaching corps is composed of eminent men in every department. Many of them are distinguished professors from Europe. . . . But I must say that the institution which I examined with most pleasure was the ecclesiastical Seminary. The building, which is very large, is surrounded by enchanting beds of flowers and inviting groves of umbrageous trees and is an ideal place of study for young aspirants to the priesthood. And the course of study in this institution is not only thorough but is admirably adapted to equip the young priests for their divers and important duties in the world as parish priests, missionaries and educators.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

It will be seen, therefore, that not only does the State, in nearly every instance, make ample provision for the maintenance of primary schools, secondary schools and higher institutions of learning in most of the South American countries, but the Church also supplements all this with a splendid system of Schools, Academies and Colleges where the things of the soul and the moral welfare of the State may not be forgotten amid the over-crowding materialistic spirit of our day. What appears to us passing strange is that people of North America should know so little about the intellectual progress of our brothers to the south, so little of the toil and genius and heroic achievement of a people who had planted the standard of faith and civilization among Araucanians and Incas long years before any settlement had been made at Jamestown in Virginia or before the Pilgrim Fathers had landed at Plymouth Rock.

These three admirable works of Dr. Zahm will assuredly do much to arouse interest in South America as well as help to dissipate the ignorance and remove from the mind of many the false ideas that have long obtained, even among scholars, as to the character, progress and development of the South American Republics.

An interesting phase or expression of intellectual life in South America is revealed in its press. In truth the newspapers and periodicals of a country register in no uncertain manner the intellectual status of the people. Dr. Zahm notes closely and carefully this expression of South American life. We have already instanced the tribute which our author has meted out to the press of Rio de Janeiro, declaring that there are few newspapers, either in the United States or Europe, which are better edited than the *Jornal do Commercio* of that city. Referring to the press of Bogotá, the capital of Colombia, Dr. Zahm writes: "The number of newspapers published in Bogotá is surprising—more than there are in Boston or Philadelphia."<sup>7</sup> But Dr. Zahm adds that their circulation is necessarily limited. Buenos Aires has an able press, the *Prensa* or *Press*, which is perhaps the largest newspaper in the Latin world. It occupies what is said to be the finest newspaper building in existence. In truth, the press of Buenos Aires will compare favorably with that of London or New York.

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<sup>7</sup> *Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena*, p. 303.

Now turn we for a moment to a consideration of the ethnological side of South America. Dr. Zahm has touched upon this as only a scholar could. Not only has he discussed the primitive races of the country, but he has dealt with the characteristics of the early Spanish colonizers, conquerors, and builders of cities, as well as the more recent arrivals from Italy, Germany, England, Ireland, Austria and France. We learn from Dr. Zahm that the Argentine racial type will eventually be Caucasian, for, unlike some of the other South American countries, Argentina, like Uruguay, is noted for the predominance of the white race. But Dr. Zahm adds: "The truth is that the definitive type of Argentina is still in the making. What it will eventually be after the peoples of the various nationalities, which now compose the population of the Republic, have thoroughly blended, it is difficult to predict. The process of fusion will naturally be less difficult than in Brazil where there is such a large proportion of the black and red races. In Argentina there are now but few Indians outside of the Gran Chaco and Patagonia while the negro is quite a negligible factor. . . . In the eyes of the law, all who are born in the country, as well as naturalized immigrants, are citizens of Argentina, but these are as different from the representatives of the old families as are our latest arrivals from Sicily and Russia from the descendants of the first colonists of Virginia, Maryland or New England."<sup>8</sup> But, out of this melting pot of races in South America, Dr. Zahm is confident a type will come that will reveal what is best in each contributing race. Dr. Zahm expresses his opinion in these words: "What will be the resultant type of this fusion of Argentine Spaniard and Italian, we can only surmise. For as yet we are without the necessary data for determining the effect of blood admixture on national character or the influence of heredity and environment on a population composed of several different elements like those in question. That the type will exhibit the best and most prominent traits of the component peoples, there is every reason to believe. That it will possess the practical intelligence of the Spaniard, the individual energy of the Italian, the ardent and jubilant patriotism of the Argentine, the spirit of enterprise, the optimism, the civic idealism of all these three combined, there can be little doubt. That Argentina, after this fusion of peoples who have

<sup>8</sup> *Through South America's Southland*, pp. 196-97.

given to the world a Cervantes, a Murillo, a Calderon, a Dante, a Leonardo da Vinci, a Columbus, a Galileo, a San Martin, will eventually take a prominent place in literature, art, science and statesmanship, seems assured.”<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps the most valuable chapter in Dr. Zahm’s three volumes is the one bearing the title: *Battle-grounds and Achievements of the Conquistadores of the Cross*. In this chapter, our author deals with early missionary labors in South America. In this, too, he touches upon the attitude and policy of Spain towards the Indian and the beneficent labors of the Catholic Church in its missions in South America in prosecuting the great work of civilizing, teaching and christianizing the aborigine. Referring to Spain’s mission among the Indians, Dr. Zahm says: “The Spanish national conscience recognized the obligation of civilizing and christianizing the Indians, a task which Spaniards finally accomplished. This is manifest everywhere in Spanish America, where, even in the larger towns and cities, Indians and half-castes constitute a majority of the population. And the process of amalgamation that was begun in the first days of the conquest still continues, and the mixed race resulting from the intermarriage of whites and Indians is daily rising in civilization and culture and influence.”<sup>10</sup>

We have not as yet touched upon the political status or the character of government which obtains in South America. The instability of government in South American republics and the constantly recurring revolutions which have marked their history during past years might give one the impression that a stable and secure government is an impossibility in the land of the Southern Cross. But a new era has set in. Peace and good will and mutual trust have taken the place of national enmity, bitterness and jealousy, and the magnificent statue, “Cristo Redentor” (Christ the Redeemer), outlined against the sky on one of the lofty peaks of the Andes near the Chilean frontier, is a covenant and pledge of lasting peace between two of the most enlightened and progressive countries in this great and growing Southland. Fitting, therefore, it was that Col. Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most distinguished of American citizens, while the guest of the President of Uruguay, should explain the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>10</sup> *Along the Andes and down the Amazon*, p. 451.

peaceful purpose of the Monroe doctrine in regard to the South American republics by saying that, "as soon as any country of the New World stands on a sufficiently high footing of orderly liberty and achieved success of self-respecting strength, it becomes a guarantor of the doctrine on a footing of complete equality."<sup>11</sup>

We regard Dr. Zahm's three volumes, to which we have given the general title, *Following the Conquistadores*, as the most valuable contribution which has yet been made to a history of the South American republics.

THOMAS O'HAGAN, PH.D., LL.D.

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<sup>11</sup> *Through South America's Southland*, p. 143.



## THE AMERICAN CAPITOLINE HILL AND ITS EARLY CATHOLIC PROPRIETORS

One hundred and twenty-seven years before George Washington selected the site of the Federal City, several pioneer Catholics of Maryland had acquired title to the portion on which that splendid group of buildings, the United States Capitol, its adjacent offices, and the Library of Congress now stands. When the Commissioners appointed by President Washington purchased the American Capitoline Hill, it formed part of the domain of *Cerne Abbey Manor*, and, under this historic Catholic appellation, it is engraved on the earliest maps of the District of Columbia. A mass of evidence is available to prove the Catholic ownership of this property from 1663, when the first entry concerning it appeared in the Provincial Records of Maryland, until 1790, when it became part of the National Capital. In this chain of documentary proof, the will of Thomas Notley, Gentleman of Dorset and Deputy-Governor of the Province of Maryland (1676-79), may be considered the most important link. This instrument, in the original text, may be read at Annapolis, Md., in the vaults of the Registry of Wills for Anne Arundel County. A copy exists in the City Hall of Washington, D. C.,<sup>1</sup> for the will was produced in court during the proceedings of the United States *vs.* the Potomac Flats heirs. Gov. Notley's last testament bears date of April 3, 1679, the day of his death, and, according to the statement attached by the witnesses, it was probated three days later. Stripped of legal and ceremonial phrasing, the abstract reads:<sup>2</sup>

"To Sister Katherine Grudgefield of London, personality. To William Nuigsinger, Ralph Smith, friend Capt. Gerrard Slye and Jane his wife, Capt. Matthew Payne, John Pearce; godchildren, Thomas Notley Goldsmith, Notley Maddox, Notley Warren, and Notley Goldsmith, daughter of John Goldsmith, personality.

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<sup>1</sup> *Court Records, Potomac Flats Case*, Appendix Vol. i, part 2, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> BALDWIN, *The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, Vol. i, pp. 211-12. Baltimore, 1901.

To Godson, *Notley*, son of *Benjamin Rozer*, and heirs,

CERNESABBY MANOR

CHARLES, LORD BALTIMORE	} <i>Executors and residuary legatees of</i>
COL. BENJAMIN ROZER,	
WILLIAM DIGGES,	} <i>Testators."</i>
NICHOLAS SEWALL,	

The bequest to Sister Katherine Grudgefield was 500 pounds sterling. For the friends and spiritual children, the legacy took the accustomed form of that time—tobacco, jewels, clothing, furniture, farm implements and horses. *Cernesabby Manor* is the only landed possession mentioned, and this the testator makes plain as to its location on the Potomac River, in what was (in 1679) Charles County. More than a hundred years after Notley Rozer came into his inheritance, *Cernesabby* or *Cerne Abbey Manor* was sold by his grandson, Notley Young, and his great-grandson, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, to the Commissioners appointed by President Washington to secure a commanding site for the Federal City.

In the Land Warrants of Maryland's first capital (St. Mary's City), which are now in the State House at Annapolis, the title deeds of the domain which Gov. Notley calls *Cernesabby Manor* may be traced in chronological sequence; or, an easier task, they may be examined in the court proceedings before mentioned, viz., the United States *vs.* the Potomac Flats heirs.<sup>1</sup> The first proprietors of what is now called, in the familiar parlance of Washington City, Capitol Hill, were George Thompson and Thomas Gerrard, who patented the land jointly under several titles in 1663. The largest of these grants were Duddington Manor, Duddington Pasture, New Troy and St. Elizabeth. In 1664, Gerrard sold his interest in this holding to Thompson, and on November 20, 1670, Thompson disposed of the entire estate, the purchaser being Thomas Notley, land agent and general attorney for Charles Calvert, third Baron of Baltimore. In March, 1671, Notley petitioned the Provincial Council for power to unite his three grants, Duddington Manor and Pasture and New Troy into one manorial holding to be known as Cerne Abbey Manor. The consideration asked by Thompson was 40,000 pounds of tobacco. For this, Notley received that portion

<sup>1</sup> Decision handed down October 17, 1895, confirming the title of all the property held under the will of Thomas Notley. Court Records.

of the Capital City which may be roughly sketched as the Northeast and Southeast sections from the boundary to the Anacostia River or the Eastern Branch, to the Potomac Southwest, to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and thence Northwest to about Seventh and K Streets.

Carlyle has remarked that a man's religion is the chief fact in regard to him. It is the chief fact relating to the three earliest proprietors of the American Capitoline Hill—Thompson, Gerrard and Notley. They belonged to families mentioned in *The Landed Gentry of England* as possessing estates in Somerset and Dorset. George Thompson was mentioned in the pious will of John Thompson, one of the adventurers who came over with the *Ark* and the *Dove*; and while the testament does not assert the fact definitely, he was undoubtedly the son of this pioneer Catholic and his principal heir. John Thompson was, in 1634, in the company which included, among many others distinguished settlers, the Jesuit missionaries, Andrew White and Thomas Copley, petitioning the Proprietor for land for himself, his family and servants under the conditions of plantations.<sup>4</sup> The will is dated May 7, 1649, and the estate thus obtained is devised to George Thompson and wife and to James Walter, who had probably married a daughter of the older Thompson.<sup>5</sup> For more than forty years after this will was probated, Thompson's name is familiar to all who peruse the chronicles devoted to the development of Lord Baltimore's Palatinate. He was an eloquent pleader before the Provincial Court and is intimately associated with the long legal battles which his brother-in-law, Raymond Stapleford, fought out during 1664–76. In addition to what must have been a lucrative legal practice, Thompson was engaged in commercial pursuits, taking up land and selling it for staples which could be shipped to England—as witness his transaction in tobacco with Notley. He must be given priority over all other land speculators along the Potomac and also among those investing in nicotine futures. Thompson gave the name, St. Elizabeth, to the beautiful wooded hills which lie high above the Anacostia River. It is interesting to know that of all the colonial names bestowed in this section, this alone survives in its original location, in the Government Hospital for the Insane. But it is the name, *Duddington*, which not only betrays the illustrious Catholic

<sup>4</sup> Land Warrants. 1. I, pp. 19–20. (Court House at Annapolis, Md.)

<sup>5</sup> *Maryland Archives*, Provincial Court Proceedings, p. 337.

ancestry of Thompson and Gerrard—for they were remote kinsmen—but also opens fascinating vistas back to the twelfth century.

That Dr. Thomas Gerrard professed the Catholic faith is so universally admitted that it is but necessary to recall that he, as Lord of St. Clement's Manor, is the historical personage always cited to prove the broad toleration of Maryland's charter.<sup>6</sup> He was fined 500 pounds of tobacco, and that was no light penalty, for locking a Protestant chapel and refusing to open it for service. He is also brought forth to prove the Court Leet and Court Baron held on his Manor from 1659 to 1672. Dr. Gerrard was one of the first "chirurgeons" in the Province, and when he was banished to Virginia for participating in the conspiracy of Gov. Josiah Fendall to proclaim the Little Republic of Maryland, he practiced his profession with signal success and left a large fortune in land and personal possessions. His Manor house, *Brambly*, a radiating point of social life in the first half century of Maryland history, was named for a famous English home of the Gerrards, restored by the Catholic Stuarts, after having been confiscated by the Protestant Tudors. It was the grandson of Dr. Gerrard who was the "friend Capt. Gerrard Slye" of Gov. Notley's will.

Thompson and Gerrard conferred jointly the name *Duddington* on their Potomac estates.<sup>7</sup> The Manor and Pasture comprised

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Assembly Proceedings, 1642, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> In *The Landed Gentry* may be found records showing the intermarriages of Thompsons and Gerrards with the older and more important County family of Somerset, the Dodingtons or Doddingtons. Doddington Manor was a point of paramount influence for more than a century before Columbus turned his ships westward. Near to Doddington is the ancient Dedelingtone, the Dorset part of the temporalities of the Abbey of Wilton, which appears in the Rent Rolls during the reign of Henry VIII, as Dudlinton. ("Terra Abbatiae Wiltvniensis. Ecclesia S. Mariae Wiltvniensis tenet Dedelingtone. Tempore Regis Edwardi geldabat pro vi. hid. Terra est v. car. De ea sunt in dominio ii. hidae et ii. virg. terrae et ibi ii. car. et iii. servi. et vii. villani et xii. bord. cum ii. car. Ibi molinum reddens xii. solid. et vi. denar. et xxxvi. acr. prati. Pastura dimid. Leu. long et tantundem lat, Silva i. leu. long. et dimid. leu. Lat. Valet vii. lib." Folio 32. Abstract of Rent Rolls of Dorset. Bodleian Library. From the Domesday Book. Quoted by HUTCHINS. *The History and Antiquities of Dorset*. Vol. iii, p. 114. Westminster, 1868.) It remains a point of further research whether the deeds of Thompson and Gerrard were in error as to the "u" and were meant for Doddington or as to the "d" and "g" instead of "l" and in Dudlinton. The weight of evidence is in favor of Doddington, since this could easily have been a phonetic error of the registering clerk, as in the instance of "o" in London, or the hackneyed

the greater part of the grants which Thomas Notley patented as Cerne Abbey Manor. Notley, like Gerrard and Thompson was of the landed gentry of Somerset and Dorset. Burke's *General Armoury* gives the Notleys as a branch of the Sydenhams of Combe. The Sydenhams of Combe were nobles in 1275 and entire chapters in the history of Dorset are devoted to their possessions and achievements. They purchased the Manor lands of Cerne Abbey in Winefred Eagle during the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps as a boy, the future Governor of Maryland lived on the ancient domain and a touch of homesickness may have suggested the name. Perhaps also, since he was scholarly, he wished to honor that Aelfric whose renown is associated equally with Cerne as with his later residence at Eynsham. But that Notley called his estate on the Potomac, *Cerne Abbey Manor* gives an oblique American direction to the controversial storm raging around the identity of that Aelfric and the men of the same name who were Archbishops of Canterbury and of York. Tracing the genealogy of the Sydenhams and their cadet branch, the Notleys, it will be seen that for several centuries, there were marriages with the Doddingtons and that they frequently exchanged property. In 1613, Sir John Sydenham sold his Manor at Combe to George Bubb and nearly one hundred years later, the estate was devised to George Bubb Doddington, the friend of Edward Young, author of *Night Thoughts*.

Quaint tales of Sydenhams and Doddingtons dot the records of Somerset and Dorset. There is Sir Francis Doddington, the chivalrous knight and sheriff of Somerset under Charles I.

example of English as she is spoken, "His Ludship." Another point in favor of Doddington is, that in the seventeenth century, when Thompson and Gerrard took out their title deeds, the estates of their families in Somerset were contiguous to Doddington Manor and the Dudlinton of Henry's reign had gone back to Dedelington, the original spelling in the Domesday Book, and so remains to this day, when it gives a name to a small farm attached to an Anglican rectory. But whether meant for Doddington or Dudlinton, it was Duddington when it became the property of Thomas Notley in 1670.

<sup>8</sup> "The Manor Lands of Cerne Abbey. When or by whom it was given does not appear. 19. Edward I, the Abbot had a grant of one shilling in land here. In 1293, the temporalities of the Abbot of Cerne in Winifred Eagle were valued at sixty-four shillings and four pence. 36 Henry VIII, this Manor had farms belonging to the Abbey of Cerne which were granted to Richard Buckland and Robert Horner who, 37 Henry VIII had license to alienate to Thomas Sydenham, Esquire, and his heirs; value four pounds and three shillings." HUTCHINS, Vol. ii, p. 706.

"Sir Francis took field with other champions of the Stuarts, but so brave was he in all military exploits that he was exempted by name in the treaty of Uxbridge and all other treaties entered into by Parliament and the King when they made peace. Upon the destruction of the royal party, he fled to France. . . . Upon the restoration, Sir Francis returned to Doddington Manor where he lived in dignified poverty. Though his estates had been greatly wasted by the wars, he could not be prevailed upon to ask anything of the Crown, having engaged himself as he always said, upon a mere matter of principle." Sir Francis was the last of his line to cling to the persecuted faith. His son was high in the councils of Oliver Cromwell and received the usual reward. So too, the Sydenhams of the same generation and this circumstance may explain why men of aristocratic lineage and possessing landed estates in England sought an asylum under the Lords Proprietary of Maryland.

Thomas Notley came to the Province about 1660. From the time his name appears in the records, it is always associated with that of his friend and patron, the third Baron of Baltimore. There is every indication that a strong tie of friendship united the two, before Notley joined the adventurers in Maryland. Like Thompson, he was of the legal profession and had an extensive practice, besides holding office under the Proprietary government. He was land agent, collector of rents, a member of the Assembly, before he finally reached the highest honor possible under the charter, that of Deputy-Governor. On his estate on the Wiconomicon was his stately residence, "Notley Hall," so famed for the hospitality of the bachelor host, that accounts of its good cheer have come down to us. The mansion is now a pathetic ruin, only the great yellow brick chimney bears testimony to the glory of the past, and the underground passage which led to the river recalls the gay pleasure boats once riding at anchor. It is but a small stretch of the imagination to picture Gov. Notley's home, the pillared porticos, the gardens and the parks, echoing the laughter of the lords and ladies of adjacent manors. They are garbed in the finery of Lord Baltimore's mimic court; the lords in picturesque cavalier "habit," wide drooping hats with plumes and bands of gold; small clothes

\* COLLINSON, *The History and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, Vol. iii, p. 519. Bath, 1791.

of velvet and brocade, frills of the finest lace and much jewelry—clasps and pins for the neck-cloth, buckles for slippers and garters and the resplendent heraldic rings, which figure in so many early colonial wills. And the ladies are like birds of exquisite plumage, in the primeval setting of the Wiconomico in the waning seventeenth century, garbed in gold and silver tissue, with splendid shawls of lace or embroidery, and hats of wonderful size and construction. Notley, with other transplanted nobles, brought to the Province his mahogany and his plate, his hounds and his hunters, and massive chests of fine linen. His country seat was so desirable in situation and so elegant and complete in appointments, that Lord Baltimore purchased it in 1678 as a gift to his second wife, Lady Jane, and their growing family. "Notley Hall" is mentioned by Lord Baltimore among his possessions in the petition made to Sir Lionnel Copley, the royal governor in 1691.

Notley's religion, it might be adduced, since he was spiritual father of children known to be Catholic, is proven without reference to the family history in Dorset. His intimate friendship with Charles Calvert, third Baron of Baltimore, is another argument. Notley Rozer, to whom he willed *Cernesabby Manor*, was the grandson of that Lady Baltimore for whose comfort he had sold his country home. This lady was Jane Lowe and she came of distinguished Catholic ancestry in England and Maryland. She married first the Hon. Henry Sewall of Mattaponi, and Anne, of this union, was the mother of Notley Rozer. The Maddox family, of whom Notley Maddox was godson and beneficiary under Gov. Notley's will, were kindred of the Sewalls, and this same Notley Maddox later received a legacy from Lady Jane Baltimore. Notley Warren was of the illustrious Catholic family to which belonged those intrepid Jesuit missionaries, Fathers William and Henry Warren, who labored in the Province from 1662-71.

The *Proceedings of the Council* from 1676-79 furnish an embarrassment of riches concerning the official career of Thomas Notley. Even after he had been called before the Higher Tribunal, he makes posthumous appearances in the volumes, by way of protests and appeals against his decision. Robert Carvel of St. Mary's, possibly an ancestor of Winston Churchill's hero, filed a document in 1681, filled with indignation over

Gov. Notley's endorsement of Capt. Gerrard Slye in the matter of appraising the merchantman *Liverpool*, of which Carvel was part owner. Charles Calvert mourns him sincerely as a friend and frankly laments him as an official. In a letter addressed in 1681 to the Earl of Anglesea, Lord Baltimore describes the perils to which the Province had been exposed "through traitors, rebels, and Indians," and the heavy debt of gratitude owing to the Deputy-Governor, Thomas Notley, then deceased. So this courtly gentleman of Dorset has written himself on the early pages of Maryland history. He is a commanding figure against the background of his time, loyal, generous, and courageous, every inch a knight and a worthy exemplar of the motto of his race, *Noli Mentire*. How loyal he was to the Calverts, his friend Charles bears testimony, a full quarter of a century after his death. How brave in defending all that was committed to his care, the annals of Maryland clearly show. And to measure his generosity, one has but to read his will, to see that every one who had the slenderest claim on his bounty, even the least of his servants, was remembered. There remains now to consider the others mentioned in Gov. Notley's will, the Rozers, father and son, William Digges and Nicholas Sewall, and the Catholic ownership of Capitol Hill in early colonial days will be established.

Benjamin Rozer, father of Notley, heir of *Cernesabby Manor*, was high sheriff of Charles County, and his commission bears the date of April 25, 1667. He was a member of Gov. Notley's Council from 1676-79, and the two men seemed to have been on terms of cordial friendship. Col. Rozer was the brother-in-law of William Digges and of Nicholas Sewall, his wife Anne being the sister of Nicholas and the sister of Elizabeth Sewall, who married, first, Dr. Jesse Wharton, and then William Digges. All three were children of the Hon. Henry Sewall of Mattapony, Secretary of the Province under Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore. After Sewall's death, Charles, then Lord Proprietary, married the widow and showed an affectionate paternal interest in the large group of children. He gave Nicholas as a freehold the manor of Mattapony, which he had acquired in marrying Mrs. Jane Sewall. Benjamin Rozer died soon after his friend and patron, Notley. His widow remarried and the heir of *Cernes-Manor* apparently spent his childhood at "Notley Hall" under



the care of his grandmother, Lady Baltimore. In due course, he brought there as his bride, Jane, his cousin, daughter of William Digges, Lord of Warburton Manor. This lady made a substantial addition to the Potomac estate of her husband, in the thousand acres called "Elizabeth's Delight," which lay across the Anacostia River from *Cerne Abbey Manor* and which was her inheritance from the vast possessions of her father. Of the several children born to Notley Rozer and his wife Jane, but one survived. This was Ann Rozier, as the name is written from this period. In the will of Edward Digges, son of William, probated April 19, 1714, Notley Rozer is affectionately called "Brother" and is made executor of the estate. Rozer died probably in 1715.

William Digges, Lord of Warburton, uncle by marriage of Notley Rozer and father of his wife, was the grandson of Sir Dudley Digges of Chillum Castle, Kent, Master of the Rolls under Charles I and son of Sir Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia in 1656. He crossed into Maryland about 1680 as the result of religious persecution. William Digges was the gallant defender of St. Mary's City when it was besieged by Coode during the Protestant Revolution. A sturdier Catholic is not to be found in the early annals of Maryland. Like Notley and Rozer, he was a member of Lord Baltimore's household. Like Notley, he acted as Deputy-Governor for the last Catholic proprietor, Charles Calvert. He was selected by this same Proprietary, as one of the most eminent and trustworthy men in the Province, to safeguard the interests of the infant heir, Benedict Leonard. In this list of associate deputies may be found Nicholas Sewall, Vincent and Henry Lowe, brothers of Lady Baltimore, and Colonel Edward Pye, whom Mrs. Benjamin Rozer had married. Warburton Manor house was almost opposite Mt. Vernon, on the Maryland side of the Potomac. In the late eighteenth century, cordial social relations were maintained between the Washingtons and the Digges. It is related that the first president used a system of signalling, known under the homely name of "wigwagging," and after a certain number of dips and waves, the barge at Warburton would slip from its moorings to ferry Mrs. Washington across for a visit to the Manor. This ancient abode of colonial hospitality was sold to the Federal Government early in the nineteenth century and now is Fort Washington. The Digges family had erected

another famous home, at Green Hill, about three miles northeast from Washington City, and it was named after the old Kentish seat, Chillum Castle. It was here Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant found a refuge from poverty and despair when evil days fell upon him. A younger branch of the Digges family was established at Melwood, in Prince Georges County. Of this branch came Father Thomas Digges, who, as tradition has it, was the first to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the Capital City of the United States.

The Sewalls are so closely associated with the Calverts, Thomas Notley, the Rozers and the Digges, that much of their history has already been given. Nicholas Sewall was the father of that Rev. Charles Sewall who renounced his inheritance, and went to London to labor during the darkest days of the penal enactments. Of the several daughters of Nicholas Sewall, Jane married Clement Brooke, and their daughter Elizabeth was the mother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. A later Rev. Charles Sewall of Mattapony was a missionary in Maryland, when the light of religious liberty shone forth after the Signing of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1727, Ann Rozier, sole heiress of Notley Rozer and his wife, Jane Digges, married Daniel Carroll, and the social annals of the day speak of her as of "Notley Hall."<sup>10</sup> This Daniel Carroll was the son of Charles Carroll who came to the Province in 1688 and subsequently became Attorney-General. Those who study the beginnings of the Federal City are so impressed by the association between the Carrolls and the estate of Duddington, that the idea has prevailed, it was originally a Carroll holding. But Thompson and Gerrard had conferred the name twenty-five years before Charles Carroll, the immigrant, landed on these shores. Daniel Carroll, who married Notley Rozer's only child, is recorded in the Carroll genealogical charts as the first of "Duddington" line.<sup>11</sup> This Daniel died in his twenty-eighth year and was seemingly of the familiar young "macaroni" type of the period. It is incredible, however, that he was guilty of the affectation implied in assuming the title of his wife's estates, when he held many derived from the historic possessions

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<sup>10</sup> ROWLAND, *Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*. Vol. i, p. 9, New York, 1898.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 441.

of the O'Carrolls of Ely. This misstatement must be placed to the credit of later Carroll historians, prompted perhaps by the amazing multiplication of Charles, Daniel, Mary, and Eleanor in the given names of the family. It may be remarked in passing, that the genealogical and biographical publications issued by the Carrolls present a confusing mass of errors which have misled the most conscientious historians. Thus, that Daniel Carroll, mentioned in the beginning of this article as the great-grandson of Notley Rozer, is confused with Daniel Carroll, the Commissioner who purchased *Cerne Abbey Manor* in behalf of the Federal Government, by practically every writer on the subject during the past half century.<sup>12</sup> There is an ancient axiom of the law, that a person may not be grantee and grantor in the same instrument. Notley Rozer's remote heir could not have sold his part of the inheritance to himself.

Daniel Carroll, husband of Ann Rozier, died in 1734, leaving three children, Charles, called of Carrollsburgh, Eleanor and Mary. Ann Rozier Carroll married, a year later, Col. Benjamin Young, a Commissioner of Crown Lands, who had recently come from England. In 1758, Mrs. Young, again a widow, made petition in court that her elder son Charles Carroll divide the estate received through her, with her second son, Notley Young. By this division, *Cerne Abbey Manor* went back to the component parts and Carroll was given Duddington Manor, while the Pasture, New Troy and the estate across the Anacostia went to Notley Young. Charles Carroll of Carrollsburgh died about 1778, leaving, as principal heir, his eldest son, Daniel. This Daniel Carroll very properly calls himself of "Duddington Manor," since it was his father's portion of Thomas Notley's legacy. This Daniel Carroll, co-heir with his half-uncle, Notley Young, negotiated the sale of *Cerne Abbey Manor* with President Washington's Commissioners.

The Catholic Proprietors of the American Capitoline Hill, after Thomas Notley, were Notley Rozer; his daughter, Ann Rozier Carroll Young; her two sons, Charles Carroll and Notley Young, and her grandson, Daniel Carroll of Duddington. Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington are counted among the Catholic founders of the National Capital and the time seems ripe to rescue their memory from oblivion. Notley Young was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Ignatius Digges of

<sup>12</sup> See the genealogical chart at end of this article.

Melwood, and then to Mary, daughter of Daniel Carroll of Upper Marlboro, father of the Archbishop and of the Commissioner, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek. The Notley Young mansion was on the high river bank, in what is now G street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, S.W. It was long and rambling, built of yellow brick, with a wide portico opening on the west into the noble chamber which served as a chapel during the penal days. It was in this room that Father Thomas Digges, riding up from Melwood to visit his sister and her family, celebrated Holy Mass for the first time in city limits proper. The year may be fixed approximately as about 1760. Robert Brent, first mayor of Washington and nephew of Archbishop Carroll, married Eleanor, daughter of Notley Young.

Daniel Carroll of Duddington plays a complex part in the early history of the Capital. He died in 1849, impoverished and embittered by losses in land speculation. He gave generously to the Church in his prosperous days. There is an interesting account of his offer of what is now Capitol Hill, to his kinsman, Right Rev. John Carroll, then seeking a location for the College now established in Georgetown. The eminence where the marble halls of legislature look over the Capital city was in those remote days called Jenkins' Heights, and it was (in 1785) clothed with a virgin forest. So the future Primate of the American Church remarked that it was too far back in the woods ever to make a successful boys' school, and he continued his way to Georgetown, already well populated and a flourishing port.<sup>13</sup> But L'Enfant had a clearer vision when he stood on Jenkins' Heights. It was his keen eye which recognized the possibilities of the noble eminence and his advice which prevailed when Washington finally designated the site for the National Halls of Legislature.<sup>14</sup>

L'Enfant lay in a neglected, almost forgotten grave at Chillum Castle Manor, for years after the Commission appointed to restore

<sup>13</sup> REV. EDWARD I. DEVITT, S.J., *Georgetown College in the Early Days*. Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Vol. xii, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* says on July 1, 1791: "All obstacles have been removed from the President's path and the proprietors cheerfully resign all narrow considerations and enter with good will upon the final terms. Maj. L'Enfant, assisted by Baron de Graff, is already engaged upon plans of the city. By this plan and the President's explanation, it appears that the buildings for the legislature are to be placed on Jenkins' Hill, on the land of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, about two miles from Rock Creek and one and a quarter from the Eastern Branch."

his City Beautiful had adopted his plans in their entirety. The request of Right Rev. D. J. O'Connell, then rector of the Catholic University of America, now Bishop of Richmond, Va., for permission to disinter the distinguished patriot and bury him in a worthy mausoleum to be erected on the University campus, precipitated a national controversy, which, happily, ended in the tardy recognition of the services rendered the nation by the brilliant French engineer. He now rests under a marble shaft among the heroic dead at Arlington.

Of the three Commissioners who purchased, in behalf of the Federal Government, the land which now comprises the District of Columbia, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek was a Catholic, and brother of the first Catholic Bishop in the United States. He was, at the time of his appointment, a member of Congress from Maryland. The selection of Carroll, as a member of this board of Commissioners, makes a splendid tribute to the statesmanship of the first president. He took no cognizance of the fact that Carroll was a Catholic, for the time had not yet come when that alone made a man accepting public office an object of suspicion. But there were other objections which might have been successfully urged against the appointment had the Executive possessed less tolerant views or less noble qualities of heart and mind. Carroll could not be called disinterested in appraising the property he was to buy, since he had inherited from his mother, Eleanor Darnall of the Woodyard, a manor grant which lay adjacent to the northern boundary of the territory. Of the heirs of *Cerne Abbey Manor*, the most extensive and valuable of the tracts under consideration, the wife of Notley Young was the sister of Commissioner Carroll, and Daniel Carroll of Duddington was the nephew of his wife. For Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek married that Eleanor, who was the daughter of Daniel Carroll and his wife, Ann Rozier. Yet, in his proclamation, President Washington says:

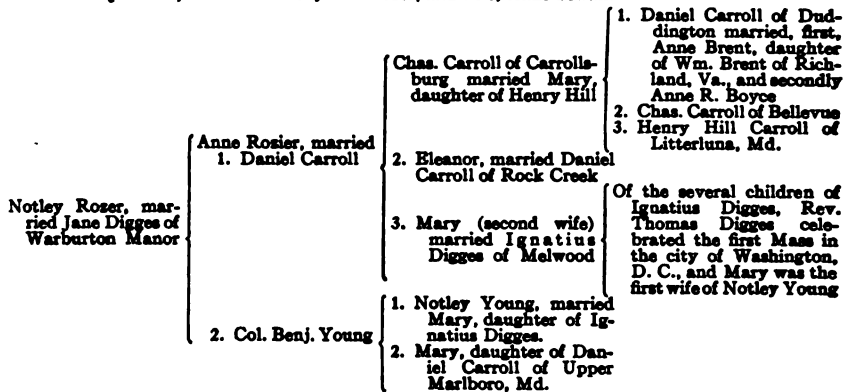
*"Know ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, skill and diligence of Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll of Maryland and David Stuart of Virginia . . . I do hereby appoint them . . . Commissioners of the District of Territory, accepted as the permanent seat of government of the United States."*<sup>15</sup>

MARGARET BRENT DOWNING.

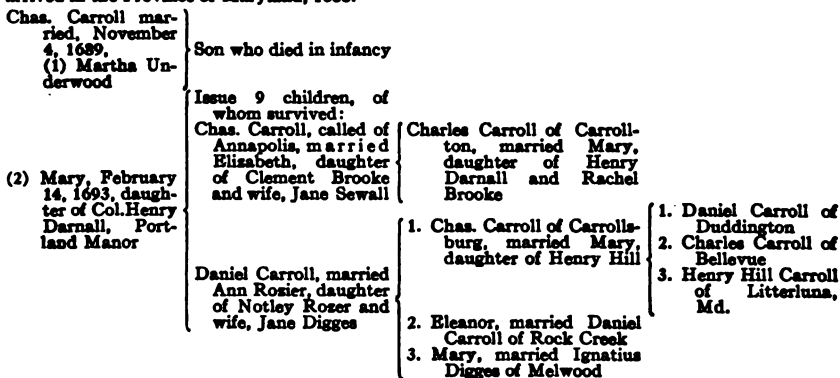
<sup>15</sup> Writings of George Washington relating to the National Capital. *Commissioners' Proceedings*, Vol. i, p. 1. Municipal Building, Washington, D. C.

For the benefit of those for whom genealogical charts are more illuminating than descriptive matter, the following charts have been prepared, to show the lines of descent in which *Cornesabbey Manor* passed from the will of Thomas Notley, in 1679, to Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington in 1790.

1. *Notley Roser*, son of Col. Benjamin Roser, and wife, Anne Sewall.

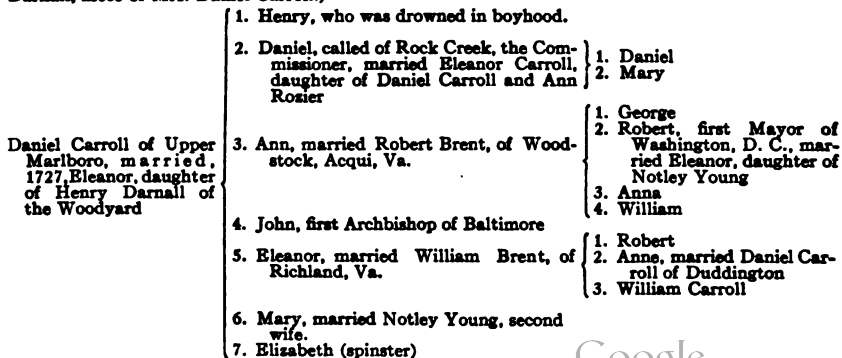


2. *Charles Carroll*, the Immigrant, son of Daniel Carroll of Litterluna, Kings County, Ireland, arrived in the Province of Maryland, 1688.



3. *Daniel Carroll*, of Upper Marlboro, Md., Immigrant. Son of Keane Carroll of Ireland; date of his arrival in provinces is unrecorded.

(In the *Catholic Archives* of the Notre Dame University, among the Carroll family papers is a sworn statement made by Elizabeth Carroll, spinster, on May 6, 1810, before Robert Brent, her nephew, first Mayor of Washington, in which she states her father was born in Ireland and was the son of Keane Carroll, that he emigrated to this country in his early manhood, and soon after married Eleanor Darnall, of the Woodyard. No claim is made of near kinship with the family of Charles Carroll, the Immigrant, except on the distaff side. Charles Carroll the Immigrant married Mary Darnall of Portland Manor. Daniel Carroll, of Upper Marlboro, married the niece of Mrs. Charles Carroll, Eleanor Darnall, of the Woodyard. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, grandson of Charles the Immigrant, married Mary Darnall, niece of Mrs. Daniel Carroll.)



## RISE OF THE HEIRARCHY IN THE UNITED STATES

### VI. THE PROVINCE OF CINCINNATI (1821-1850)

"The first shrine of Catholicity within the limits of the present State of Ohio was the missionary chapel, erected about the year 1751, by the Jesuit Father Armand de la Richardie, at Ootsandooskie (*where the water is pure*), the Sandusky of more recent days. As a dependence on the Huron mission near Detroit it was maintained till hostilities between France and England increased and the missionary was driven away by chiefs in the British interest."<sup>1</sup>

When the Diocese of Bardstown was erected, in 1808, Ohio and the Northwest Territory were placed under the charge of Bishop Flaget. He made a visitation in Ohio and appealed to the Dominicans to establish themselves there, which they did. Pope Pius VIII erected the Diocese of Cincinnati, June 19, 1821, assigning the State of Ohio as its territory. At the same time the care of the Northwest Territory was transferred to the new bishop. The Diocese has long outgrown these small beginnings, and in 1916 it has 368 priests, 214 churches and 78 chapels and stations, with a Catholic population of about 200,000. Successive divisions have reduced the territory of the Diocese and it now occupies the southwestern part of Ohio, with an area of 12,043 square miles, and there are in the State three other Dioceses, Cleveland, Columbus and Toledo. The Province of Cincinnati was erected, July 19, 1850, by Pope Pius IX, with Louisville, Detroit, Vincennes and Cleveland as Suffragans. At present there are ten Suffragan Sees and the Province includes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and Lower Michigan.

#### 1. CINCINNATI (1821)

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Edward Fenwick, O.P., born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, August 19, 1768, and ordained in Belgium in 1793. He was consecrated, January 13, 1822, and died, September 26, 1832.

2. The second bishop and first Archbishop was the Most Rev. John Baptist Purcell, born in County Cork, Ireland, February 26, 1800, and ordained, May 21, 1826. He was consecrated, October 13, 1833, became Archbishop, July 19, 1850, and died, July 4, 1883.

<sup>1</sup> SHEA, o. c., Vol. iii, p. 330.

3. The Most Rev. William Henry Elder, born at Baltimore, March 22, 1819, and ordained at Rome, March 29, 1846, was consecrated Bishop of Natchez, May 3, 1857. He was made titular Bishop of Avara and Coadjutor to Archbishop Purcell, January 30, 1880, and became Archbishop of Cincinnati, July 4, 1883. He died, October 31, 1904.

4. The present Archbishop is the Most Rev. Henry Moeller, born at Cincinnati, January 2, 1845, and ordained at Rome, June 10, 1876. He was consecrated Bishop of Columbus, August 25, 1900, and was made titular Archbishop of Areopolis and Coadjutor of Archbishop Elder, April 27, 1903. He became Archbishop of Cincinnati, October 31, 1904.

## 2. BARDSTOWN-LOUISVILLE (1808-1841)

In the first division of the Diocese of Baltimore, April 8, 1808, Pope Pius VII erected the Diocese of Bardstown that is, as the bull of erection says, "the town or city of Bardstown and thereto we assign as a Diocese the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, and until otherwise provided by this Apostolic See, the territories lying northwest of the Ohio, and extending to the Great Lakes and which lie between them and the Diocese of Canada and extending along them to the boundaries of Pennsylvania."<sup>1</sup> Bardstown was therefore the mother Diocese of the Province of Cincinnati. Kentucky was settled largely by families from Maryland, many of whom were Catholics, and priests from time to time followed them into the wilderness, but it was not until Bishop Carroll sent the Rev. Stephen T. Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, to Kentucky, that any real-beginning was made for the Church. The Diocese of Louisville today has 188 priests, 163 churches and 34 chapels with a Catholic population of 111,371, and we must remember that it now occupies only a little more than half of the State of Kentucky with an area of 22,714 square miles.

1. The first Bishop of Bardstown was the Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, born November 7, 1763. "He was consecrated in St. Patrick's Church, Baltimore, November 4, 1810, by Archbishop Carroll, assisted by Bishop Cheverus of Boston and Bishop Egan of Philadelphia."<sup>2</sup> Bishop Flaget during his long episcopate had three Coadjutors. The first was the Right Rev. John Baptist David, appointed titular Bishop of Mauricastro, July 4, 1817, and consecrated, August 15, 1819. In 1832, the Holy See accepted the resignation of Bishop Flaget, and

2. The Right Rev. John B. David, born in France, January 4, 1761, and ordained, at Paris, September 24, 1785, became the second Bishop of Bardstown.

<sup>1</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. ii, p. 622.

<sup>2</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, p. 266.



"These changes," says Archbishop Spalding, in his *Life of Bishop Flaget*, "caused general dissatisfaction among both the clergy and laity of Kentucky. The former Coadjutor loudly protested against his unexpected promotion and the whole Diocese was seized with grief at the apprehended loss of a Bishop so universally esteemed and loved."<sup>4</sup> In May, 1833, Bishop David's resignation was accepted and

3. The Right Rev. B. J. Flaget was reappointed, becoming the third Bishop of Bardstown. Bishop David died, July 12, 1841.

Bishop Flaget's second Coadjutor was the Right Rev. Guy Ignatius Chabrat, who was consecrated titular Bishop of Bolina, July 20, 1834. He was born in France, December 28, 1787, came to the United States in 1810 and was ordained, December 25, 1811. He resigned in 1847 and retired to France, became totally blind, and died, November 21, 1868, in his eighty-second year.

In 1841 the See of Bardstown was transferred by the Holy See to Louisville.

Bishop Flaget's third Coadjutor was the Right Rev. Martin John Spalding, who was consecrated titular Bishop of Lengone, September 10, 1848. Bishop Flaget died, February 11, 1850, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and the

4. Right Rev. Martin John Spalding, born in Kentucky, May 23, 1810, and ordained at Rome, August 13, 1834, became the fourth Bishop of Louisville. He was promoted to the Archbishopric of Baltimore, June 11, 1864, and died, February 7, 1872.

5. The fifth bishop was the Right Rev. Peter Joseph Lavialle, born in France, July 15, 1819, and ordained at Louisville, February 2, 1844. He was consecrated, September 24, 1865, and died, May 11, 1867.

6. The Right Rev. William George McCloskey, born November 10, 1823, was ordained, October 4, 1852. December 8, 1859, he became the first Rector of the American College in Rome. He was appointed Bishop of Louisville, March 3, 1868, was consecrated at Rome, May 24, 1868, governed the Diocese forty-one years and died, September 17, 1909.

8. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Denis O'Donaghue, born in Indiana, November 30, 1848, and ordained, September 6, 1874. He was appointed titular Bishop of Pomario and Auxiliary of Indianapolis, February 10, 1900, and was consecrated, April 25, 1900. He was translated to Louisville, February 7, 1910.

### 3. DETROIT (1833)

To the martyr, Father Isaac Jogues, and to his fellow Jesuit, Father Charles Raynbaut, belongs the honor of planting the cross in Michigan, when in 1642 they began their mission to the Chippewas of Sault Ste Marie. Fort St. Joseph was established at Detroit in 1688 and developed into a post inhabited by a number of Canadian families. In 1701, the Church of St. Anne served by the Franciscan Recollects was dedicated. In this

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, p. 601.

mother parish of the Northwest are preserved an unbroken series of parish records, the present Church being the sixth of the name in the line of succession. Detroit passed with the rest of Canada under English domination which lasted until 1796 when it was ceded to the United States. Bishop Carroll then assumed jurisdiction and the Bishop of Quebec recalled his priests from Michigan. The most celebrated of the American missionaries was the Rev. Gabriel Richard, who was still in charge when the Diocese of Cincinnati was established in 1821, and who rendered an account of the missions to Bishop Fenwick on the occasion of his first visitation, in 1822. Michigan was a part of the Diocese of Bardstown from 1808, and afterwards of Cincinnati from 1821, until the erection of the Diocese of Detroit, March 8, 1838, by Pope Gregory XVI, as a Suffragan of Baltimore. It passed to the Province of Cincinnati in 1850. It originally embraced the State of Michigan and Northwest Territory. It at present occupies the southern part of Lower Michigan, with an area of 18,558 square miles, and has 310 priests, 223 churches and stations, and a Catholic population of 360,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Frederick Résé, born in Hanover, February 6, 1791. He was ordained at the Propaganda in Rome, on Trinity Sunday, 1822, and is said to have served the first Mass of Pius IX. He was consecrated Bishop of Detroit, October 6, 1833. Ill health soon impaired his energies. He lost his mind, and in that state lived until December 29, 1871. He was the first bishop of German birth in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

2. In 1841, the Holy See appointed the Right Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre titular Bishop of Zela, Coadjutor and Administrator of the Diocese of Detroit. He was born in Belgium, April 30, 1804, was ordained, July 17, 1831, and consecrated, November 21, 1841. He died, March 4, 1869. He was never actually Bishop of Detroit.

3. The Right Rev. Caspar Henry Borgess, born in Hanover, August 1, 1824, and ordained, December 8, 1847, was appointed Coadjutor and Administrator and was consecrated titular Bishop of Calydon, April 24, 1870. On the death of Bishop Résé, December 29, 1871, he became the second Bishop of Detroit. He resigned, April 16, 1887, and died, May 3, 1890.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John Samuel Foley, born at Baltimore, November 5, 1833, ordained at Rome, December 20, 1856, appointed Bishop of Detroit, December 12, 1889, and consecrated, November 4, 1888.

The Right Rev. Edward D. Kelly, born in 1860, appointed, December 1, 1910, titular Bishop of Castro and consecrated, January 26, 1911, is Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit.

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<sup>1</sup> REUSS, *Biog. Encyc.*, p. 93.

## 4. VINCENNES-INDIANAPOLIS (1834-1898)

"Bishop Flaget had long urged the erection of an Episcopal See at Vincennes and his desire was gratified, when on the sixth of May, 1834, Pope Gregory XVI established the Diocese of Vincennes, embracing the State of Indiana and the eastern part of Illinois, the rest of that State being formally attached to the Diocese of St. Louis."<sup>6</sup> By a Brief dated March 28, 1898, Pope Leo XIII transferred the See to Indianapolis. At present the Diocese comprises the southern half of Indiana, with an area of 18,479 square miles, and has 246 priests, 193 churches, 33 stations and chapels, and a Catholic population of 128,741.

1. The first Bishop of Vincennes was the Right Rev. Simon Gabriel Bruté, ". . . one of the most learned and saintly priests in the United States. He was born at Rennes, in France, March 20, 1779, became a Sulpician and was ordained, June 10, 1808. He came to America in 1810 and taught at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore and Mount St. Mary's, which latter institution owed to him much of its success and influence."<sup>7</sup> He was consecrated, October 28, 1834 and died, June 26, 1834, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

2. The second bishop, the Right Rev. Celestine De La Hailandière, had already been appointed Coadjutor of Bishop Bruté, who died before his consecration. He was born at Cambourg, France, May 2, 1798, and was ordained at Paris, May 28, 1825. He came to America with Bishop Bruté in 1836. He was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes, August 18, 1839. He resigned, July 16, 1847, and returned to France where he died, May 1, 1882, aged 84.

3. His successor was the Right Rev. John Stephen Basin, born near Lyons, France, October 15, 1796. He was ordained, July 22, 1822, came to America in 1830, was consecrated, October 24, 1847, and died six months later, April 23, 1848.

4. The fourth bishop was the Right Rev. Maurice De St. Palais, born in France, November 15, 1811 and ordained, May 23, 1836. He was consecrated, January 14, 1849, and died, June 23, 1877.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Francis Silas Chatard, born at Baltimore, December 13, 1834, and ordained at Rome, June 14, 1862. He was the second Rector of the American College, in Rome, when he was made the fifth bishop of Vincennes. He was consecrated, May 12, 1878, and became Bishop of Indianapolis, March 23, 1898.

The Right Rev. Denis O'Donaghue was made Auxiliary in 1900. He was transferred to Louisville in 1910.

The Right Rev. Joseph Chartrand, born at St. Louis, Mo., May 11, 1870, and ordained, September 24, 1892, was appointed Coadjutor, July 27, 1910, and was consecrated titular Bishop of Flavia, September 15, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iii, p. 605.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 640.

### 5. NASHVILLE (1837)

The State of Tennessee was detached from the Diocese of Bardstown and erected into the Diocese of Nashville by Pope Gregory XVI, July 28, 1837, as a Suffragan of Baltimore. In 1847 it was made Suffragan to St. Louis and was transferred in 1880 to the Province of Cincinnati. It has an area of 41,750 square miles. In 1916, it has 54 priests, 58 churches, 143 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 19,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Richard Pius Miles, a Dominican, born in Prince George's County, Maryland, May 17, 1791. He was ordained in 1816, and was consecrated Bishop of Nashville, September 16, 1838. He died, February 21, 1860.

2. The Right Rev. James Whelan, also a Dominican, born at Kilkenny in Ireland, December 8, 1823, and ordained, August 2, 1846, was chosen Coadjutor to Bishop Miles and was consecrated titular Bishop of Marcopolis, May 8, 1859. He became Bishop of Nashville, February 21, 1860. He resigned in 1864 and died at Zanesville, Ohio, February 18, 1878.

3. The third Bishop of Nashville was the Right Rev. Patrick A. Feehan, born in Ireland, August 29, 1829, and ordained, November 1, 1852. He was consecrated Bishop of Nashville, November 1, 1865, became Archbishop of Chicago in 1880 and died, July 12, 1902.

4. The Right Rev. Joseph Rademacher, born in Michigan, December 3, 1840, and ordained, August 2, 1863, was consecrated fourth Bishop of Nashville, June 24, 1883. He was transferred to Fort Wayne, July 13, 1893, and died, January 12, 1900.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, born at Hamilton, Ohio, July 29, 1841, and ordained, May 22, 1869. He was appointed fifth Bishop of Nashville, May 10, 1894, and was consecrated, July 25, 1894.

### 6. CLEVELAND (1847)

As constituted by the bull erecting it, April 23, 1847, the Diocese of Cleveland embraced about one-third of the State of Ohio, the northern part. It now comprises the northeastern part of the State, since the erection of the Diocese of Toledo in 1910. Its area is 8,034 square miles and it has 369 priests, 221 churches, and a Catholic population of 400,000.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Amadeus Rappe, born in France, February 2, 1801. He was ordained, March 14, 1829, came to America in 1840 and was consecrated Bishop of Cleveland, October 10, 1847. He resigned, August 22, 1870, and died, September 8, 1877.

2. The second bishop was the Right Rev. Richard Gilmour, born at Glasgow, Scotland, September 28, 1824, and ordained at Cincinnati, August 30, 1852. He was consecrated, April 14, 1872, and died, April 13, 1891.

3. The Right Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, born at Philadelphia, December 16, 1840, and ordained at Rome, June 10, 1865, was consecrated Bishop of Cleveland, February 25, 1892. He died, May 13, 1908.

He had as Auxiliary Bishop the Right Rev. Joseph M. Koudelka, consecrated titular Bishop of Germanicopolis, February 25, 1908, who was later made Auxiliary of Milwaukee, and is now Bishop of Superior, Wis., to which he was appointed, August 6, 1913.

5. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John P. Farrelly, born at Memphis, Tenn., March 15, 1856, and ordained, May 22, 1880. He was appointed Bishop of Cleveland, March 18, 1909, and was consecrated, May 1, 1909.

#### 7. COVINGTON (1853)

Pope Pius IX erected the Diocese of Covington, July 29, 1853, detaching the eastern part of the State of Kentucky from the Diocese of Bardstown. It still retains the same territory of 17,286 square miles. It has, in 1916, 89 priests, 84 churches, 58 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 60,500.

1. The first Bishop of Covington, the Right Rev. George Aloysius Carrell, S. J., born at Philadelphia, June 13, 1803, was ordained, December 20, 1827, and became a Jesuit, August 19, 1835. He was consecrated, November 1, 1863, and died, September 25, 1868.

2. The Right Rev. Augustus Maria Toebbe, born in Hanover, January 15, 1829, and ordained at Cincinnati, September 14, 1854, was consecrated, January 9, 1870, and died, May 2, 1884.

3. The Right Rev. Camillus Paul Maes, born at Courtrai, Belgium, March 13, 1846, was appointed Bishop of Covington, October 1, 1884, and was consecrated, January 25, 1885. He died, May 10, 1915.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Ferdinand Brossart, born at Buechelberg, Rhenish Bavaria, October 19, 1849, and ordained, September 1, 1872. He was appointed Bishop of Covington, December 9, 1915, and was consecrated, January 25, 1916.

#### 8. FORT WAYNE (1857)

The Diocese of Fort Wayne was erected by Pope Pius IX September 22, 1857. It embraces the northern half of the State of Indiana and was detached from the Diocese of Vincennes. It has an area of 17,431 square miles. It has, in 1916, 250 priests, 164 churches, 58 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 120,685.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. John Henry Luers, born in Westphalia, September 29, 1819, and ordained, November 11, 1846. He was consecrated Bishop of Fort Wayne, January 10, 1858, and died, June 29, 1871.

2. The Right Rev. Joseph Dwenger was born near Minster, Ohio, June 1, 1837, and was ordained, September 4, 1859. He was a member of the Congregation of the Precious Blood. He was consecrated, April 14, 1872, and died, January 22, 1893.

3. The Right Rev. Joseph Rademacher, born in Michigan, December 3, 1840, and ordained, August 2, 1863, was consecrated Bishop of Nashville, June 24, 1883. He was translated to Fort Wayne, July 14, 1893, and died, January 12, 1900.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Herman Joseph Alerding, born, August 13, 1846, in Germany and ordained, September 22, 1868. He was appointed fourth Bishop of Fort Wayne, August 30, 1900, and was consecrated, November 30, 1900.

#### 9. COLUMBUS (1868)

The Diocese of Columbus was erected March 3, 1868. It comprises twenty-eight counties in the southeastern part of Ohio, with an area of 13,685 square miles, which were formerly a part of the Diocese of Cincinnati. It has 170 priests, 134 churches, 41 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 101,179.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Sylvester Horton Rosecrans, born in Ohio, February 5, 1827. His parents were not Catholics, but he was received into the Church in 1845, whilst still a student. He was ordained at Rome, July 16, 1852, and was consecrated titular Bishop of Pompeiopolis and made Auxiliary of Cincinnati on March 25, 1862. He was appointed Bishop of Columbus, March 3, 1868, and died, October 21, 1878.

2. The Right Rev. John Ambrose Watterson was President of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., when he was appointed second Bishop of Columbus. He was born, May 27, 1844, in Pennsylvania and was ordained, August 9, 1868. He was consecrated, August 8, 1880, and died, April 17, 1899.

3. The Right Rev. Henry Moeller, the present Archbishop of Cincinnati, was the third Bishop of Columbus. He was consecrated, August 25, 1900, and promoted, April 27, 1903.

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. James J. Hartley, born at Columbus, June 26, 1858. He was appointed, December 23, 1903, and was consecrated, February 25, 1904.

#### 10. GRAND RAPIDS (1882)

The Diocese of Grand Rapids was erected by Pope Leo XIII, May 19, 1882. It comprises the northern part of the lower peninsula of the State of Michigan and the adjacent islands, with an area of 22,561 square miles, which were originally a part of the Diocese of Detroit. It has 161 priests, 212 churches, 52 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 140,000.

1. The first and present bishop is the Right Rev. Henry Joseph Richter, born in Oldenburg, Germany, April 9, 1838, and ordained at Rome, June 10, 1865. He was appointed Bishop of Grand Rapids, January 30, 1883, and was consecrated, April 22, 1883.

The Right Rev. Michael J. Gallagher, ordained March 19, 1893, was appointed titular Bishop of Tipasa, and Coadjutor of Grand Rapids, July 5, 1915, and was consecrated September 8, 1915.

#### 11. TOLEDO (1910)

The Diocese of Toledo was erected by Pope Pius X, April 15, 1910. It comprises the northwestern part of the State of Ohio and was formerly a part of the Diocese of Cleveland. It has an area of 6,969 square miles. It has 155 priests, 121 churches, 32 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 101,923.

1. The first and present bishop is the Right Rev. Joseph Schrembs, born at Ratisbonne, Germany, March 12, 1866, and ordained, June 29, 1889. He was appointed Auxiliary of Grand Rapids, January 8, 1911, and was consecrated, February 22, 1911. He was translated to Toledo, August 11, 1911.

### VII. THE PROVINCE OF SAN FRANCISCO (1840-1853)

The story of the Missions of California is one of the most glorious and at the same time one of the saddest episodes in the history of the Church in North America. It is also probably the least known. There is no longer any excuse for ignorance of the wonderful labors of the missionaries since the publication by the Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M., of his monumental work, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. The scope of these articles forbids us to enter into details, which may be read now so easily in that interesting work.

Lower California was discovered by Cortez in 1533, upper California by Cabrillo in 1542. The Franciscan Missionaries followed almost immediately in the footsteps of the discoverers, but their first attempts do not appear to have been very successful. They were succeeded by the Jesuits who established eighteen missions between 1697 and, 1767 and after the suppression of the Society, these were taken over and administered by the Franciscans under the leadership of the renowned Father Junipero Serra. From about 1772 we find the Dominicans also laboring especially in Upper California.

California originally was included in the Mexican Diocese of

Durango<sup>8</sup> until 1779, when the Diocese of Sonora was erected. Owing however to the great distance and, perhaps, principally because the only whites were the Spanish officials and soldiers, the ecclesiastical government was left in the hands of the missionaries. In later years the Superior of the Mission was usually the Vicar Forane and sometimes Vicar General of the Bishop of Sonora. The greatest obstacle to the success of the Missionaries in their work among the Indians was, from the very beginning, the constant interference of the government officials which became worse each succeeding year as the number of white settlers increased. Finally after the revolt of Mexico from Spanish domination the ruin of the Missions was accomplished by their "Secularization" so called, which was in effect confiscation.<sup>9</sup> This took place about 1835, and, to prevent the total extinction of religion, the Mexican Government consented to the appointment of a Bishop, for which the missionaries had been for a long time pleading.

Pope Gregory XVI, therefore, at the instance of Mexico, erected the Diocese of the Californias by his Bull of April 27, 1840, as a Suffragan of the Archbishop of Mexico, and established San Diego as the Episcopal City. By another Bull of the same date, the Pope appointed as the first Bishop of the new See "Our beloved Son, Francisco Garcia Diego, professed member of the Order of St. Francis," who was consecrated at the celebrated Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, October 4, 1840.<sup>10</sup>

Bishop Garcia Diego died in 1846, just as the troubles arose between Mexico and the United States, which ended in war and the conquest of Texas and California. The Rev. Gonzalez Rubio, a Franciscan, governed the Diocese, as administrator, during these years of war and confusion until the appointment of a new Bishop, which did not take place until 1849, when the Holy See from a list of names proposed by the Bishops of the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, chose the Rev. Charles Pius Montgomery, O.P., as the second Bishop of California. He declined the honor, however, and another Dominican, the

<sup>8</sup> ENGELHARDT, *o. c.*, Vol. i, p. 165.

<sup>9</sup> See details in ENGELHARDT, *o. c.*, Vols. iii and iv.

<sup>10</sup> ENGELHARDT *passim*, but especially Vol. iv, p. 194 *seq.*, where the documents are given in full. See the same also for the history of the Pious Fund from which the Bishop was to be supported. As a matter of fact, neither the Bishop nor the Missionaries ever got anything from the Fund after the Mexicans seized it.



Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, who was in Rome at that time representing the American Province at the General Chapter of his Order, was chosen and his residence was fixed at Monterey, by which name the Diocese was henceforth known. He was consecrated at Rome, in the Church of San Carlo, by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, June 30, 1850. When California became a part of the United States, the Mexican Government refused to permit an American Bishop to exercise any jurisdiction in Lower California. Pius IX therefore detached the Diocese of Monterey from the Province of Mexico confining its limits to the United States, and made it subject immediately to the Holy See. As such, the Bishop assisted, at the instance of the Holy See, at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, May 8, 1852, and the first question proposed to the Council was: To what Province shall Monterey be attached? The Council suggested to the Holy See the establishment of the Province of San Francisco, which was erected July 29, 1853, with Monterey as Suffragan. The Province of San Francisco now includes the States of California, Nevada and Utah.

#### 1. SAN FRANCISCO (1853)

The Archdiocese when first erected included the whole northern part of California. It now comprises the Central part of the State, with an area of 16,856 square miles and has in 1916, 379 priests, 185 churches, 95 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 290,000.

1. The first Archbishop of San Francisco was the Most Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P. He was born in Spain, July 13, 1814, entered the Dominican Order in 1829, and was ordained, March 27, 1837. He was made Bishop of Monterey and was consecrated at Rome, by Cardinal Fransoni, June 30, 1850, and became Archbishop of San Francisco, July 29, 1853. He resigned after a long and successful Episcopate on December 28, 1884, and died at Valencia in Spain, April 14, 1888, aged 74 years.

2. The Most Rev. Patrick William Riordan was born, August 27, 1841, at Chatham, New Brunswick, and was ordained, June 10, 1865. He was appointed titular Archbishop of Cabasa and Coadjutor July 17, 1883, and was consecrated September 16, 1883, becoming Archbishop of San Francisco, December 28, 1884. He died, December 27, 1914.

The Most Rev. George Montgomery, consecrated Bishop of Monterey May 8, 1894, was named titular Archbishop and Coadjutor of San Francisco January, 1903. He died, January 10, 1907.

The Right Rev. Denis J. O'Connell, consecrated titular Bishop of Sebaste,

was appointed Auxiliary, December 24, 1908. He became Bishop of Richmond, January 19, 1912.

3. The Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, born at Rochester, New York, July 21, 1860, was appointed titular Bishop of Titopolis and Auxiliary, October 22, 1912, and was consecrated, December 4, 1912. He was made Archbishop of San Francisco, June 1, 1915.

## 2. MONTEREY AND LOS ANGELES (1840-1850)

The Diocese of California and afterwards the Diocese of Monterey included both Lower and Upper California. Since the return of Lower California to Mexican jurisdiction and the erection of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, it comprises the southern part of the State. Since, 1859 it has been known as the diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, this latter city being the residence of the Bishop.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Francis Garcia Diego Y. Moreno O.S.F. He was born at Lagos, in the Mexican State of Jalisco, September 17, 1785, joined the Franciscans in 1803, and was ordained, November 13, 1808. He came to California as Prefect of the Missions in 1832, was appointed Bishop, April 27, 1840, was consecrated, October 4, 1840, and died, April 30, 1846.

2. After a long interval caused by political troubles of the times, the Most Rev. Joseph Sadoc Alemany was consecrated second Bishop of Monterey, June 30, 1850, and was transferred to San Francisco, July 29, 1853.

3. The third bishop was the Right Rev. Thaddeus Amat. He was born in Spain, December 31, 1811, entered the Lazarist Community and was ordained at Paris in 1838. He was consecrated at Rome, March 12, 1854, reached California in 1855, and died, May 12, 1878.

4. The Right Rev. Francis Mora also a Spaniard, was born on November 25, 1827. He accompanied Bishop Amat to California in 1855 and was ordained at Santa Barbara, March 19, 1856. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Mosynopolis, May 20, 1873, and Coadjutor. He resigned, February 1, 1896, and died, August 3, 1905, in Spain.

5. The Right Rev. George Montgomery, born in Kentucky, December 30, 1847, was ordained at Baltimore, December 20, 1879. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Tomi, April 8, 1894, and made Coadjutor to Bishop Mora. He became Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, May 6, 1896. In 1903 he was made titular Archbishop of Osino and Coadjutor of San Francisco. He died, January 10, 1907.

6. The Right Rev. Thomas James Conaty, was born in Ireland, August 1, 1847, and was ordained, December 21, 1872. He was appointed Rector of the Catholic University, January 10, 1897, was made titular Bishop of Samos, July 16, 1901, and was consecrated, November 21, 1901. He became Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, March 27, 1903. He died September 18, 1915.

### 3. GRASS VALLEY-SACRAMENTO (1861-1868-1886)

Pope Pius IX, in 1861, separated Nevada and the northern part of California from the Diocese of San Francisco and erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Marysville, which included also at first the territory of Utah. The Vicariate, March 29, 1868, became the Diocese of Grass Valley. Pope Leo XIII, May 16, 1886, changed the boundaries of the Diocese and the See was removed to Sacramento. It, at present, comprises 54,449 square miles in California and 38,162 in Nevada, a total of 92,611 square miles. It has, in 1916, 72 priests, 100 churches, 54 stations and a Catholic population of 50,000.

1. The Right Rev. Eugene O'Connell, born in Ireland, June, 1815, was made the Vicar Apostolic of Marysville. He was ordained at Maynooth, in June, 1842, and came to California in 1851. He returned to Ireland, and was a professor in All Hallows, when he was consecrated titular Bishop of Flaviopolis, February 3, 1861. He became the first Bishop of Grass Valley, March 29, 1868, resigned, March 17, 1884, being made titular Bishop of Joppa and died, December 4, 1891, aged 76 years.

2. The Right Rev. Patrick Manogue was born in Ireland, March 15, 1831, and was ordained, December 25, 1861. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Ceramos and Coadjutor, January 16, 1881, and became the second Bishop of Grass Valley, March 17, 1884. When Leo XIII changed the title of the Diocese he became the first Bishop of Sacramento, May 16, 1886. He died, February 27, 1895.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas Grace, born in Ireland, August 2, 1841, and ordained, June 11, 1876. He was appointed, March 20, 1896, and was consecrated, June 16, 1896.

### 4. SALT LAKE (1886-1890)

Pope Leo XIII, in 1886, erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Utah comprising the whole of the State of that name and more than half of the State of Nevada, an immense territory of 153,768 square miles, 82,190 in Utah and 71,578 in Nevada. This now constitutes the Diocese of Salt Lake erected in 1890. It has, in 1916, 26 priests, 24 churches, 44 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of about 13,000.

1. The Right Rev. Laurence Scanlan, born in Ireland, September 29, 1843, was appointed Vicar Apostolic and titular Bishop of Laranda, January 25, 1887, and was consecrated, June 29, 1887. He became the first Bishop of Salt Lake, January 30, 1890. He died, May 10, 1915.

2. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Joseph Sarsfield Glass, C.M.,

born in Illinois, March 13, 1874, and ordained August 15, 1897. He was appointed June 1, 1915, and was consecrated, August 24, 1915.

## VIII. THE PROVINCE OF BOSTON (1808-1875)

Pope Pius IX, July 12, 1875, created four new Ecclesiastical Provinces in the United States: Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Santa Fe. The Province of Boston embraces the New England States, which had belonged to the Province of Baltimore until 1850 and which, after that, had been included in the Province of New York. The original Suffragans were Hartford, Burlington, Portland, Springfield and Providence to which have been added Manchester, 1884, and Fall River, 1904. The Diocese of Boston was erected, April 8, 1808, and covered originally the whole of New Eng'and, which is now the extent of the Province. It now comprises the counties of Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Plymouth in the State of Massachusetts, certain towns being excepted, an area of 2,465 square miles.

The *Laity's Directory* of 1822 has the following to say of the Bishopric of Boston: "Boston contains at present two neat churches, viz., the Cathedral of the Holy Cross and St. Augustine's. This latter church has just been erected in South-Boston. There are in this Diocese four other Churches, viz., one in Salem, which is finished in a very superior style; one at New-Bedford, and two in the State of Maine, at Damascotti and at Whitefield."

In 1916 there are 777 priests, 282 churches and a Catholic population (Census of 1909) of 900,000.

### 1. BOSTON (1808)

1. The first Bishop of Boston was the Right Rev. John Lefevre De Cheverus, who was born at Mayenne, France, January 28, 1768. He was ordained, December 8, 1790, "this being the last ordination preceding the Revolution." He was imprisoned but escaped to England in 1792. "On the third of April 1796 he arrived in Boston, where he was received by M. Matignon as an angel sent from heaven to his aid." He was consecrated Bishop of Boston, November 1, 1810. In 1823, in answer to the appeals of the French King Louis XVIII, he returned to France and was appointed Bishop of Montauban. He was made Archbishop of Bordeaux, July 30, 1826, was made a Cardinal, February 1, 1836, and died, July 19, 1836, in his sixty-ninth year.

2. The second Bishop of Boston, the Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick, was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, September 3, 1782. He entered the Society of Jesus upon its restoration and was ordained, March 12, 1808, at Georgetown College. He was consecrated, November 1, 1825, and died, August 11, 1846.

3. The Right Rev. John Bernard Fitzpatrick was born, at Boston, November 1, 1812, and was ordained, June 13, 1840. He was consecrated titular Bishop of Callipolis, March 24, 1844, and made Coadjutor. He became Bishop of Boston, August 11, 1846, and died, February 13, 1866.

4. The Most Rev. John Joseph Williams, fourth Bishop and first Archbishop, was born at Boston, April 27, 1822, and was ordained at Paris, May 17, 1845. He was consecrated Bishop of Boston, March 11, 1866, became Archbishop, February 12, 1875, and died, August 30, 1907. He had been appointed titular Bishop of Tripoli, and Coadjutor, but Bishop Fitzpatrick died before his consecration.

Archbishop Williams had as Auxiliary the Right Reverend John Brady consecrated titular Bishop of Alabanda, August 5, 1891. Bishop Brady was born in the County Cavan, Ireland, April 11, 1842, and was ordained at All Hallows, December 4, 1864. He died, January 6, 1910.

5. The present Archbishop of Boston is His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, who was born at Lowell, Massachusetts, December 8, 1859, and was ordained at Rome, June 8, 1884. He was made Bishop of Portland, and was consecrated, May 19, 1901. He was named titular Archbishop of Constantia, February 21, 1906, and Coadjutor and became Archbishop of Boston, August 30, 1907. He was created Cardinal Priest, of the title of St. Clement, November 27, 1911.

## 2. HARTFORD (1843)

The Diocese of Hartford was erected, by Pope Gregory XVI, November 28, 1843, and originally included Connecticut and Rhode Island. It is now confined to Connecticut, an area of 5,004 square miles. At the time of the erection of the Diocese there were in Connecticut but three resident priests. Now, 1916, there are 406 priests with 232 churches and 118 chapels and stations and a Catholic population of 469,701, more than one-third of the whole.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. William Tyler, born at Derby, Vermont, June 5, 1806, being a grandson of the Rev. Daniel Barber, whose whole family became Catholic. He was ordained, December 23, 1827, and was consecrated, March 17, 1844. He died, June 18, 1849.

2. The second bishop was the Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, born in County Longford, Ireland, in 1803, and ordained, October 13, 1831. He was appointed Bishop of Hartford, August 9, 1850, and was consecrated, November 10, 1850. Bishop O'Reilly visited Europe in 1855 and embarked, on his return voyage, January 23, 1856, on the Steamer *Pacific*, which was never heard of afterwards.

3. He was succeeded by the Right Rev. Francis Patrick McFarland, born in Pennsylvania, April 16, 1819, and ordained at New York, May 18, 1845. He was consecrated, March 14, 1858, and died, October 12, 1874.

4. The Right Rev. Thomas Galberry, O.S.A., born in Ireland in 1833,

and ordained at Philadelphia, December 20, 1856, was President of Villanova College when he was made Bishop of Hartford. He was consecrated, March 19, 1876, and died, October 10, 1878.

5. The Right Rev. Lawrence S. McMahon, fifth Bishop of Hartford, was born at St. John's, New Brunswick, December 26, 1835. He was ordained, at Rome, March 24, 1860, was consecrated, August 10, 1879, and died, August 21, 1893.

6. The Right Rev. Michael Tierney was born in County Tipperary, Ireland, September 29, 1839, and was ordained at Troy, May 26, 1866. He was consecrated, February 22, 1894, and died, October 5, 1908.

7. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John Joseph Nillan, born in Massachusetts in 1854, and ordained, December 21, 1878. He was appointed, February 14, 1910, and was consecrated, April 28, 1910.

### 3. BURLINGTON (1853)

"A chapel not destined to be permanent was erected within the limits of the present State of Vermont as early as 1665, when the Sieur de la Mothe, captain in a French regiment, raised Fort St. Anne upon the Isle La Motte. Within the fort was a chapel doubtless dedicated to the Mother of the Blessed Virgin. Here Mass was certainly offered in 1666. The fort was not long maintained, but its ruins are still to be seen. . . . When Pope Pius IX detached Vermont from the Diocese of Boston and erected a See at Burlington, July 14, 1853, there were in the State five priests but no institutions."<sup>11</sup>

There were ten churches. In 1916, Burlington claims 101 priests, and 122 churches and stations and a Catholic population of 84,949.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Louis De Goeabriand, born in France, August 4, 1816, and ordained at St. Louis, July 30, 1840. He was consecrated, October 30, 1853, and died, November 3, 1899.

2. The Right Rev. John S. Michaud, born at Burlington, November 24, 1843, and ordained, June 7, 1873, was consecrated titular Bishop of Modra and Coadjutor of Burlington, June 29, 1892, and became Bishop of Burlington, November 3, 1899. He died, December 22, 1908.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John Joseph Rice, born in Massachusetts in 1871, and ordained, September 29, 1894. He was appointed Bishop of Burlington, January 8, 1910, and was consecrated, April 14, 1910.

### 4. PORTLAND (1853)

The Diocese of Portland was erected by Pope Pius IX, July 29, 1853, embracing the States of Maine and New Hampshire.

<sup>11</sup> SHEA, *o. c.*, Vol. iv, pp. 528-30.

The first bishop was not consecrated until 1855, as the Very Rev. Henry B. Coskery of Baltimore declined the appointment offered to him and returned the bulls. These States did not offer a very encouraging field for episcopal labor. New Hampshire excluded Catholics from all high office and it was only after many years that a more liberal policy was adopted. In Maine, Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries had labored and, to this day, there remain in Canada, Catholic Indians, descendants of refugees driven therefrom by later persecutions. The same spirit was still rife in 1853, and churches were burnt and otherwise destroyed as fast as they were built. Father John Bapst, the Jesuit missionary, was tarred and feathered and tortured, so that he never recovered from the effects of his maltreatment. Such was the Diocese of Portland in its beginnings. In 1884, New Hampshire was detached to form the Diocese of Manchester, thus confining the Diocese of Portland to the State of Maine, an area of 29,895 square miles. In 1916, there are 143 priests, 143 churches, 102 stations and chapels and a Catholic population of 131,638.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. David W. Bacon, born in New York City, September 15, 1815, and ordained, December 13, 1838. He was consecrated Bishop of Portland, April 22, 1855, by Archbishop Hughes. He died, November 5, 1874.

2. His successor was the Right Rev. James Augustine Healy, born at Macon, Ga., April 6, 1830, and ordained, June 10, 1854, at Paris. He was appointed Bishop of Portland, February 12, 1875, and was consecrated, June 2, 1875. He died, August 5, 1900.

3. His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell was the third Bishop of Portland. (*See Boston.*)

4. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Louis Sebastian Walsh, born at Salem, Mass., January 22, 1858, and ordained at Rome, December 23, 1882. He was appointed Bishop of Portland, August 3, 1906, and was consecrated, October 18, 1906.

##### 5. SPRINGFIELD (1870)

The Diocese of Springfield was erected, June 23, 1870, by Pope Pius IX and comprises five counties of central and western Massachusetts, with an area of 4,378 square miles, a little over half of the entire State. The foundation of the Church was laid in this region by the Irish immigrants who came about 1826 and later to build canals and railroads and to build and operate factories. The first Church in the territory occupied by the Diocese of Springfield was begun at Worcester in 1834 and the

first resident pastor came in 1841. From this humble beginning, there has grown a Diocese which now has 379 priests, 205 churches, and a Catholic population of 327,468.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Patrick Thomas O'Reilly, born in County Cavan, Ireland, December 24, 1833, and ordained, August 15, 1857. He was made Bishop of Springfield, June 28, 1870, and was consecrated, September 25, 1870. He died, May 28, 1892.

2. The present bishop is the Right Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, born at Springfield, March 1, 1851, and ordained at Montreal, December 18, 1875. He was appointed, August 9, 1892, and was consecrated, October 18, 1892.

#### 6. PROVIDENCE (1872)

The Diocese of Providence, erected by Pope Pius IX, February 17, 1872, embraces the whole State of Rhode Island. It originally included also that portion of southeastern Massachusetts which is now in the Diocese of Fall River. Its area is 1,085 square miles. The first land acquired for church purposes was purchased in Newport, in 1828, and it was only in 1837 that a church was built in Providence. Now there are in the Diocese 225 priests, 108 churches and 45 chapels, with a Catholic population of 275,000, more than half of the whole.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. Thomas Francis Hendricken, born at Kilkenny, Ireland, May 5, 1827, and ordained in 1851. He was consecrated, April 28, 1872, and died, June 11, 1886.

2. The present bishop, the Right Rev. Matthew Harkins, was born at Boston, November 17, 1845, and was ordained at Paris in 1869. He was appointed Bishop of Providence, February 11, 1887.

The Right Rev. Thomas F. Doran was appointed titular Bishop of Halicarnassus and Auxiliary of Providence, February 26, 1915, and was consecrated, April 28, 1915. He died January 3, 1916.

#### 7. MANCHESTER (1884)

The State of New Hampshire was detached from the Diocese of Portland and was erected into the Diocese of Manchester by Pope Leo XIII, May 4, 1884, with an area of 9,305 square miles. The first priest to be permanently located in New Hampshire was the Rev. Virgil Barber, whom Bishop Cheverus in 1822 sent to Claremont, his native town, there to form the first Catholic parish in the State. Eight years later a small church was built at Dover.<sup>12</sup> In 1915, the Diocese of Manchester has 143

<sup>12</sup> *Cath. Encyc.* vol. x, p. 787.



priests, 108 churches and 61 chapels and stations, with a Catholic population of 134,000.

1. The first Bishop of Manchester was the Right Rev. Denis M. Bradley, born in Ireland, February 23, 1846, and ordained, June 3, 1871. He was consecrated, June 11, 1884, and died, December 13, 1903.

2. The second bishop was the Right Rev. John Bernard Delaney, born at Lowell, Mass., August 9, 1864, and ordained, May 23, 1891. He was consecrated, September 8, 1904, and died, June 11, 1906.

3. The present bishop is the Right Rev. George Albert Guertin, born at Nashua, New Hampshire, February 17, 1869. He was appointed Bishop of Manchester, January 2, 1907, and was consecrated, March 19, 1907.

#### 8. FALL RIVER (1904)

The Diocese of Fall River, erected March 12, 1904, comprises several counties and towns of southeastern Massachusetts, which had until that time formed a part of the Diocese of Providence. It has an area of 1,194 square miles. It has the distinction of being the first Diocese erected by the late Pope, Pius X. It has 162 priests and 91 churches and a Catholic population of 173,366.

1. The first bishop was the Right Rev. William Stang, born in Germany in 1854, and ordained, at Louvain, in 1878. He was appointed Bishop of Fall River, March 12, 1904, and was consecrated, May 1, 1904. He died, February 2, 1907.

2. The present bishop, the Right Rev. Daniel Francis Feehan, was born at Athol, Mass., September 24, 1855. He was made Bishop of Fall River, July 2, 1907, and was consecrated, September 19, 1907.

RIGHT REV. OWEN B. CORRIGAN, D.D.,  
*Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore.*

(To be continued)

## MISCELLANY

### I.

#### THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

Among the Catholic laymen who visited Baltimore in 1884, on the occasion of the Third Plenary Council, perhaps the most distinguished was the Catholic historian, John Gilmary Shea. He had been invited to attend the Council by a number of the prelates with a view of furthering his project of writing a history of Catholicism in the United States. Of course this formed no official part of the proceedings, but the publication of Shea's *History*, though unofficial was perhaps one of its most important fruits. The fathers not only efficiently encouraged Dr. Shea's scheme by word and deed, but kindled a zeal for the cultivation of the national Catholic history throughout the length and breadth of the great republic. It was to the Third Council of Baltimore that the United States Catholic Historical Society owes its existence.

The Council closed on the seventh of December, 1884. Two days afterwards, a number of gentlemen interested in history, at the invitation of Dr. John Gilmary Shea and Dr. Richard H. Clarke, met at the office of the Catholic Protectory in New York City. The assembly did not exclusively consist of New Yorkers. Its president, Right Rev. John Ireland, D.D., and several of its members came directly from the Council of Baltimore. The feeling of the gentlemen present was that the bishops, and not least Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan, had inspired the project launched in the name of Drs. Shea and Clarke, and this was confirmed by a number of letters of encouragement from the various prelates. As usual on such occasions, the chairman was doomed to listen to many high-sounding platitudes, but the upshot of the whole was the appointment of a committee of three to draft a constitution. I had the misfortune of being one of the three, the other two members being Messrs. Shea and Clarke. Why I was named is still a mystery to me. The honor cost me some weary hours and brought but little profit to the infant society.

As was but natural, Messrs. Shea and Clarke, being both the older and the better men, had undertaken the task of drafting the constitution which, while not deficient in zeal and ambition, was perhaps lacking in sobriety. The next meeting, which took place on December 17, in the parlor of the Xavier Union, accepted the Constitution reported and proceeded to the election of officers. Dr. Shea's name was recommended by the nominating committee for the presidency, but, in spite of every effort to make him accept, he persisted in declining and Dr. Clarke was chosen in his stead. It is needless to go over the troubles which resulted from this substitution. Suffice it to say that for a time the very existence of the Society was in doubt. Dr. Clarke's resignation poured oil on the troubled waters and Mr. Frederick R. Coudert was elected

<sup>1</sup> This article from the pen of Dr. Charles J. Herbermann, Ph. D., for many years the President of the United States Catholic Historical Society, is the last historical work by that eminent scholar, having been written for this REVIEW some few weeks before his death, August 24, 1916.

Mr. Clarke's successor. Meantime the years 1884-1885 and the greater part of 1886 had rolled by and there was little sign of life on the part of the Historical Society. Finally, a publishing committee was appointed with Dr. Shea at its head, and it was resolved to start the activity of the Society by publishing a quarterly magazine. The first number appeared January 1, 1887, and its title was *The Catholic Historical Magazine*. It was distinguished for the large number of contributors hailing from every part of the United States and perhaps still more for the great number of themes presented to the reader. While all of these were interesting, naturally this interest was in many instances rather curious than important. It showed, however, the vast historical learning of the veteran historian, and subsequent numbers introduced new and different features. Dr. Shea, it was, that set the example of what the Society in after times called Historical Monographs, when he presented to the readers of the *Magazine* a full translation of Torfason's *Vinland*. We may also draw attention to such articles as Bishop Bruté's scheme of a history of Catholicity in the United States; Richard R. Elliott's *History of Detroit*; Bishop Ryan's *Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries*; Bishop Shahan's articles on *Christopher Davenport* and on *The Catholic Church in Connecticut*; Shea's *Why Canada is not a part of the United States*; Rev. Arthur J. Connolly's *Rev. Francis A. Matignon, First Pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross, Boston, Massachusetts*; Charles Constantine Pise's article on *Rev. Demetrius A. Gallitzin*; Bishop-elect Grassel's *Letters to his Parents*; Father Escalante's *Account of the Indian Insurrection in New Mexico in 1680*; Vallette's *German Missions in Eastern Pennsylvania*; Vallette's *Diocese of Brooklyn*; Cardinal Gibbons's *Reminiscences of the Vicariate Apostolic of North Carolina*; Rev. J. A. Walter's *Surratt Case*; Congressman Weadock's *A Catholic Priest in Congress, a Sketch of Rev. Gabriel Richard*; Shea's article on *Catholic Losses in America*; Richard R. Elliott's *Translation and Annotation of the Account Book of the Huron Mission, 1743-1781*; Archbishop Odin's *Missionary Life in Texas Fifty Years Ago*; Charles W. Sloane's *Charles O'Connor*; George A. Mulry's *Pictures of Missionary Life in Charles County*; Congressman Weadock's *Père Marquette, The Missionary Explorer*.

The *Magazine* was published quarterly and appeared with fair regularity from 1888-1892, four years in all. In 1890 the editor, Dr. Shea, was also elected president of the Society and the members all expected that this would inaugurate a new era of prosperity. But this was not to be. In 1891, the veteran editor became the victim of protracted illness, but through his friends in the Society made heroic efforts to carry on the work. Still, when the old historian was called to his reward on Washington's birthday in the year 1892, it soon became apparent that it was, at least for the present, impossible to issue our publication as a regular quarterly.

It was therefore resolved to publish our contributions to history as *Transactions and Proceedings*. The first sign of renewed activity was the issue of a *Columbus Memorial Volume* undertaken by a committee consisting of Dr. Vallette and the present writer.

It would be improper to omit on the present occasion the names of the gentlemen who, after President Coudert, presided over the fortunes of the Society. They included, besides Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, the distinguished

physician, Doctor Thomas Addis Emmet and his substitute, Vice-president Charles W. Sloane. These gentlemen gave their utmost endeavors to promote the cause of the Historical Society. But an evil star seemed to have presided over its fate ever since its foundation. The principal cause of the trouble was the mistaken policy of starting with exaggerated pretensions, probably due to the fact that we were the offspring of a Plenary Council and had the patronage of the entire hierarchy of the country. Our own subsequent history under the leadership of Dr. Shea, and it seems to me of all literary societies, proves that success depends more upon the vigor and ability of a few energetic gentlemen than upon the great number of its patrons. The latter are unquestionably very desirable, but the absence of the former is fatal. Then the feeling that we ought to have a library and a home had invaded many heads who forgot to realize that these aspirations demanded much capital and that such projects tend to localize the interests of the Society, i. e., to withdraw from its membership many scattered throughout the Union who wished to feel that the Society was truly the creation of the whole country and would remain its property.

From 1893 to 1897 the United States Catholic Historical Society slumbered in a state of coma. To the late Archbishop Corrigan and to the late Patrick Farrelly its resurrection was chiefly due, but especially to Archbishop Corrigan. Mr. Farrelly was at first inclined to work for a society on the plan of the Historical Society of Philadelphia, with social features and a library as perhaps the dominating element. But when the Archbishop discussed these plans with the revised Council of the Society, the difficulties connected therewith became clearly apparent. Nothing therefore remained except an inglorious death or a vigorous attempt to start anew, basing our claims to success on the results we should be able to present. The Archbishop and the Council did not hesitate. Much to my surprise I was chosen the president and editor. The number of active members that could be depended upon was stated as twenty-five, besides a couple of dozen of life members. Moreover, there were investments which on being liquidated brought twenty-five hundred or three thousand dollars. But the spirit of the gentlemen associated with me who, besides Archbishop Corrigan and his Vicar General, the present Cardinal, Archbishop Farley, included those noble-minded merchants Patrick and Stephen Farrelly, Monsignors McGean and Brann, Father Campbell, S.J., Dr. Vallette, and later Messrs. John E. Cahalan, Thomas F. Meehan, Edward J. McGuire, Peter Condon and other gentlemen, conquered success. Modesty and labor were our watchword and besides our good will we had nothing to appeal to except our results. When the late Archbishop and the present Cardinal promised me to contribute, the one, his *Register of the Clergy* and the other, his *Reminiscences of Cardinal McCloskey*, I knew that we had the most solid foundation of hope, and this hope was rendered a certainty by the papers of Monsignors Brann and McGean, Fathers Campbell and Spillane and my lay friends who have been named above. To these were added the valuable article of the distinguished discoverer of the Waldseemüller map and learned cartographer, Father Fischer of Feldkirch, and the articles of the great Indian scholar, Dr. Adolph Bandelier.

In later days our staff has been increased by prominent western authorities in history, such as Magr. O'Brien, of Kalamazoo, Rev. William J. Howlett, of

Nerinckx and Rev. J. L. Zaplotnik, of Omaha. It is but justice to state that to all these gentlemen their historical work has been a labor of love, not one of them having received any remuneration for their work. The increase of our membership list is almost wholly the result of natural causes. We have never advertised nor sent out agents to solicit new members.

This paper would be incomplete without saying a word on the prospect of Catholic history in the future. When we look at the achievements of our historians in the past, it seems clear at first sight that they have devoted most of their efforts to our missionary period. Nor is this surprising. For as man's youth is more attractive than his manhood and old age, so the early days of nations and churches are fuller of romance and attractions than their history when they are fully organized. Shea's first work dealt with the discovery of the Mississippi and the work of the early Jesuit missionaries, and proved so alluring that even non-Catholic writers like Kip and Parkman were led to take up the theme. The practical re-discovery of the *Neue Welt-Bott* has opened a new field in the direction of missionary records. The *Welt-Bott* does for the south and southwest of our country what the *Jesuit Relations* did for the north, and the reporters as in the latter case were again Jesuit missionaries. Why did the records of the south lie neglected so long? Because they were written in the German instead of in the French language. By saying this we are far from charging national prejudice or chauvinism to our earlier historians. Their preference for the French was due to the fact that our early investigators knew French and were not acquainted with German, not to national likes or dislikes. As the work of the German missionaries in the south and the presentation of the results possess no less interest than the story of the *Jesuit Relations*, we are hardly rash in foretelling that when presented in an English dress they will be equally fascinating.

When we reach the historical records of the first century of the United States we meet with a somewhat similar state of affairs. The prelates and bishops of this period were too busy with their pastoral work to give much attention to preserving the records. In fact, the greater part of our history would have disappeared or been forgotten if it were not for the charity of our European brethren. We have at present only an inadequate conception of how much we owe to Europe and, I may add, to the Spanish-American Catholics. We should have no idea of it, if our French, Austrian and German benefactors had not preserved the touching expressions of gratitude in which our prelates and priests acknowledged the generosity of the Catholics of the eastern hemisphere. For the same reasons as those stated before, we were made acquainted with the French *Propagation de la Foi* earlier than with the *Jahrbücher der Glaubensverbreitung*, though the Austrians and Germans probably aided us more strenuously than our French brethren. It is in reminding our Catholic fellow countrymen of these generous benefactions, made when we were helpless and stood most in need of them, that the Catholic historian can now most efficiently help the cause of Catholic American history. In doing this we hope that we shall not make the mistake of counting the aid afforded simply by the francs, florins and crowns sent. When the Europeans sent us their dollars, they sent us most frequently what was much more valuable than dollars, apostles and new Catholic

brethren, sometimes better acquainted with the spirit of the organized Catholic Church than the Catholics who had grown up here in a semi-Catholic condition, and with specimens of Catholic art.

We are pleased that in your initial number the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has drawn the attention of its scholars and readers to the work of the Leopoldine Society of Vienna. We ourselves have similarly called the attention of our members to the great work of the *Ludwigs Missionsverein* of Munich. Dr. Kagerer's address published in Vol. ix of the *Historical Records and Studies* has been an eye-opener to us. We knew that this society had rendered great services to American Catholicity reckoned in dollars and cents, but few of us are aware that we owe to them the Benedictine Fathers, the Sisters of St. Dominic, the School Sisters of Notre Dame and many Liguorian and Jesuit missionaries whose names have become a household word in the land. By drawing attention to such facts instead of confining their statements to the money charities, the historian will impress on us the truth that we owe much of our present feeling of unity both in Church and State to the generosity of our kind brethren in Europe.

This leads us to remark that there are many other features in the activity of the Church which the future historian of Catholicity in America should emphasize much more than our pioneer historians have done. Apart from the missionary chapters, many of our Catholic histories read partly like pages of a ledger and partly like catalogues of bishops and priests. We thank them for what they offer us. But, of course, we feel that this is making us acquainted with the skeleton rather than the heart of Christ's Church. We hear nothing of the wonderful charity offered by the older Catholics to their immigrant brethren, nothing of the unifying influence effected by Catholic charity and beneficence, nothing of the state aiding and civilizing influence that makes a Catholic priest and church a substitute for many policemen, nothing of the prejudice-dispelling work of the Catholic citizen, nothing of the help and encouragement given to all forms of the noblest art, nothing of the moral and civil action of the Catholic schools, nothing of the wonderful and blending power of the Church and its benevolent force in all directions. We have here spoken in general. But we could without difficulty give the names and facts concerning, for instance, some Pennsylvania parishes where the pastor made himself the loadstones of attraction for successive congregations of Germans, Irish, Czechs, Slovaks and Italians by preaching in their various tongues, which he had learned one after another.

But I have said enough, it seems to me, to convince not only the student but the interested Catholic and citizen that many tasks of the greatest importance still await the Catholic historian. That the Catholic University should have taken up this work and made so earnest and successful a beginning is a source of hope and confidence for us all. We welcome our youngest and our strongest brother.

CHARLES G. HERBERMANN.

## 2.

## THE SPIRITUAL ANCESTRY OF THE AMERICAN, ENGLISH AND AUSTRALIAN HIERARCHIES

In the article on Lulworth Castle, which appeared in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for October, 1915, a short note on page 253 referred to the remarkable fact that the episcopal hierarchies now ruling in the United States, in England and in Australia, all derive their origin from the famous English Benedictine Bishop, Charles Walmesley, who ruled the Western District of England as Vicar Apostolic for nearly half the eighteenth century. The following article with its genealogical table has been written to substantiate and explain the claim thus made, but it is necessary to go back somewhat before Bishop Walmesley's time if we are to see clearly how it is that the English Benedictines, and Downside Abbey in particular, have come to fill so prominent a place in the spiritual descent of the Catholic Church in the three countries mentioned above.

On January 12, 1688, the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* passed a decree, *ad instantiam Jacobi II, Franciæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ regis*, by which England and Wales were divided into four Districts, each to be ruled by a Vicar Apostolic, instead of the whole kingdom forming one single vicariate, as had been arranged three years earlier. These four new divisions were to be known as the London, Midland, Northern and Western Districts respectively, and the last named received as its first Vicar Apostolic, Dom Philip Michael Ellis, O.S.B., who was appointed by letters apostolic dated January 30, 1688, the nomination being made on King James's personal recommendation.

Philip Ellis, in religion Dom Michael, was born in 1653. The third son of a Protestant clergyman, Rev. John Ellis, Rector of Waddesdon, Bucks, by his wife Susannah Welbore, he became a Catholic while still a pupil at Westminster School, and at once proceeded to the Benedictine college of St. Gregory the Great at Douay—now Downside Abbey, near Bath, England—where he subsequently entered the novitiate and made his profession as a Benedictine monk on November 30, 1670. After completing his studies and being ordained priest, he was sent on the English mission and formed one of the community of Benedictines which was established at the chapel royal in St. James's Palace, London. Here his abilities soon attracted notice, he was appointed a chaplain and preacher in ordinary to the king, and, on receiving his briefs as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, was consecrated at St. James's on May 6, 1688, with the title of Bishop of Aureliopolis *in partibus infidelium*. Within a few months the revolution which cost King James his throne broke out, and Bishop Ellis was forced to leave England. For some years he resided in Rome, and in 1708 was translated to the see of Segni in the Roman Campagna, where he built the episcopal seminary and died, full of good works, on November 16, 1726.

The connection originated in this way between the Western District and the English Benedictines of St. Gregory's, Douai, was destined to be a long one, for although the next Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Matthew Prichard, was a Franciscan of St. Bonaventure's convent, Douai, the district came into Benedictine hands once more by the appointment of Dom Laurence York, O.S.B.,

THE SPIRITUAL ANCESTRY OF THE AMERICAN, ENGLISH AND AUSTRALIAN HIERARCHIES.  
TABLE SHOWING THE LINE OF SUCCESSION

With Date and Place of Consecration

CHARLES WALMESLEY, O.S.B., V.A. of the Western District,  
21 December, 1756, at the English College, Rome, by Cardinal Lanti.

WILLIAM GIBSON, V.A. of Northern District, 5 December, 1790, at Lulworth Castle.	JOHN CARROLL, Abp. of BALTIMORE, U. S. A., 15 August, 1790, at Lulworth Castle.
JOHN DOUGLAS, V.A. of London District, 19 December, 1790, at Lulworth Castle.	
WILLIAM POYNTER, V.A. of London District, 29 May, 1803, at St. Edmund's College, Ware.	
THOMAS PENSWICK, V.A. of Northern District, 29 June, 1824, at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.	JAMES YORKE BRAMSTONE, V.A. of London District, 29 June, 1823, at St. Edmund's College, Ware.
JOHN BRIGGS, V.A. of Northern District, 29 June, 1833, at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.	WILLIAM PLACID MORRIS, O.S.B., V.A. of Mauritius, etc., 3 February, 1832, at St. Edmund's College, Ware.
WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE, O.S.B., V.A. of Western District, 21 June, 1846, at St. Osburg's, Coventry.	JOHN BEDE FOLDING, O.S.B., V.A. of New Holland, & later Abp. of Sydney, New South Wales, 29 June, 1834, at Bp. Bramston's Chapel, London.
HENRY EDWARD MANNING, Abp. of Westminster & Cardinal, 8 June, 1865, at St. Mary's, Moorfields, London.	
HERBERT VAUGHAN, Bp. of Salford, & Cardinal Abp. of Westminster, 28 October, 1872, at St. John's Cathedral, Salford.	ROGER BEDE VAUGHAN, O.S.B., Abp. of Sydney, New South Wales, 19 March, 1873, at St. Vincent de Paul's, Liverpool.
FRANCIS BOURNE, Bp. of Southwark, & Cardinal Abp. of Westminster, 1 May, 1896, at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark.	



who was consecrated in 1741 as coadjutor to Bishop Prichard *cum jure successionis*, and became Vicar Apostolic on the latter's death in 1750.

Dom Laurence York was born in London in the year 1687, and was educated at St. Gregory's, Douai, where he made his profession as a monk on December 28, 1705, being ordained priest about six years later. After acting as *cellerarius* of his monastery, he was sent on the English mission in the North Province in 1720, but was recalled to France in the following year to fill the post of Prior of the monastery of St. Edmund in Paris, and in 1725 he became Prior of his own monastery of St. Gregory at Douai. Four years later he resigned that office and returned to the English mission, being stationed at Bath, where he was living in 1741 at the time of his appointment as coadjutor to Bishop Prichard. Early in 1756, Bishop York, being then sixty-nine years old, applied to the Holy See for a coadjutor, naming Dr. Charles Walmesley as *dignissimus* for the position, and Propaganda appointed him on April 6, 1756. For some unexplained reason his consecration was delayed many months, and it was not until December 21 of the same year, that he received the episcopal unction at the hands of Cardinal Lanti, in the Sodality Chapel of the English College, Rome, with the title of Bishop of Ramatha, *i.p.i.*<sup>1</sup>

Dom Charles Walmesley, fifth son of John Walmesley, Esq., of Westwood House, near Wigan, Lancashire, by his wife Mary Greaves, was born at Westwood on January 13, 1722, being the youngest but one of their twelve children. While still quite a boy he was sent to St. Gregory's at Douai to be educated, and the high distinction in mathematics and astronomy that he later attained speaks well for the grounding he received in that school, of which his elder brother, Dom Richard Peter Walmesley, was Prefect of Studies for no less than fifty years.

In 1738 he entered the Benedictine order, but, instead of joining his brother at St. Gregory's, received the habit and made his profession in the monastery of St. Edmund at Paris. The precise reason for this step is not known, but not improbably the greater opportunities for higher studies which would be offered by residence in the capital may have had some influence in his choice of a monastery; the more so since we find him soon afterwards a student at the Sorbonne, where he took the degree of D.D. Later on he won such eminence by his writings on astronomical and mathematical subjects, that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London and also of the kindred Academies of Paris, Berlin and Bologna, besides being chosen as the official adviser of the British Government on the change from the "old style" to the new.

From 1749 to 1753 he held the office of Prior of St. Edmunds, and on resigning that post became *Procurator in Curia Romana* to the English Benedictine Congregation, which position he was holding at the time of his selection as coadjutor to Bishop York. The *relatio* which was laid before Propaganda by Cardinal Lanti on the subject of his appointment exists among the archives there and is a somewhat unusual document, owing to the emphasis laid by the

<sup>1</sup> The title of his see is usually given as "Rama," but this seems to be merely an alternative form of the same name, that of a small city in Palestine. In all official documents he appears as *Episcopus Ramathensis*.

Cardinal on Dom Walmesley's personal qualities. He is described in it as "being then 35 years old, of pleasing, nay of captivating manners, and commended by King James (the old Pretender) as of high birth (*cavaliers di nascita*) and of singular ability in mathematics;" and the whole document suggests that he already showed the exceptional qualities which were to appear so strongly in later years when he was brought into opposition with the "Catholic Committee," and by his strong action prevented that body from compromising the English Catholics, as a whole, in the way they would certainly have done but for his determined stand.

In 1768, Bishop York obtained permission to retire to his monastery at Douai, and thenceforth Dr. Walmesley administered the Vicariate. There is no need to speak here of his work in that capacity, though his exceptional ability and energy attracted to him an amount of notice seldom paid to an English Catholic bishop in the eighteenth century. Indeed his high reputation made him an object of special attack in the Gordon riots of 1780, when a post-chaise, bearing the insignia of the mob, conveyed four of the rioters the whole way from London to Bath, where they so worked upon the people that the new Catholic chapel in St. James's Parade was burned to the ground, together with Dr. Walmesley's presbytery in Bell-tree Lane; all the diocesan archives with the bishop's private library and MSS. perishing in the flames.

What does concern us, however, is Bishop Walmesley's position as father of the three great English-speaking hierarchies named above. The death of Bishop Challoner, in January, 1781, had left Dr. Walmesley as the senior Vicar Apostolic in England, and it was therefore to him that Fr. John Carroll applied for consecration on receiving the briefs appointing him first Catholic Bishop in the United States of America. An additional reason for selecting Bishop Walmesley as the consecrating prelate was furnished by a promise Fr. Carroll had made to Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, near Wareham, Dorsetshire, that in the event of his being raised to the episcopate he would come to Lulworth for his consecration; and that chapel, being situated in the Western District, of course, came under Dr. Walmesley's jurisdiction.

By special dispensation of the Holy See, the consecration was performed by one prelate only, without assistant bishops, and it took place in the recently erected church at Lulworth on August 15, 1790. The only contemporary account of the event is contained in a pamphlet printed at London the same year, and reprinted in facsimile for the Historical Club of New York in 1876; this, however, is well known and need not be further mentioned here. It is worthy of notice that Bishop Carroll's appointment put an end to the curious anomaly of jurisdiction by which the Catholics of the United States were subject to the English Vicar Apostolic of the London District. This arrangement had lasted for many years in spite of the obvious difficulties which it involved, but the recognition of American Independence by Great Britain some years earlier had made it frankly impossible, and we may well believe that its termination was welcomed on both sides.

There is still extant a letter of Bishop Carroll to Archbishop Troy, dated July 23, 1790, in which he writes that he would naturally have turned to Ireland

or to Canada for consecration, had he not already promised "unwarily" to be consecrated in Mr. Weld's chapel at Lulworth. Historically speaking, however, it must be acknowledged that, since his vast diocese had so long been an adjunct to one of the English Vicariates, it was only fitting that the episcopal hierarchy which originated in him should take its descent from the same spiritual stock, and so be united in its pedigree with the English hierarchy rather than with the Irish or Canadian ones. From this one Bishop of the United States of America there has developed the present immense hierarchy, with its fourteen Archbishops, ninety-seven suffragan Bishops and Vicars Apostolic, a growth far beyond all precedent in the history of the Catholic Church.

It seems clear that what Bishop Carroll saw of the English Benedictine monks during his visit to England must have impressed him very favorably, since in 1794 he began negotiations for a foundation in Maryland, to be made by the community of St. Gregory's, Douai. Unfortunately the Reign of Terror supervened, the monks of St. Gregory's were imprisoned for nearly two years, and when eventually they were set at liberty and allowed to return to England, the struggle for their very existence was far too severe to permit any thought of making new foundations.<sup>1</sup>

Less than four months after Bishop Carroll's consecration, Dr. Walmesley was called upon to perform a like office for Bishop William Gibson, who had been appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District on the death of his elder brother, Bishop Matthew Gibson, in May, 1790. This event also took place at Lulworth, on December 5, 1790, and as will be seen by a glance at the table printed above, it forms the first link in the chain of bishops which eventually bifurcates to form the present hierarchies of Australia and England. Before tracing out these branches, however, we must conclude our account of Bishop Walmesley.

In 1780, ten years before the date we have reached, he had obtained a coadjutor in the person of Dom William Gregory Sharrock, O.S.B., at that time Prior of St. Gregory's, Douai, who was consecrated by him at Wardour Castle on August 12, 1780, as Bishop of Telmessia, *i.p.i.* and *coadjutor cum jure successionis*.<sup>2</sup> After 1790, age and infirmity began to tell upon Bishop Walmesley, he gradually left the active work of his vicariate more and more to his coadjutor, and he died in Bath on November 25, 1797. His body was buried in a vault beneath St. Joseph's chapel, Trenchard Street, Bristol, where still stands his lengthy epitaph in Latin from the pen of Fr. Charles Plowden, S.J., who had acted for many years as chaplain at Lulworth and had preached the

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<sup>1</sup> It may be of interest to mention that this long delayed scheme for an American foundation from St. Gregory's seems to be at length in prospect of fulfilment. At the present moment there is in the novitiate at Downside Abbey a small body of American priests and laymen who hope, when their period of probation is concluded, to return to the United States of America and establish there a monastery on the traditional lines of the English Benedictine Congregation. May Providence favor their design!

<sup>2</sup> The new church at Lulworth Castle, in which Bishops Carroll, Gibson and Douglas were consecrated, was not built until 1786.

sermon at Bishop Carroll's consecration. In 1906, certain structural alterations to this building were found imperative, and the authorities ordered the removal of the bodies interred in the vaults beneath. By special permission of the Home Secretary, the body of Bishop Walmesley was translated to Downside Abbey, where it now lies on the south side of the sanctuary beneath a beautiful altar tomb with recumbent effigy and canopy above, the cost of which was most fittingly borne by those bishops of the American and English hierarchies whose spiritual ancestry unites in him. Thus, more than a century after his death, his body has come into the charge of that same community of St. Gregory's, to whose school at Douai he came as a pupil close upon 200 years ago.

As shown in the pedigree table, the chain of bishops from Dr. Walmesley continues through Bishops John Douglas and William Poynter to Bishop James Yorke Bramston, who appears as the consecrator of two more Benedictines, both of them monks of the St. Gregory's community, in whom the hierarchy of Australia takes its rise.

The origin of the Church of Australia is a story full of romantic interest and has been told at length by Dom Norbert Birt in his two large volumes, "Benedictine Pioneers in Australia" (London, 1911); here we have space only for the briefest outline.

In 1810 the island of Mauritius was ceded to Great Britain by France. Previously it had been ruled in matters ecclesiastical by the Archbishop of Paris, but the British Government very naturally felt that such an arrangement was no longer desirable, and after long negotiation with the Holy See conducted through the Vicar Apostolic of the London District as an intermediary, a brief was issued on March 11, 1819, by which the island was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris and transferred with all its dependencies to the charge of the Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, a new vicariate which had been established only the year before. The territory included in this prelate's jurisdiction was enormous, for it comprised the whole of South Africa as far north as the Sahara desert, including the island of St. Helena on the western side,<sup>4</sup> the islands of Madagascar and Mauritius, the entire continent of Australia "with the adjacent islands," an inclusive term which embraced not only Tasmania and the islands off the immediate coast of Australia, but also New Zealand, which is about 1,000 miles eastward, and all the Polynesian islands, should any of them be colonized later! No wonder Bishop Morris used to say in after years: "I was bishop of half the world!"

The first Vicar Apostolic to rule over this vast territory was Dom Edward Bede Slater, O.S.B., an English Benedictine of St. Lawrence's, Ampleforth, Yorkshire, but he was never able to do anything for Australia beyond issuing faculties to some three or four government chaplains who had been sent out for the benefit of the convicts transported thither. On his death in 1830 he was succeeded by Dom Placid Morris, O.S.B., a monk of St. Gregory's, Downside, who was consecrated by Bishop Bramston at St. Edmund's, Ware, on February 5, 1832, with the title of Bishop of Troy, *i.p.i.*

<sup>4</sup> The archives of Mauritius still contain a copy of the faculties granted to the chaplain in St. Helena to attend to the spiritual needs of the Emperor Napoleon.

Dr. Morris, realizing that he could not possibly give personal attention to the whole of his immense vicariate, applied for help to his brethren at Downside and secured the services of Dom Bernard Ullathorne, whom he named as his Vicar-General for Australia and sent out with full powers to Sydney, where he arrived in February, 1833. The state of affairs he found there, and the appalling need of priests, are described with vivid detail in Dr. Ullathorne's well-known autobiography. Here it is enough to say that he soon became convinced of the absolute necessity for a resident bishop—a letter to his Superior in Mauritius took about five months to be answered—and he besieged the Holy See and the Home Government with memorials on the subject. The facts he revealed made a deep impression, both authorities acted with unusual promptitude, and on June 29, 1834, Dom John Bede Polding, O.S.B., who like Bishop Morris and Dr. Ullathorne was a monk of St. Gregory's, Downside, was consecrated by Bishop Bramston at his private chapel in London, with the title of Hiero-Caesarea, *i.p.i.*, and Vicar Apostolic of New Holland.

This is not the place to enlarge upon the wonderful work achieved by Archbishop Polding and his devoted band of fellow laborers among the luckless population, composed largely of convicts, ex-convicts and their descendants, which then peopled the most neglected portion of the British empire alike from a civil and religious point of view. But it is only just to his memory to say that he ranks among the greatest apostles of the Church in any age, and that his work in the development of the Australian Church places him in a position as unique and noteworthy as that of Archbishop Carroll in America.

In 1842, the beginnings of a hierarchy were established in Australia, Dr. Polding becoming first Archbishop of Sydney and Primate, with two suffragan sees at Hobart Town and Adelaide. Today the lands which formed his original vicariate are ruled by seven Archbishops, with sixteen suffragan Bishops and eleven Vicars Apostolic.

In the case of the Australian hierarchy, however, the connection with Downside was destined to be one of great intimacy and considerable duration. On February 24, 1848, Dom Henry Charles Davis, another Downside monk, was consecrated by Bishop Ullathorne (who had become Vicar Apostolic of the Western District in 1846) as Bishop of Maitland in New South Wales. This prelate, who also acted as assistant to Archbishop Polding, died in 1854 while still quite a young man, and thus the Primate was again left without an assistant. In 1873, however, he obtained the appointment of a coadjutor *cum jure successionis* in the person of Dom Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B., the most prominent member of the Downside community at the date in question, then acting as Cathedral Prior of Belmont, near Hereford, who was consecrated on March 19, 1873, by H. E. Cardinal Manning at St. Vincent de Paul's Church, Liverpool, with the title of Archbishop of Nazianzum, *i.p.i.* On Archbishop Polding's death in March, 1877, Dr. Vaughan succeeded him as second Archbishop of Sydney, and he soon made for himself a position of such outstanding authority that the occupant of that see has ever since been regarded by all classes and sects as the first representative of religion in Australia. At his death, in April,

1883, the connection between Downside and the Australian Church came to an end.

A few words must still be said with regard to the English branch of the pedigree given above. A glance at the table will show that from Dr. Poynter the line descends through Bishops Thomas Penswick and John Briggs, both Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District, to Dom William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B., the Downside monk mentioned above in connection with Australia, who soon after his return to England was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, and consecrated on June 21, 1846, at St. Osburg's, Coventry, with the title of Bishop of Hetalonia, *i.p.i.* The career of this distinguished prelate and writer is too well known to need a detailed treatment here. In 1848 he was transferred to the Central District, and on the restoration of the English hierarchy in 1850 became first Bishop of Birmingham. On the death of Cardinal Wiseman in 1865, Bishop Ullathorne was one of those most widely spoken of for the archiepiscopal see of Westminster, and although he was not chosen for that high position, it fell to his lot to consecrate Dr. H. E. Manning, the new Archbishop-elect. The ceremony took place on June 8, 1865, at St. Mary's, Moorfields, London, the assistant prelates being Dr. Turner, Bishop of Salford, and Dr. T. J. Browne, Bishop of Newport and Menevia, who like Dr. Ullathorne was a Downside monk. From this line, through Cardinal Manning and his two successors, Cardinal Vaughan and Cardinal Bourne, all the present English bishops are descended, with one exception.

It will thus be seen that the claim of the English Benedictine Congregation to be the spiritual ancestors of the present episcopal hierarchies in America, Australia and England is a well-founded one, and indeed it is singularly appropriate that this should be so. For not only were the first apostles, who came from Rome to England by command of St. Gregory the Great, both monks and Benedictines, but of the ancient English cathedrals no less than twelve remained in Benedictine hands until the breach with Rome, so that in the past the Benedictine strain was a strong permanent element in the constitution of the English Church. But more than this, while the Reformation saw the monasteries suppressed, the cathedrals and parish churches pillaged and stolen, and the ancient hierarchy brought to an end, the English Benedictine Congregation has survived without a break in its continuity since the coming of St. Augustine in 597 until the present day. In all the annals of the English Church during the dark days of the penal laws, there is probably no event in which the hand of Providence appears more strangely than in the preservation of the aged monk of Westminster, Dom Sigebert Buckley, through a lifetime of persecution and imprisonment, until he could affiliate and graft into the ancient stock the young English monks who had received the habit of St. Benedict in one of the continental Congregations, and thus perpetuate in them and their foundations all the rights and privileges of the ancient English Benedictines. Thus through its Benedictine origin the present English episcopate is knit in with the line of St. Augustine, and with it the vigorous new hierarchies, which have grown up so wonderfully to spread the faith of St. Gregory in lands of which he never dreamed, are united in a common spiritual ancestry, which is itself a striking

testimony to the unity and catholicity of the Church. In Fr. Plowden's epitaph to Bishop Walmesley, written more than 100 years ago, occur the following words, which read today like the utterance of a prophet, and with them this article may close:

Hic situs est  
CAROLUS WALMESLEY  
e sacra Benedicti Patris familia  
Episcopus Ramathensis  
cuius auctoritate et constantia  
CATHOLICAE FIDEI INTEGRITAS VINDICATA  
CATHOLICORUM CONCORDIA PARTA EST

G. ROGER HUDLESTON, O.S.B.,  
*Downside Abbey, England.*

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## DOCUMENTS

### THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN 1773

The Church in the United States will hardly ever again be placed in a position so perilous as that which occurred during the years of the Suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773-1814). When the Society was formally suppressed by Pope Clement XIV, it became the unpleasant duty of Bishop Richard Challoner of the London District to announce this lamentable fact to the members of the Society living in the American Colonies.<sup>1</sup> And the blow which had fallen on that great Religious Congregation was hardest to accept in the midst of the difficulties which surrounded the infant Church of the United States. Fortunately, as the letters which passed between Challoner and the Propaganda show, the Church was grateful towards these valiant sons and allowed them to remain at their post of duty. It was recognized that, if they were not permitted to go on with their apostolic work as seculars, the Missions in the English Colonies would collapse.<sup>2</sup> These Missions, as we can see from the Maps appended to Hughes' *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, were extensive. The two following documents give us a semi-official list of the congregations or parishes, and of the educational institutions under their care at the time.

#### I

The first is taken from a *Relation* made by Father John Mattingly, dated September 6, 1773.<sup>3</sup> He tells us that the principal House of the Society was then at Port Tobacco in Charles County, where usually three Jesuits formed the community. The next in order of dignity was the House at New Town in St. Mary's County, which formed a sort of "Collegium," as in the early days of the Missions in England, and from which the Fathers attended the various congregations within a radius of 20 miles and more on Sundays and holydays of obligation. In this way Mass was said once a month in the surrounding districts. The *Relation* goes on to explain how thoroughly the work was done: from early morning until about 11 o'clock confessions were heard, and then Mass was said, Holy Communion given, and at the end of Mass a sermon was preached and points of doctrine explained. All these ministrations were gratuitous and only voluntary offerings were accepted. Among the varied labors of their ministry, the hardest was that of visiting the sick and dying. On account of the distance separating their flock, one from another, long journeys had often to be made. The Fathers themselves took no part in the secular affairs going on around them and were therefore held in high regard by Catholics and non-Catholics. They all felt the need of a bishop for the administration of Confirmation, but they recognized the difficulty of establishing a bishopric in Maryland in view of the fact that the nonconformist element were averse to the presence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HUGHES, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, Vol. i, p. 606.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of the Jesuits on the Missions at this time, cf. TREACY, *Old Catholic Maryland and its early Jesuit Missionaries*, pp. 167-183.

<sup>3</sup> The only Father John Mattingly mentioned by Foley in the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (Vol. vii, p. 494), is one born in Maryland, January 25, 1745. He entered the Society in Belgium, September 7, 1766. He died in 1807.



of an Anglican bishop in the community. The Jesuit Missions were fairly well provided for, owing to the excellent care and administration of the property they possessed from the original grants made to them by Calvert. Some of the Fathers resided with private families, as chaplains, and were thus enabled to extend their missionary labors to the surrounding towns. The Catholics at that time in Maryland and Pennsylvania numbered about 20,000. In Maryland there was practically complete freedom of worship. But it was more restrained than in Pennsylvania, where the Church was free.

*(Archivio della S.C. de Prop. Fide—Scritture riferite nei Congressi. America centrale. Dal Canada all'istmo di Panama dal 1673 a tutto il 1775. Volume I.)*

(Fol. 608) Anno 1764 missionarii in Marylandia numerati sunt 17; anno 1771, 23; anno vero currente 20.

Principalis eorum residentia Portobacco vocatur, in provincia, quae dicitur Charlescounty, ubi tres in communitate vivunt.

Secunda residentia Newtown appellatur in provincia Sanctae Mariae ubi pariter tres ordinario simul degunt, unde ad varias capellas, quae "congregationes" dicuntur, 10, 15 vel etiam viginto et amplius milliaribus dissitas, diebus dominicis et festis excurrunt ad functiones suas obeundas; ita ut in qualibet capella semel in mense missa celebretur, sacramenta administrantur, et verbum Dei praedicetur; in principalioribus autem bis vel saepius, pro numero et necessitate fidelium. Ea vero omnia hoc fere ordine procedunt. A summo mane usque ad undecimam horam confessiones accipiunt; deinde missam celebrant, et sacram communionem distribuunt, finita missa concio ad populum habetur, et doctrina christiana explicatur.

Ministeria omnia gratis exercent, ita ut ne dona quidem sponte oblata ullo pacto admittant.

Inter varios ministerii evangelici labores, quos suscipiunt, non exiguus ille est, qui in visitandis infirmis et moribundis consistit. Cum enim non simul in oppidis vel vicis collecti incolae degant, sed separatim et sejunctim quaelibet familia suo in praedio, diu noctuque, aestate et hyeme, ut eorum necessitatibus sublevandis adesse possint, longinquis et molestis itineribus obnoxii semper sint, necesse est.

Vitam ducunt, quantum eorum ministerium patitur, a mundi conversatione remotam; unde exemplum non est ut quis eorum publicis spectaculis, vel aliis profanis hominum coetibus interfuerint. Hinc fit ut in magna veneratione, non solum a catholicis, sed etiam ab haereticis habeantur. Quae omnia cum magnam subjectionem inducant, hominesque a praecipuis huius vitae oblectamentis removeant, qui ad eam missionem destinantur, magnae sint virtutis oportet. Nullus adhuc episcopus eas in partes unquam penetravit, qui beneficium sacramenti confirmationis, in tanto perversionis periculo quam maxime necessarium, fidelibus illis administraret. Hoc vero inde praecipue factum est, quod puritanicae sectae sequaces ibi praevaleant, qui cum bellum continuum cum ordine episcopali gerant, id effecerunt, ut nullus unquam ecclesiae anglicanae episcopus ibi sedem collocare ausus fuerit. In quo catholici eorum exemplum imitandum sibi putarunt, ne ansam haereticis praeberent in ecclesiam catholicam persecutionem excitandi.

In duabus residentis seu collegiis supra memoratis, terras et praedia possident sat ampla, quae omnia ad eorum sustentationem necessaria suppeditant. Haec vero ab ipsius coloniae initio tenere coeperunt ex ipsius proprietarii consensu, per-nobiles viri Domini Cecili Calvert Hibernus Paris titulo Baltimore, cui Carolus primus rex Angliae hanc provinciam dono concessit, et a quo religiosi Societatis Jesu ad hanc vineam excolendam fuerunt invitati.

Alias etiam domos in aliis provinciis possident, ubi separatim et longe ab invicem disjuncti habitant, et, ni fallor, terras habent annexas sufficientes ad victum et alia

vitae comoda subministranda. Quidam denique in privatis familiis morantur, ubi capellanorum simul et missionariorum munere fungitur.

Praedia et agri, quorum sunt domini, si debito modo administrarentur, ad majorem missionariorum numerum sustentandum sufficerent: at quoniam ob paucitatem operariorum spiritualium et continuam in rebus ad ministerium evangelicum spectantibus occupationem, animum ad temporalia applicare non vacat saepe accidit ut agri vel male colantur, vel fructus eorum magna ex parte dissipentur.

[In another hand] *I cattolici delle due provincie di Marilandia e Pensilvania saranno circa ventimila. L'esercizio della religione nella prima è quasi libero; nella seconda è totalmente libero. Numerus missionariorum in Anglia anno 1771 fuit 137 ut constat ex catalogo.*

## II

The second of these documents, which is to be found in the same volume of the Propaganda Archives, is apparently of a later date than the *Relation* of Father Mattingly. It purports to give a complete catalogue of all the Missions of the Society in the United States.<sup>4</sup> The number of Jesuit Priests was twenty-six at the time. There were twenty-five Scholastics, ten Novices, twenty-five Lay Brothers, with nine Lay Novices—making a total of ninety-five members in the Society. The different congregations are given, with their approximate distances from the central Houses.

(Archivio della S. C. de Prop. Fide—Scritture riferite nei Congressi. America centrale. Dal Canada all'istmo di Panama dal 1673 a tutto il 1775. Volume I.)

(Fol. 292) *Catalogus missionum Societatis Jesu in statibus unitis Americae.*

Collegium Georgiopolitanum. Patres 4. Scholastici 7. Frat. 17. Sacerdotes saeculares 1.

Domus studiorum in Washington (civitate). Patres 2. Scholastici 7. Frat. 3. Novitiatus apud White Marsh. Patres 1. Novitii 9. Frat. 10. Sacerdotes saeculares 1.

In comitatu Principis Georgii.

Missiones quae pertinent ad White-Marsh.

1. Ecclesia in praedio White-Marsh.
2. Annapolis sacellum in domo privata, distat 14 mill.
3. Praedium domini Young in quo conveniunt plurimi catholici, distat 6 mill.
4. Congregatio McGruder. Distat 19 milliar.

Pro his omnibus unus sacerdos saecularis et Pater magister novitiorum.

Missiones in comitatu Principis Georgii quae pertinent ad Sanctum Thomam.

1. Congregatio vulgo Domini Diggs sacellum distat 20 mill.
2. Congregatio Boone's chapel. Distat 25 mill.
3. Congregatio Piscataway. Distat 23 mill.
4. Congregatio Mattawoman.

Missiones in comitatu Caroli quae pertinent etiam ad Sanctum Thomam.

1. Ecclesia in praedio Sancti Thomae.
2. Congregatio Pomfret's Neck 16 mill.
3. Congregatio Cornevall's Neck 16 mill.
4. Congregatio Cedar's Point. Nulla ibi ecclesia.

<sup>4</sup> HUGHES, o. c., Documents, Vol. i, part i, pp. 335-38, gives further additions to this catalogue, from a list sent in 1765, by Father Hunter to the Provincial, Father Dennett.

5. Congregatio Chekomcen. Nulla ecclesia, distat 20.
6. Congregatio Newport. Distat 10.
7. Congregatio Cob-Neck. Distat 20.
8. Congregatio Upper-Zachiah. Distat 18.
9. Congregatio Lower-Zachiah. Distat 18.

Pro omnibus his tredecim missionibus sunt tres Patres e Societate, quorum unus est valde infirmus, et unus sacerdos saecularis.

**In Comitatu Sanctae Mariae.**

1. Ecclesia in praedio Newtown.
2. Congregatio Nostrae Dominae vulgo Meddley Neck. Distat 12.
3. Congregatio Sancti Joannis. Distat 12.
4. Congregatio S. Aloysii. Distat 6.
5. Congregatio S. Josephi. Distat 12.
6. Congregatio SS. Cordis. Distat 12.
7. Congregatio parva trans flumen Patuxent. Distat 20.

Pro his 7 unus Pater e Societate Jesu, sed propter infirmitatem nunquam praedicat, et duo saeculares sacerdotes.

**Missiones in comitatu Sanctae Mariae quae pertinent ad praedium Sancti Ignatii.**

1. Ecclesia in praedio.
2. Congregatio Sancti Nicolai. Distat 17.
3. Congregatio Domini Smith. Distat 12.

Duo Patres e Societate et unus Frater coadjutor.

**In Marylandia.**

1. In civitate Frederick-town ecclesia et domus cum praedio parvo.
2. Ecclesia in Carroll's Manor. Distans 17 mill.

Unus Pater e Societate.

**In littore orientali vulgo Eastern Shore.**

1. Ecclesia in praedio Bohemia.
2. Ecclesia S. Josephi.

Unus Pater et frater coadjutor e Societate et unus sacerdos saecularis.

**In Pennsylvania.**

1. In civitate Philadelphiae, ecclesia S. Josephi et domus, unus saecularis.
2. Ecclesia in praedio Cochenhoben [Goshenhoppen]. Unus e Societate.
3. In civitate Lancaster. Duo sacerdotes saeculares.
4. In civitate Elizabeth, quae distat a residentia Lanc. 30 mill.
5. Mount Libanon, 20 mill.
6. Harrisbourg (oppidum). 35 mill.
7. Sunbury. 25 mill.
8. Chester County. 15 mill.
9. Little Britain. 18 mill.

Duo sacerdotes saeculares.

**Conewago etiam in Pennsylvania.**

1. Ecclesia in praedio.
2. Carlisle ecclesia et domus (civitas est) distat 30.
3. In civitate York ecclesia distat 22.
4. In oppido Littlestown, distat 6.
5. Brand sacellum, distat 9.
6. South Mountains, distat 150.

Duo Patres Societatis. Unus vero senex et infirmus, ut nunquam exire potest, audit tamen confessiones.

*Numerus sociorum in tota missione Americana:*

Sacerdotes 26.

Saeculares sacerdotes in nostris missionibus sunt septem.

Scholastici 25.

Nov. scholastici 10.

Coadjutores 25.

Nov. coadjutores 9.

(Somma) 95.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Reminiscences of Early Utah.** By R. N. Daskin, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah: Shepard Book Company, 1914. Pp. 252.

This book deals not with the beginnings of Mormonism, but with its pioneer annals in the State of Deseret. Instead of narrating facts, Judge Daskin communicates his message in a succession of excerpts. As if in court arguing the case of a client, he offers proofs of every statement. In our judgment this was hardly necessary. We do not look for figs from thistles, and from the Latter-day Saints for only those iniquities whose seeds were sown in the fertile soil of Nauvoo. Neither history nor romance tells a tale more interesting nor, in a manner, more instructive than the story of Mormonism. In its prophet may be perceived proofs of descent from Lucy Mack, an amateur fortune-teller, and Joseph Smith, popularly called a "water-witch," and said to have had a connection with counterfeiters. Perhaps his fears forced him to turn state's evidence, thereby escaping the penitentiary. Not much of the spiritual was to be looked for in that family. If anything were missed in their community, everyone at once thought of the Smiths. However, the inconstant goddess had in store for them other things besides portable chickens, or sheep, or pigs. They were destined to behold many of the attractions seen in the flesh by the Pilgrim in vanity fair.

For the prophet first came an apprenticeship in deception. This was the era of well-finding, legitimate enough, of gold-digging, and of blessing crops, to be followed by the *gold bible* with its new hieroglyphics, translated with the assistance of *Urim* and *Thummim* and the pen of Martin Harris or Oliver Cowdrey. Though claiming Divine inspiration, at that stage the mysteries of penmanship appear to have been beyond the understanding of the Prophet. But Cowdrey could write and so could Rigdon. Joseph could *draw* his name.

The organization of their church at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, we can see in fancy, Cowdrey baptizing Joseph and the Prophet returning the courtesy. Joseph Senior, with all

his family and his son-in-law Knight, made up the little congregation. As the Smiths were known in their locality, no converts rewarded their efforts; hence their removal to Kirtland, Ohio, where Mormonism began to be known. At Kirtland in a public disputation was vanquished, perhaps by collusion, Sidney Rigdon, who with many of his Baptist congregation went over to Mormonism. The lowering clouds began to break and there came, so it was declared, voices from the skies. Then was received the gift of tongues which easily translated, without a knowledge of declensions or conjugations, the speech of the Cherokee or the inscriptions on a mummy-wrapping. It was in those hopeful days that Joseph walked and talked, as he declared, with God. Then it was that he learned to cure the lame and to raise the dead to life. In public the prophet walked upon the water, and got wet. Nevertheless his communistic society grew. The celestial visitors, it appears, taught Joseph no banking, and thereby hangs a tale. As happened in other parts of the Union, the panic of 1837 touched Kirtland. The sheriff, like a dreadful angel, set out to execute the law; the apostles, unpursued, fled fast and far. There is not space to follow the Mormon flight to Zion or to Far West, and we can barely allude to their expulsion from the State of Missouri and the recrossing of the Mississippi to Nauvoo. The Missourians gave thanks for that relief, but they dreamt not of the Mountain Meadows. That tragedy was hidden in the future.

In the meantime Mormonism grew apace; Whigs and Democrats were fighting for the political control of Illinois, and the wanderers were unmolested. They had votes, and in the eyes of statesmen were sanctified thereby. In the meridian of their prosperity Joseph journeyed to Washington, and saw that it was fair. The White House, with its lawns and fountains, seemed a vision of beauty. Even when once more he beheld the majesty of the Mississippi, the memory of the Executive Mansion did not fade. Accordingly, in the summer of 1844, he announced himself as a candidate for the high office of President of the United States. The tide was at flood. It was then, to use the Scriptural phrase, that prosperity discovered the vices of the Prophet. Up to that moment polygamy was no part of Mormonism. As far as can now be known, it was in that smiling season that Joseph began quietly to talk of chartered sisters, Cyprian saints, and spiritual

wives, and, what shortened his days, attempted to practise his new principles. Those followers who had preserved some traces of morality seceded from the Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter-day Saints and began the publication of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. Its printed affidavits revealed the true character of the Prophet who aspired to be President. The press of the *Expositor* was promptly destroyed, and the blunder justified the interference of the government of Illinois, which sent an armed force from Carthage. The Prophet was lodged in the jail of that town, where with his brother Hyrum he was murdered. But the Gentiles of Illinois did not put Smith to death for the destruction of a printing press. Many a horse, hitherto loyal, had left his owner for a sojourn in Nauvoo. Counterfeit money, freely circulating amongst them, was ascribed to the skill of Mormon engravers. As we have seen, the father of the Prophet was not uninstructed in that midnight art. Other grievances were cherished by the patient and tolerant people of Illinois.

Rigdon, the intellectual founder of Mormonism, expected to succeed Smith and keep the flock together, but he was thrust aside by Brigham Young. For some reason Judge Daskin has given to the new leader the place of prominence. In the frontispiece we see Brigham Young unmistakably stamped with the signs of craft and concupiscence.

The exodus from Nauvoo and the toilsome journey across the plains and over the mountains to Salt Lake are the chief events in Mormon history between 1844 and 1847. In the heart of the mountains they began the State of Deseret. At the expense of the 'forty-niners and the gold-hunters that followed, as well as by their own industry, the Morimons prospered. As memory shapes this strange story it seems that Young had not in 1844 attracted the Divine notice. The revelation concerning polygamy, therefore, was made to Joseph, as his successor afterward declared in the temple at Salt Lake City. To him also had come prosperity and to him it was given to proclaim polygamy.

In student days we were assigned as college tasks the reading of certain plays with highly seasoned plots, dramas of the species happily described as the Tragedy of Blood. There were pistols, and daggers, and murderers disguised; there were masques, and poisoned saddles, and poisoned helmets; there were specimens of shipwrecked human nature, diseased and guilty. All these we

believed to be merely creations of a poet's fancy or a licentious imagination, and seasoned to please the pampered Elizabethan taste. But Judge Daskin shows us after the middle of the nineteenth century the Danites, an organized and protected band of Mormon murderers; the cowardly assassination of the friend of the outcast, and the ghastly mutilation of the dead. Oftentimes, on the winking of authority, men were shot from ambush and then, to make their deaths secure, had their throats cut. Murdering by ones and by twos seemed ineffectual and inglorious. In 1857 came the hideous tragedy at the Mountain Meadows, where the Mormons butchered 130 travelers peacefully journeying to the coast. From Missouri the Mormons had once been driven out, and in Arkansas one of their over-gallant missionaries had been killed by an injured husband. The travelers included men, and women, and children from those inhospitable States. In Mormon memory the past was kept alive by the covenants of the Endowment House, passions were aroused by recent harangues, and by those who sat in high places the massacre of the emigrants decreed. Years afterward might be seen fragments of dress, and of women's hair, and the skeletons of infants. With his nails, the wolf, that's foe to man, had dug up many a corpse that had been hastily buried.

The shame of Mormonism was not the tragedy enacted at the Mountain Meadows. The acts of Congress and the measures proposed for its consideration point to something worse than polygamy, to something worse than even plural marriage. As was to have been expected from the teachings of the Prophet and his successor, polygamy culminated in incest. In her boundless generosity America has welcomed the oppressed of every land, she has succored the pariah and comforted the outcast. Of course she has not intended to forget, and shall not forget, her own. With all sorts of memorials she has honored the heroes of her wars. But she has had other chivalrous sons besides her warriors. Doubtless the explorers and the frontiersmen were possessed of courage, and their exploits are not forgotten. But, in a sense, more brave than soldier, seaman or pioneer were those lonely dwellers in the vacant woods, not banded together for protection or for fight, but attending steadily to the cares of the day and implicitly trusting in the majesty and the power of the law, seeking in courts the vindication of their rights, and in



the name of justice challenging wealth and station. Those Gentile citizens should not remain unhonored who have turned the light of civilization upon the darkest place in our land.

Without having read, probably without having heard of Milton, Brigham Young was a believer in the sentiment of *Comus* that "'Tis only daylight that makes sin." In the Endowment House the curtains were down. Yet Utah's hills and woods have reported its sealings and its revels. A little while and its orgies will be ended. Judge Daskin's book is an excellent supplement to the works of Kennedy, of Bancroft, and of Linn.

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**Cartas y otros Documentos de Hernán Cortés novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla.** By P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J. Sevilla; Imprenta de F. Diaz y Comp., 1915. Pp. vii+356.

The Discovery and Conquest of America form one of the most thrilling episodes in the history of the world. When Columbus sighted the West Indies for the first time, he inaugurated a period of adventure which was not only to be the chief characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but also one which would far outshine the Crusades in glory and in the extent of their endeavor. No race found their objective ideals of all that is high and noble and chivalrous more clearly defined in the Conquest than did the Spaniards of Charles V's reign and of that of his son, Philip II. Dreams of a Spanish empire which would outrival that of the Caesars filled the brooding spirit of the nation, and every man with the rich red blood of Spain in his heart felt the awakening of the great enterprise of conquest across the seas. Among these numerous adventurous dreamers who flocked to the New World was one whose name was to outshine all the rest—the conqueror of the wondrous empire of the Aztecs, Don Hernán Cortés. The story of the great conqueror's life is too well known to need recapitulation. When he was born in 1485—that historic year of the Bosworth Field, the Christian world was aglow with both the good and the bad of the Revival of Learning. Spain was not the last among the nations of Europe to catch the spirit of its larger visioning, and high above all the literary triumphs of the day was hung, as a trophy of man's grandeur, the daring courage which had led one of Italy's

sons under the banner of Spain to open to man's craving desire far broader fields of activity. It was hard in those days to keep the young men—boys they were in reality, boys of fourteen like Cortés himself—at their desks in the universities; and Salamanca was too near to Palos and too near to the Mother City of the Western world, Seville, for them to sit quietly under their masters, when deeds greater than any dreamed of in the Middle Ages remained to be done across the Atlantic. Cortés felt this wanderlust in the air of Spain, and at nineteen he was on his way to Hispaniola. From this year, 1504, to the end of the Conquest twenty years later, his life was cast in an heroic mould, and he emerged one of Nature's best offerings to the throng of Immortals whose names are lisped in the schools today by children who dream dreams as they did, and who see in their triumphs incentives to build castles of desire with firmer foundations than the airy clouds of Spain. The principal work of Cortés is undoubtedly the Conquest of Mexico. The story of that achievement has occupied some of the ablest pens ever put to history—Díaz, Gómara, Herrera, Solís, Robertson, Lorrenzana, Navarrete, and Prescott. One wonders whether anything remained to be said of their hero. And yet Don Pascual de Gayangos, in his *Cartes y Relaciones de Hernán Cortés* (Paris, 1866), asserted that the Spanish Archives still contained many documents relative to the illustrious Conquistador which had not yet been published. George Folsom published at London, in 1853, his well-known work: *The Dispatches of Hernando Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico, addressed to the Emperor Charles V. Written during the Conquest and containing a narrative of its events. Now first translated into English from the original Spanish*. There were also many other documents published in such Collections as those of Icazbalceta, Navarrete, and Polavieja, and in the series *Colección de documentos ineditos*, which were taken for the most part from the Royal Archives at Madrid; but it was for a son of Mexico herself, Father Mariano Cuevas, S.J., whose first publication, entitled *Documentos ineditos del siglo XVI para la Historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1914), brought him to the notice of scholars all over Europe and America, to discover some forty new documents in that *riquísimo* mar, the Archivo General de Indias of Seville, which throw a flood of new light upon the life and activities of Cortés from 1520 to 1546. The volume is edited

well and shows evident signs of the methods taught by Alfred Cauchie at the University of Louvain, where Father Cuevas finished his historical training. In a valuable series of Appendices, there is published for the first time the *Relacion descriptiva del Valle de Oaxaca*, by Bartholomew de Zarate, written in 1544. Copious explanatory notes follow the documents; and the value of these is augmented by biographical notes of the principal personages mentioned in this splendid Collection. The fortunate discovery of these documents will place all future Mexican historical scholars under deep obligation to their compatriot. Cortés can be seen in these letters in even a better light than recent research has placed him. It is the reverent and loving son, the kind father, the affectionate friend, the loyal vassal of his king, and the staunch Christian heart of the man which appear on every page. It is the humble Catholic who exclaims, in the midst of the persecutions his enemies have brought upon him: "Per todo doy gracias á Dios que quiere pagarse en esto de muchas ofensas que yo le he hecho. El tenga por bien que sea así para esta cuenta." Nobility of purpose, lofty ideals, unswerving rectitude—these are the echoes from these living pages of the past, and they tell us more than we ever knew before of the man and soldier who wrote to his king that it would be better—but let us have the force of it in his own words—"y sera mejor perder la hacienda que el ánima!"

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**The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.** By Beckles Willson, author of "The Great Fur Company," etc. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. 2 vols. Pp. xiii+427, 446.

Few men, Imperial or Canadian, have figured more prominently on the stage of Canadian life and have played such a rounded and successful rôle as the subject of these two volumes, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal). Of him it may indeed be said, in the words of Tennyson, that throughout his long life of fourscore years and fourteen, "he grasped the skirts of happy Chance" and fought with, and not against, his stars. From his humble birth in 1820, in the quaint little Scottish town of Forres, mentioned in Shakespeare's tragedy of *Macbeth*, until Donald A. Smith laid down the burden of life

as Canadian High Commissioner in London, ninety-four years later, his life unfolded activities of supreme worth and achievement.

Mr. Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona's biographer, has followed these activities closely and sympathetically. Perhaps what is most valuable in this biographical study is the frank revelation which the author gives us of Donald A. Smith's character when subjected to the trying crises in his life and career. It was not always happy Chance with Donald A. Smith. He was ever able to take Occasion by the hand and whisper words of wisdom in her ear. The same indomitable pluck, good judgment, and faithfulness marked his life work, whether as Hudson's Bay Factor in bleak Labrador, as representative pacificator of the Canadian Government at Fort Garry during the Riel troublous times in 1870, or as Canadian High Commissioner in London.

Touching the Canadian Northwest trouble of 1870, known as the "half-breed uprising," Mr. Willson says: "Although the Manitoba half-breeds were in a sulky, suspicious humor, threatening trouble, nothing was done to placate them or even to consider their susceptibilities. A surveyor named Snow, with his staff, had already gone forward, under McDougall's orders, to survey a route recommended by the engineer, S. J. Dawson, notwithstanding the fact that Canada had as yet no legal right or title in the Territory." It was during his mission from the Canadian Government in 1870, to pacify the half-breeds of the Canadian Northwest, that Donald A. Smith met, for the first time, the late James Jerome Hill, of St. Paul, Minn.

One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Willson's biography deals with Sir John A. Macdonald and the "Pacific Scandal." This occurred in 1873. Donald A. Smith was then the representative in the Canadian Parliament for Selkirk, Manitoba, and broke with Sir John A. Macdonald on this question.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Willson, in discussing the character and provisions of the Remedial Bill proposed by the Canadian Parliament for the relief of the Catholic minority in Manitoba in 1896, is led to make the following misstatement: "In other words, that would happen in Manitoba, which has since happened in the Province of Quebec, with regard to Protestant

schools. The religious majority would inevitably crush the minority out of existence." Mr. Willson must know that this is far from the truth. The Protestant minority of Quebec are conceded every right both as to their primary and secondary schools, and there is no "crushing" whatever done. It were well indeed if the Catholic minority of Ontario were permitted to enjoy the same rights.

Mr. Willson's biography of Lord Strathcona is, in the main, judicial and honest. He orders his facts well and his style is both clear and graphic. He has given us an excellent Life of one of the greatest of Imperial Canadians.

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**A Retrospect: Three Score Years and Ten, Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.** By a Member of the Congregation. New York: Benziger Bros., 1916. Pp. 190.

For seventy years the Catholic Church in the United States has been blessed in this Community of teaching Sisters who have done their work in the parochial schools unobtrusively and successfully. Like so many other wonderful things the old world has given to America, the conception of this Community came from a son of Catholic Belgium. Father Louis Florent Gilet, their Founder, was born in Antwerp, January 12, 1813. His family was one of affluence in that rich city of Flemish burghers, and it numbered among its members St. John Berchmans of the neighboring city of Diest. The young Gilet studied at Liège and Louvain, and then joined the Redemptorists at St. Trond, in which city so many young Americans sent over to Belgium in the 'sixties and 'seventies studied. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1838, and in 1842 was sent to America, where he speedily became Superior of the Missions in Michigan.

Father Gilet selected the town of Monroe as the best place to establish the central house of these Redemptorist Missions. In 1844 he determined to establish a Community of religious teachers in Monroe, and the first one to enter the old log-house he had chosen as a Convent was Sister Celestine (Teresa Renauld), of Grosse Pointe. Two new candidates from Baltimore arrived and, before a year had passed, the little Community consisted of four nuns, one of them a sister of the Mayor of Monroe, with Sister Teresa Maxis as Superioress. Fifty years

afterwards, writing from the Royal Abbey of Notre Dame, Hautecombe, Savoy, Father Gilet speaks of himself at the time of the foundation: "In truth, your Founder—for the work was commenced by me—what was he? A young priest, full of zeal for the truth, but without experience in God's ways; without resources. However, notwithstanding such a feeble instrument, what constitutes your glory is the fact that by a continual correspondence with grace and your perseverance in the midst of difficulties, I might say hourly sacrifices, you are elevated to the eminence which you hold today, and which has made of your Community one of the brightest ornaments of the Church in the United States."

After being Superior of the Redemptorists at Monroe for four years, Father Gilet was recalled to Baltimore in 1847, and later returned to Europe, where, after a short time, he was sent to South America as a missionary. The call to a life of contemplation seems to have abided with him from his ordination, and in 1851 Father Gilet joined the Cistercians at Avignon, and died at Hautecombe, Savoy, November 14, 1892. The Community had first been named by Father Gilet, "Sisters of Providence," but at the suggestion of his successor, Father Smulders, C.S.S.R., they were placed under the special patronage of the Immaculate Conception, and so were named henceforth "Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary." The primary object of the members of this now widespread Congregation is to assure their own sanctification by seclusion from the world and by the practice of religious observances. The secondary object is the education of youth, the care of orphans and of destitute children.

Father Gilet laid the foundation of the Immaculate Heart Sisters, as they are popularly called, upon the Rule which St. Alphonsus bequeathed to his own Congregation—the Rule which emphasizes charity, humility and simplicity as its own particular virtues to be acquired; and all who know the Sisters know how wonderfully that spirit has been perpetuated during the past three-quarters of a century.

On January 15, 1846, they opened their first parochial school—in Detroit, and the next morning, Father Gilet and the nuns were delighted to find the two schoolrooms in the old log-house they had acquired filled with eager, happy children. During the first

eight years of its existence (1845-53), the Community received but two Sisters in addition to the four original members, but from 1853 onwards vocations began to flow into their Convent. Under the gentle guidance of the Redemptorists, among whom was the saintly Father Poilvache, whose "cause" for beatification is being favorably advanced in Rome, the Sisters began schools in the different parishes around Monroe. Difficulties of every sort surrounded them in their work, notably the lack of spiritual direction in 1855-57, when the Redemptorists were all recalled to Baltimore and the Diocese of Michigan suffered from lack of priests; but nobly they battled on against odds which would have been the death of any society built with human hands, and after 1857 their works began to spread, not only in Michigan but in the East. Their first convent outside of Michigan was that at Silver Lake, Susquehanna County, Pa., in 1858. Later foundations were made at Reading, and later at West Chester, now the Mother House of the Sisters in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. In 1871 a Mother House and Novitiate were established at Scranton, Pa. The entire Order has reached nearly 1,600 Professed Sisters, and it has 50,000 pupils enrolled in its various schools.

Two persons deserve special commendation for this valuable addition to the literature of American Catholic history—the writer and the publisher. The writer—anonymous—has presented us of this later day with a vivid picture of the history of the Congregation, and has described that story with skill, charm, and exceptional modesty. Written in a style far superior to most books of this kind, and keeping the lofty ideals of the Community ever before the reader's eyes, this *Retrospect* is something more than a historical account; it is a spiritual book wherein all can read the mysterious designs of God in His Church in America. There is a consolation about the success which has followed this remarkable body of women; and with such servants at her command, Mother Church need not fear for the future of her schools in the country. The publisher, too, has expended no little skill in making the work artistic; and in this, also, there is a marked divergence from the usual style employed. Every pupil of the Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart ought to possess a copy of this book.

**Filibusters and Financiers, The Story of William Walker and His Associates.** By William O. Scroggs, Ph.D., Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Louisiana State University. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. 408.

Prof. Scroggs feels that history has not treated his hero fairly and so he devotes himself in this book with a fair measure of success to making good the defect. Walker's filibustering activities fell in a period when the idea of the "manifest destiny" of America was abroad. For half a century the American people "had been taking the land next to theirs in whatever way seemed most convenient. Louisiana they bought; West Florida and Texas they got mainly by filibustering; and California they got by conquest. The moral distinction between public and private pillage of the territory of a weaker nation was but vaguely drawn. All that was required of the filibuster was success. If he succeeded he was a hero and a patriot; if he failed he was a reprobate." And so when Walker, trusting in the word of honor of the British officer to whom he surrendered, was given over to a Honduran firing squad, he lost his claim to the respect of Americans. Shortly after Walker's death Buchanan in his annual message to Congress congratulated the country "upon the public sentiment which now exists against the crime of setting on foot military expeditions within the limits of the United States, to proceed from thence and make war upon the people of unoffending states with whom we are at peace."

The author makes it clear that the view that Walker's conduct was motivated by a desire to gain land in Central America for slavery purposes is entirely inadequate. The causes which sent Walker a-filibustering were much more complex. In fact in the earlier years of his career Walker was under anti-slavery influence, and when he finally seemed to be friendly with the pro-slavery people he was not really contemplating the annexation of Nicaragua to the United States at all.

The thread of high finance that runs through the book goes far to explain Walker's failure. When gold was discovered in California, a more satisfactory route than around Cape Horn or across the plains was sought. The routes through Nicaragua and across the Isthmus of Panama presented themselves with a considerable advantage in favor of the Nicaragua route.



Steamers were placed on the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, leaving only twelve miles of the trans-isthmian journey to be made by land. The Transit Company which had charge of the steamers was much inconvenienced by the instability of the local government, and when it found Walker able to control the route which it used, it was glad to enter into negotiations with him. Cornelius Vanderbilt was the first president of the Transit Company, but he had resigned the office to make a tour of Europe. During his absence his successors in the control of the company occasioned him considerable losses through their campaign of frenzied finance with the stock of the company on the New York stock exchange, and by destroying the property of the company when they furnished Walker with gold and recruits and received in return for themselves the concession which had formerly belonged to their company. Upon his return Vanderbilt swore revenge for their treachery. "I won't sue you," he said, "for the law is too slow. I will ruin you." Unfortunately for the filibuster, Vanderbilt proved himself the stronger party in the contest of intrigue and diplomacy which the American financiers waged in Central America. If he had been on Vanderbilt's side instead of opposed to him, Walker would probably have made good his position in Nicaragua and might have brought about its annexation to the United States.

To any one looking for a precedent to our own practice of waging war not upon a nation but upon an individual, the history of Walker's adventures furnishes a case in point. President Mora of Costa Rica in 1856 invaded Nicaragua for the purpose of waging war against the filibusters and threatened death against all who were taken with arms in their hands. This threat made the Americans fight all the more fiercely. But in his invasion the next year he scattered printed proclamations promising protection and a free passport home to all who should desert Walker. He was now making war not on all filibusters but on Walker alone.

Altogether the story of Walker as told by Prof. Scroggs is an entertaining even though a complicated one. Unfortunately the entangling of the threads of the story is to be laid to a certain extent to the charge of the author.

**A History of the National Capital.** By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan.  
Vol. ii. 1815-1878. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916.  
Pp. 707.

Much information of historical interest is packed into this volume and while there may be some doubt as to the wisdom exercised in the arrangement of the material, the ample index will usually assist the reader in finding what he is looking for. As an illustration of the variety of the matter handled may be cited, Chapter III which bears the heading "Proposed Inaugural Change." After a discussion of the proposal to have the oath of office administered to the President on Monday, the fifth of March, and an account of the inaugural program the remainder of the chapter is given over to the following subjects: Hotels and Hotel Business, Preliminary to the Peggy O'Neale Affair, Preference Shown for Boarding-House Life, The City a National Interest, Lack of a Water Supply System, Increase in Number of Government Clerks, Two New Department Buildings, Department Hours and Able Men in Clerical Positions. The book is full of numberless interestingly narrated details, concerning sculpture and taxation, sanitation and duelling, slavery and canals and railroads, schools and orphan asylums, newspapers and hospitals, public debt and politics.

An episode in the history of Washington which will present a familiar appearance to readers of this magazine is that of the Know Nothing administration of the city government from 1854 to 1856. Early in 1854, the Know Nothing fever had broken out to such an extent that a gang of men went to the Washington monument in the middle of the night, shut the watchman in his watchbox and removed from a shed where it was stored a block of marble which had been presented by the Pope to be placed in the Monument. The marble was broken into pieces and thrown into the river. Later in the year, when the Know Nothings were successful at the polls, they followed the political usage of the day in making a clean sweep of the municipal offices. They went farther than was customary in this regard, however, for they changed a majority of the members of the school board in order to get in control. Somewhat later they made a raid on the Washington Monument Society through the device of buying up a considerable number of dollar memberships in the society and calling an irregular and unauthorized

meeting of the society at which Know Nothings were in the majority. A new board of managers was elected and the dispossessed board protested in vain against the irregularity. In the election of 1856, Democrats, Free Soilers and Republicans united against the Know Nothings and elected their mayor by a majority of thirteen out of a total vote of 5,841. The city council, however, remained in the hands of the Know Nothings. The next year a city election was being held to fill certain offices, when fourteen plug-uglies from Baltimore followed by the disorderly element from Washington took control of one of the polling places and refused to permit the anti-Know Nothings to vote. There was no militia organization and the mayor of the city called upon the President for soldiers. A hundred and ten soldiers were sent to the polling place and the demand was made that the polls be opened. The Know Nothing crowd answered by throwing stones at the soldiers and firing pistol shots. Thereupon the soldiers were ordered to fire and seven men in the crowd were killed and twenty-one were wounded. In the election the anti-Know Nothing ticket was successful.

The author has drawn his materials copiously from contemporary newspapers and government reports and presents them in an entertaining, gossipy style which prevents the multitude of details with which every page abounds from depressing the reader.

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**The Swedes in America, 1638-1900.** By Amandus Johnson, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: The Lenapé Press, 1914. Vol. i. Pp. 391.

This volume, we are informed in the preface, was prepared to meet the demand for a popular edition of the author's "The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware," of which it is an abridgment. Vol. i has the sub-title "The Swedes on the Delaware" and covers the period 1638-1664.

The first three chapters give the European background to Swedish settlement in America. They treat of the political and social conditions in Sweden and give an account of the place of Sweden in the Europe of the seventeenth century. Naturally an important place in the story is assigned to the Dutch enterprisers who were the principal actors in the establishment of the Swedish colony. Following an account of the social and economic

life in the colony of New Sweden, much space is given to the petty quarrels between the Dutch and Swedes in America in which there is a great deal of talk of guns and drums but no bloodshed. This part of the story might be summarized as follows: When the Swedish governor learned of the weakness of the Dutch Fort Casimir which had been erected on Swedish territory he demanded its surrender. While the Dutch commander was attempting to secure a delay Swedish soldiers entered the poorly guarded gates of the fort. "When the Hollanders wanted to use their guns, they were told to put them down again, and thus the Swedes took possession of Fort Casimir without hostility." The fort at the time of its surrender was garrisoned by nine soldiers, and armed with thirteen cannon; but there was no powder and the muskets were with the gunsmith. After many threats, Governor Stuyvesant finally undertook the recapture of the fort and the conquest of the Swedish colony. The Swedish commander exhorted his men to make all possible resistance, but many of the latter succeeded in deserting to the Dutch forces. One of the deserters was shot in the leg by a Swedish officer as he made his escape, and later died of the wound. This was the only casualty of the war. The fort was given up and soon afterward the Dutch governor laid siege to the Swedish Fort Christina, and after a wordy contest, the Swedes decided to surrender. According to a secret and separate article, the Swedish governor was to be landed in either England or France and advanced the sum of 300 pounds Flanders. It appears that he did not see fit to return to Sweden, and it is probable that both governors considered the agreement good business.

Although in places there are enlivening bits of description and good and unique illustrations, the narrative on the whole moves with much tedium. The author has difficulty with the English idiom, and the proofreading is not always careful.

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**Americanism: What It Is.** By David Jayne Hill, LL.D. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916. Pp. xv+280.

What is the most characteristic factor of the American spirit? What is it which exactly places a stamp on a man and calls him American? Who is an American? What change is necessary to develop a foreigner into an American citizen? These and

similar questions Mr. David Jayne Hill, one of the most prominent Americans of the day, endeavors to answer. He admits at the outset that the question can only be answered by a process of exclusion. Americanism, he says, is not a matter of race. From the colonizing days, our country has been populated by peoples of widely separated races. Some of these racial distinctions may be swallowed up in the melting pot, while others endure just as strongly as in the Old World, and indeed are, in some cases, intensified. But "there is no definable ethnic type that is exclusively entitled to be called American." If racial distinctions fail, so also do geographical distinctions. Differences exist in each section of the country, and yet "there is nothing in all these variations that justifies a denial of Americanism to any of them." What, then, is Americanism? It is easier to say what it is not, easier to demonstrate its contrast to what may be called Europeanism. In the first place, the American spirit was born in the cradle of revolt against a great part of what Europe still holds sacred. But it is not merely a negative force. "It starts with the idea that the human individual has an intrinsic value. It holds that he has an inherent right to bring to fruition all his native powers, and to enjoy the fruits of his efforts. His real value lies not in what he has, but in what he is and may become; and he may become anything his capacities and his achievements may enable him to be." Is, then, America merely the Land of Opportunity for the individual? Is it merely the development of self at the expense of society? Is real Americanism a form of Egoism? Mr. Hill answers these obvious conclusions to his method of definition by elimination, and his little volume is a stirring appeal to us all to recognize in the very essence of Americanism—respect for the rights of others.

When the crisis came in American constitutional development and when the shot at Fort Sumter aroused the nation to the problem whether the Federal Constitution had produced a nation or only a Confederation, our country had had a full century to test the virility of its fundamental law of voluntary submission to self-imposed laws, which marked several radical departures from the general usage of the mother-countries. Dr. Hill asserts that probably the most salient of these differences was the change in matters of religion, and that it is to America that belongs the glory of having founded the first modern State which was

really tolerant, based on the principle of taking the control of religious matters entirely out of the hands of civil government. If this is true, then the chief clause of the Federal Constitution is that concerning the establishment of religion. Apart from this distinctive element is the more fundamental one of opposition to every form of arbitrary power in the land.

"It is necessary," says the author, "in the life of every nation that from time to time it be called upon to reflect upon the principles that underlie its existence. The present generation until now has been confronted with no great national crisis that has called for such reflection. The shock that has been given to the party system of government in the United States may prove to be such a crisis. We have suddenly been brought face to face with the question: What is our political future to be? It is for the reason and the conscience of the people to answer, but it remains to be determined on what lines the answer is to be given." Dr. Hill outlines that answer in his usually clear style, and tells us that if the nation is to be saved from the ultimate collapse of its constitutionalism, it must be done by the firm determination on the part of the people that arbitrary power in every form must be renounced. The people must rally around "the one rock of salvation—the rights of the individual citizen as guaranteed by the Constitution." Taking up one by one the better known objections to the Federal Constitution, particularly that of its being framed by and in the interests of a property-possessing class, Dr. Hill gives them a calm and helpful diagnosis, which places the cause of whatever interest there is in the country at the doors of those who have not yet caught the truest spirit at American idealism.

Other problems dealt with in this estimable work are: Tests of American Democracy; Americanism and World Politics; the Duty of National Defense; and New Perils for Americanism. Its pages are filled with thought pregnant of the present hour of world-conflict. The strong, sturdy sense of our position, both nationally and internationally, is emphasized in a way that he who runs may read. And the net value of this excellent study is that America and Americans are facing a crisis which may prove to be their opportunity for a glorious future or for a disintegration of the basic ideals upon which the Fathers of the Constitution framed this mighty nation.

**The Founding of Spanish California. The Northwestward Expansion of New Spain, 1687-1783.** By Charles Edward Chapman, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Pp. xxxii+485. Illustrated.

This volume is largely the result of the author's researches in the *Archivo General de Indias* of Seville, Spain, while Traveling Fellow in Pacific Coast History under the patronage of the Native Sons of the Golden West. It is the first to be completed in a series of studies in Pacific coast history gathered from original sources under the inspiration of Prof. H. Morse Stephens, who also has written a general introduction published in this volume. It is Prof. Chapman's thesis that the subsequent acquisition of American frontage on the Pacific was largely made possible by Spanish colonization in the Californias during the period of which he writes. He holds that it was inevitable that Spain should lose these possessions, for they could only be maintained under normal conditions by the government having a base of supplies near at hand and an overland means of communication with it. Had not Spain been able to hold this territory until after the American Revolutionary war, the contest for its possession would have doubtless been decided among the English, French and Russians, each of whom had been steadily pressing forward in this region. But the heroic efforts of the Spanish colonizers in occupying *Alta California* in 1769, and the founding of San Francisco in 1776, "enabled the land to be held temporarily by Spain and Mexico until the American movement acquired the impetus that carried it to the Pacific coast in the early forties of the nineteenth century." With this idea directing his investigations, the author relates in detail the account of the foundation of the early settlements, Spain's policies in their maintenance and her difficulties in establishing communication with them, the encroachment of the English and Russians, and the circumstances which culminated in their acquisition by the United States. The numerous references and annotations in the text direct the reader to the documentary sources of the author's materials.

Any true history of Spanish colonization in America must necessarily treat of the great work of the missionary priests, secular and religious, whose missions, even as they appear today, offer abundant testimony of the religious zeal which characterized

and was an active motivating force in almost every expedition sent by Spain into the new country. Dr. Chapman notes in the preface, among the variety of subjects suggested but impossible of conclusive treatment in this book, "the part played by the regular and secular clergy in the conquest." The author does not, therefore, attempt a history of the Spanish missions in the Californias, but the pages of his book are replete with references to it. The official reports of the establishments always tell of the material and spiritual welfare of the settlers and Indians. Having recently read "Wraxall's Abridgment of New York Indian Records, 1678-1751," edited by Prof. McIlwain of Harvard University and reviewed in a recent number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, we are impressed with the striking contrast in tactics and motives which characterized the English and Spanish colonizing expeditions in America during these years. The English method was generally one of exploitation and oppression which resulted in the extermination of the native Indians, while the "cruel" Spaniard brought to them the peaceful arts and God's true religion.

The letters of the missionaries to their brethren and superiors, as well as the *expediente* or official reports received by the *ministro general de Indias*, relate the difficulties and hardships endured by the priests and soldiers in maintaining their settlements in *Alta California*. The ships that were sent to them with supplies were frequently wrecked, crops failed, and overland relief expeditions were often delayed or failed to arrive. One of the many instances chronicled by Dr. Chapman is taken from a letter of Father Lasuén of San Gabriel to his superior at the Franciscan College of San Fernando, April 23, 1774. Father Lasuén "begged to be relieved from the great hardship that he was suffering from lack of wearing apparel, which had already reached the point of indecency. His clothes had been in continuous use for more than five years. He had mended them until they no longer admitted of it, and, moreover, he no longer had the materials for sewing."

The student of the early period of Pacific coast history will find much of value in this work, for the materials employed by Dr. Chapman are in many instances taken from manuscripts either hitherto unused or not accessible in this country. The appendices and extensive bibliographical notes direct the reader



to the important sources of the text. Six rare maps and a portrait of the Viceroy, Bucarley, compose the illustrations.

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**The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan.** By Floyd B. Clark, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science in Pennsylvania State College. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series XXXIII, No. 4. Pp. 208.

The death of John Marshall Harlan on October 14, 1911, removed from the Supreme Court of the United States an associate justice whose term of service in that high tribunal of nearly thirty-four years was exceeded in length by only two justices, Marshall and Field, both of whom served but a few months longer. During these years Justice Harlan delivered the majority opinions in more than 700 cases and concurred or dissented with opinions in 100 more—a record, we are told, that has not been surpassed. Prof. Clark is an admirer of the late Justice Harlan. However, in this study of his constitutional doctrines the author confesses frankly the danger of the temptation to overestimate or to underestimate.

The introductory chapter is devoted to a biographical sketch and to a brief consideration of some of the adverse criticisms that have been made against Mr. Harlan as a judge, chief of which is the charge that he “emphasized too greatly the letter of the law.” An examination of cases in the succeeding chapters affords the author arguments for his contention that this criticism “is based either on ignorance or on prejudice. . . . When, by a logical and grammatical construction of a law it could be made to correct the evils intended to be remedied by it, he argued that this should be done. But if such an application meant an absolute change in the law, he held that this change should be left to the legislative power.” Prof. Clark again notes in the concluding chapter that this constitutional doctrine of the denial to the judiciary of the legislative function was the subject of the first and last cases in which Justice Harlan dissented from the opinion of the court.

The cases arising on the subject of the suability of the States afforded Justice Harlan many opportunities to assert his opinions, many of which were at variance with the majority of the court,

who, in their attempt to follow a middle course, were not always consistent with the doctrines which they had previously declared. The denial to the States of the power to impair the obligations of contracts or to deprive any person of property without due process of law, found in Article i, Section 10, and in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, has brought before the court many cases in which the defense pleaded the eleventh amendment, which denies to the courts of the United States the right to entertain a suit against a State. These actions, of course, were brought against officers of the States to prevent them from enforcing certain laws which the plaintiffs believed to be unconstitutional within the sections above mentioned. In similar cases the court has entertained some as not being suits against the States and refused to hear others, holding them to be suits against the States within the Eleventh Amendment. Justice Harlan would have permitted any suit against an officer of the state to be maintained in order to test the constitutionality of the law in question; an opinion which meets with the endorsement of Prof. Clark, who argues that it would check the States from passing unconstitutional laws and reduce the number of cases now arising from the uncertainty of the law. What constitutes an impairment of the obligations of a contract and what is an attempt to deprive a person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, are questions related to the one of non-suability in which Justice Harlan also frequently differed in his answers with his associates. Prof. Clark summarizes the opinions of Justice Harlan in the more important cases involving the constitutional questions arising in the interpretation of the interstate and foreign commerce clauses, equal protection of the law provisions and jurisdictional sections of the constitutional. In them all, according to his biographer, the late Justice generally advanced sound convictions, many of which were later adopted by the court or embraced in subsequent legislation by Congress.

This work is a timely study of the legal mind of one of America's distinguished modern jurists. It is not a mere reprint of excerpts of decisions, but a logical arrangement and discussion of fundamental questions of applied constitutional law, the material for which is taken from a thorough review of the adjudicated cases in which Justice Harlan expressed opinions.

**Iowa Official Register, 1915-1916.** Compiled under the Supervision of Wm. S. Allen, Secretary of State, by Henry C. Bumgartner; Robert Henderson, State Printer; J. M. Jameson, State Binder. Des Moines, 1915. Pp. xvi+918. Illustrated.

This twenty-sixth number of Iowa's official register compares favorably in make-up and subject matter with the legislative directories of the other States. It is a compendium of useful information on local government and institutions, religious and educational. The contents include a very poorly engraved map of the State on which many of the names of the towns and cities appear almost microscopically small; the documentary sources of constitutional liberty and government from the Magna Charta to Iowa's latest constitution; public officials and legislators from the territorial government to the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly; public and private education, political parties and platforms, recent election statistics, Iowa's representation in Congress and the organization of the federal government, a miscellaneous collection of local information; and fifty-six pages of biography in which the state officers, representatives and senators, and members of Congress are the modest subjects.

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**Essays on Catholic Life.** By Thomas O'Hagan, Ph.D., Litt.D. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1916. Pp. 166.

Seven of the ten essays included in this little volume have already appeared in various Catholic periodicals and must be familiar to most of our readers. Of the remaining three, "The Influence of Religious Home Training" was read before the International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal in 1910; "The Relation of the Catholic Journal to Catholic Literature" was heard by the Catholic Press Convention at Columbus in 1911; and "The Relation of the Catholic School to Catholic Literature" was the subject of a paper read before the American Catholic Educational Convention held at Pittsburgh, July, 1912. The themes of the other essays are suggested by their titles—"The Office and Function of Poetry," "A Week in Rome," "The Irish Dramatic Movement," "Catholic Journalists and Journalism," "What Is Criticism?" "Catholic Intellectual Activities," and "The Catholic Element in English Poetry"—the last of which we recognize as the subject of an address delivered by

Dr. O'Hagan before the Fellows of The Knights of Columbus at the Catholic University in 1915. In all of these essays Dr. O'Hagan discusses subjects of concern to Catholics, and their reading will prove profitable and interesting. Any criticism of this writer's style would be superfluous. As a journalist, essayist, poet and critic he is a recognized figure in Catholic letters, and his contributions have been valuable additions to the disappointingly small output of Catholic literature in America. "Essays on Catholic Life" meets with our unstinted praise and its reading is heartily endorsed. It might be mentioned that Dr. O'Hagan has dedicated this volume to Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University.

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**Diary and Visitation Record of the Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia (1830-1851), late Archbishop of Baltimore.** Translated and edited by permission and under the direction of His Grace, the Most Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, Archbishop of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: 1916. Pp. 298. Privately printed.

It would be a mistake to imagine that scholarly works such as this are of value only to the delver in local historical lore or to surmise that only those ecclesiastical functions, which are peculiarly the part of the episcopate, are described therein. When Francis Patrick Kenrick was consecrated coadjutor to Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, on June 6, 1830, the confidence placed in his wisdom and sanctity by the Fathers of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), in nominating him for that distracted Diocese, was a remarkable tribute to an ecclesiastic so young, for he was just then entering his thirty-third year. His achievements as coadjutor-Bishop from 1830 down to Bishop Conwell's death in 1842, and from that date down to his appointment as Archbishop of Baltimore in 1851, are among the most conspicuous of Philadelphia's noble line of spiritual shepherds. Certainly, no episcopate was more crowded with stirring times. The trustee problem at St. Mary's Church saw his use of that powerful ecclesiastical weapon—the interdict; and his dramatic entrance into St. Mary's on New Year's day, 1831, and the issuing of the interdict on April 16 following, are here described with an historical clarity, which allows us to

visualize him before us as he penned the celebrated letter which helped to break forever the power of trusteeism in the land. The epidemic of cholera in 1832, and the work of the Sisters of Charity during that fearful plague, the foundation of the Seminary of St. Charles at Eighteenth and Race Streets in 1838, and the anti-Catholic native American riots in 1844 are among the leading topics treated in the volume. No American can read these pages setting forth the lawlessness of the mobs during those frightful days of havoc and bloodshed without the blush of shame on his cheeks. Catholic historians in general, and those of Philadelphia in particular, have been more inclined to allow these disgraceful days of Protestant intolerance to be forgotten, but it is well for future historians to have this authoritative text to substantiate their own descriptions of the bigotry of that age.

Among the many interesting items, which might be cited to show the value of this Diary, is that under date of November 20, 1849: "November the twentieth day—came here Theobald Mathew, Commissary [for Ireland?] of the Capuchins, who has won great fame since the year eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, when he began his work against the vice of drunkenness. Men in great numbers have been moved [by force of his eloquence and character] to take the pledge of total abstinence from all inebriating drink. In fact it is recorded that 5,773,504 have actually taken this pledge. He remained with me almost two weeks, honored by crowded assemblages of the people, and by the presence of men of the highest standing in the city. Three thousand, at least, took this pledge during the time of his stay here. Very many people brought to him their sick, the blind and otherwise afflicted. He prayed to God and blessed them; but I do not know whether any wonderful cures were wrought. Non-Catholics and people of every class came with great eagerness to visit him."

Numerous other historical data abound in this Translation of Bishop Kenrick's "Diary." There is an abundance of new material for the history of travel in those days; the canal routes and the stage coach routes from Philadelphia to western and southern Pennsylvania are outlined in such a way that these channels of communication may easily be restored to the ecclesiastical maps of the times. A valuable series of statistics runs through the volume—the number of those received into the

Church and the list of those confirmed throughout the once vast diocese of Philadelphia. Here and there we have an inkling of how losses began: there is a pathetic line or two on this subject on page 148: "An old man [named] Ward, living three miles away [from Girard] near Lake Erie is a Catholic; but his children generally [daughters] follow the way of the sectarians. This adds much to the sorrow of the old man." Residents of Philadelphia will have a keen interest in the account given by the Bishop of Stephen Girard's death and burial, and the note (p. 66) ought to help dispel a certain unfounded tradition which prevails on the cause of the wealthy merchant's apostasy. In contrast to this defection there is the story (p. 160 note) of a certain Mrs. Lefevre, who walked a distance of 120 miles (from Dushore to Pottsville) in order to have the consolation of a Mass for her departed husband. The splendid indexes attached to this volume give us a roll of honor of private families in whose houses the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was once offered; and there are also lists of the priests of that day, together with a catalogue of the earliest parochial schools of Philadelphia.

Only those who have attempted publications of this nature know how much labor there is in balancing the text with sufficient indications by way of notes to bring out its full meaning. Apart from the scrupulous accuracy of the translation, the author deserves the highest commendation for this painstaking part of his work; and it is no lessening of the credit due to him to say that the translation could not have been done in a more favorable intellectual center, for he had at his service the long and perhaps unique experience of one of the foremost historical scholars in the Catholic Church of the United States.

His Grace of Philadelphia, to whom this notable publication has been dedicated, has given a pronounced stimulus to that finer type of historical research-work which is exemplified in this volume, not only by permitting the translation of Bishop Kenrick's "Diary," but also by the constant direction he gave to its editor. The volume will undoubtedly become the model for this kind of historical work.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

The Catholic Church of America is mourning the loss of one of its foremost historians—Dr. Charles George Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., who passed away on August 24, 1916. His last historical paper is that which appears in this present issue of the REVIEW—*The United States Catholic Historical Society*. We hope to publish a short biography of this truly great scholar and historian in the next number of the REVIEW from the pen of his daughter, Miss Louise Herbermann.

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"Train your children to a love of history and biography. . . . *Teach your children to take a special interest in the history of our own country.* We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws, as a work of special Providence, its framers 'building wiser than they knew,' the Almighty's hand guiding them; and if ever the glorious fabric is subverted or impaired, it will be by men forgetful of the sacrifices of the heroes that reared it, the virtues that cemented it, and the principles on which it rests, or ready to sacrifice principle and virtue to the interests of self or party. As we desire, therefore, that the history of the United States should be carefully taught in all our Catholic schools, we have directed that it be specially dwelt upon in the education of our young ecclesiastical students in our preparatory seminaries; and also we desire that it form a favorite part of the home library and home reading. We must keep firm and solid the liberties of our country by keeping fresh the noble memories of the past."

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No—*lector benevole*—these are not the words of an enthusiast in the study of American Catholic history, but the sacred message of the Fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884). *Teach the children to take a special interest in the history of our own country.* Sufficient time for retrospect has certainly elapsed and we might face the problem in a candid spirit and ask ourselves: What has been done since 1884 to instil a love of American Catholic history in the hearts of our people? John Gilmary Shea's four classic volumes were the direct result of the encouragement given to him by the Fathers of the Council; and the publication of his work awoke renewed interest throughout the United States in local Catholic history. The creation of several Catholic Historical Societies, particularly those in New York and Philadelphia, also dates from the Third Plenary Council. Eighteen years from now, the Catholic Church in the United States will be celebrating the tercentenary of the Foundation of Maryland (1634–1934), and the time will hardly be long enough for us to prepare for that celebration. One of the best methods would be to found an AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION on the same plan as that of the American Historical Association. A nucleus might be formed from the members of the different Catholic Historical Associations in existence, from the professorial bodies of our Colleges and Seminaries, and from all who are interested in preserving memories and traditions of the past. By that date, also,

the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* would be finished and every scholar would then have in his possession a complete catalogue of all that had been written up to that date on Catholic American History. There is no doubt that a national body such as this would be strong enough to begin the sadly neglected duty of founding those central storehouses—a National Catholic Library, a National Catholic Archives, and a National Catholic Museum, of which we have already spoken in these pages.

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Among the *Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University*, which were prepared under the able direction of Dr. Jameson, then Professor of History in that venerable institution, and now Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, is a well-written essay by C. Stickney, on *Know-nothingism in Rhode Island*. This paper covers the years 1854–56, and it will form a valuable basis for New England's part in the anti-Catholic movement of that time. It would be an encouragement to our students to prepare similar papers for publication, if the generosity of those who have a sympathetic appreciation of the value of such work were to defray the cost of printing and editing.

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Father Noll's papers on the *Philosophy of Anti-Catholicism*, which appeared recently in *America*, are another evidence of the effort being made in many Catholic circles to systematize the causes of a prejudice that undoubtedly exists in several parts of the United States against the Church. The *Commission on Religious Prejudice* established by the Knights of Columbus has already reached certain conclusions which throw a flood of light upon the hidden factors in this century-long antagonism. The Protestant body of the country, or, to be more accurate, the anti-Catholic sects in Protestantism, for the number of those outside the Church who take an active part in these periodic waves of hatred is small compared to the whole, has much to learn before this opposition can be stilled. The fundamental problem of Catholic allegiance to the Holy Father and Catholic loyalty to America is still hazily understood; and the apparent paradox of this double patriotism—spiritual and national—must needs be explained over and over again until its truth has reached the popular mind. One of the best treatises on the subject—written in the midst of the Native American movement of 1844–5—is the essay by Brownson, *Native Americanism*, which will be found in his *Essays and Reviews* (pp. 420–44), published in New York, 1880. This should be reprinted in tract form and brought up to date with notes and additional matter. It is always helpful to understand that the hatred some Americans have shown for the Catholic faith is not caused solely by theological bias, or bigotry. There is underneath it all a racial question, which even the freedom enjoyed in America has not settled and which recent events in England and Ireland have only intensified; there is also an economic and industrial question back of it all; and there is also a more powerful element still, the political factor. Brownson sees in the whole problem only a question of votes, and the simultaneous outburst of anti-Catholic bigotry with municipal, state, and national elections would seem to uphold him in his diagnosis of this prevalent American disease. It is regrettable that, with all our resources, no



*Central Bureau of Information* exists, to which these religious problems from every part of the country might be sent for an authoritative answer on the same. Perhaps the investigations being made by an enlightened body of Catholic laymen, such as the Knights of Columbus, will emphasize the necessity of establishing some central clearing-house for defense purposes.

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*A Campaign of Calumny*, published in the interests of the Catholic aspect of the New York Charities Investigation, is an answer to the "gross and calumnious charges made against private child-caring institutions by the Department of Charities in the City of New York." Together with these charges, all of which have been successfully refuted by both Catholic and non-Catholic charity workers, is the more serious one, made by the Mayor of New York City, that the attack upon the Strong Commission was a conspiracy on the part of certain Catholic leaders. Among the writers of this timely brochure are the Rev. Paul Blakely, S.J., whose articles in *America* are fast placing him in the forefront of Catholic apologists, the Rev. Dr. Higgins, and the Rev. Father Tierney, S.J., the able editor of *America*. Father Blakely gives us a valuable direction for the situation: (1) Let no calumny against our Catholic charities remain unanswered . . . (2) Every legitimate means must be used to prevent the appointment or election of pagan sociologists to public offices exercising supervision over institutions of charity and reform . . . (3) Catholics must show a deeper practical interest in their local institutions, by visiting them and learning of their splendid work . . . (4) Few if any Catholic institutions are endowed, even in part. . . . For themselves, the religious ask not one penny." Some future Lallemand will do for the United States what that scholar is accomplishing for France and Europe in his classic volumes.

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In a striking article contributed twenty years ago to the first number of the *American Historical Review*, entitled *The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution*, Moses Coit Taylor drew attention to the fact that it is still difficult for us to take a disinterested attitude towards the Americans who thought and fought against the Revolution. It is not precisely one of the pleasantest pages in the story of patriotic America—that of the American Loyalists or Tories during the War of Independence; and one would imagine that, like their attitude of reserve towards the bigotry which swirled so frantically and fanatically around the Quebec Act and which in large part caused this loyalism, American writers would have treated American Toryism with a similar solemn silence. But the literature on the subject is growing every year, and it has even found its way into Dissertations presented at those University centers, from which the attack on present-day Catholic loyalty was first begun. There is, for instance, a long preliminary historical essay on the subject in the first volume of Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Boston, 1864), in which the causes of the disaffection on the part of these hyphenated Americans (who were mostly of Anglo-Saxon and Scottish families) of our early days are given. Sabine estimates the number of "loyalists" who took up arms against the struggling Americans as about 20,000. The English and Scottish colonists never possessed the same high ideals of liberty

and independence as did the Irish, and the reader's search in this biographical catalogue will reward him with few Irish Catholic names. Other writings on this interesting subject are: Eaton, *The New York Loyalists in Nova Scotia*, in the *Grafton Magazine*, Vol. ii (1910), pp. 163-189; Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the other side of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1910), in which we are told that no candid historian now contends that the Government of England had done anything prior to the commencement of the Revolutionary War that justified a Declaration of Independence; Tiffany-Lesley, *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, 1910); Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American War* (New York, 1902); Jones, *Orderly Book of the "Maryland Loyalists" Regiment* (1778), published in Brooklyn, 1891; and Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution* (New York, 1901), which gives a good bibliography on the question. No problem seems more nationally considered today than that of loyalty; and it is an interesting historical picture to see among those most eager on the problem of loyalty a direct line of descent between antagonists of certain races and creeds of the country and these men and women of 1776, who felt that the best interests of the colonies would be served by remaining part of the great British empire.

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The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has lost one of its most active and devoted members in the death of its Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Clarence S. Paine, on June 14. The *Review* published under his direction has been a scholarly success from the beginning, and his absence in the historical field will be felt by those upon whom the work of continuing this estimable publication has now fallen. Dr. Paine's kindly appreciation of all who were co-laborers with him in the same field will long be remembered.

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References to the problem of the two Fathers Boil grow apace. Father Engelhardt, the historian of the *Missions and Missionaries of California*, who has dealt with the question in Appendix B, Vol. i, of his work, calls our attention to the references given in Pastor's *History of the Popes* (Vol. vi, p. 163). Among these may be mentioned the Life of Boil written by Fita in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid), Vol. xix-xx. Father Engelhardt's conclusion is that the Boil who came out to America as first Vicar-Apostolic of the New World was neither a Franciscan nor a Benedictine, but a Minim, of the Order of St. Francis de Paul, which had then been lately founded.

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It has been our good fortune to have in our possession for a fortnight the valuable *Index of the Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths of St. Michael's Church, Loretto, Pa., from the year 1800*, compiled with much painstaking care by the present Rector of that historic parish, Dr. Kittell. The *Index*—probably the only one of its kind in existence in the United States—will do more to perpetuate the history of Father Gallitzin's parish than any history or biography so far written. To say that such work is monumental in the history of the Church in this country is equivalent to assuring Father Kittell a permanent place in

the historiographies of the future. The *Index* is a fitting close to a long life spent in the Alleghenies and at Rome, but there are many who hope that Father Kittell will see the necessity of leaving his own *Memoirs* to posterity.

One of the earliest documents for the history of the Jesuit Missions in Louisiana will be found, translated from the French, in *The Magazine of Western History* (Cleveland), Vol. i (1884-5), pp. 263-270. This document, which dates from 1764 or 1765, states that the two principal missionary bodies there at that time were the Capuchins and Jesuits. In 1722, "Louisiana" was divided into three great ecclesiastical districts—the first, extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois, was assigned to the Capuchins; the second, which included the districts of the Illinois and the Wabash, was confided to the Jesuits; the third, the Alabama region, Mobile and Biloxi, was given to the Carmelites. The Superior of each of these Religious Orders was a Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec. The first resided at New Orleans; the second, in the Illinois country; and the third, usually at Mobile. The Carmelites did not remain long, and their district was turned over to the Capuchins. In the varying changes of jurisdiction, conflicts arose between the several Superiors. In the volume published by Canon Lindsay, *Le Vénérable François de Montmorency Laval, premier évêque de Québec, Souvenir des fêtes de deuxièms centenaire, célébrées les 21-23 juin, 1908* (Quebec, 1908), there is an excellent ecclesiastical map by Abbé Nadeau, showing the vast extent of the Diocese of Quebec at this period. The American section of this vast Diocese may be divided into two parts—that west, and that east, of the Mississippi. The jurisdiction was not clearly defined, but may be given as follows:

1. *Territory West of the Mississippi :*

1. 1658-1674—Vicariate Apostolic of Canada.
2. 1674-1759—Diocese of Quebec.
3. 1759-1787—Diocese of Santiago, Cuba.
4. 1787-1793—Diocese of Havana.
5. 1793-1825—Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas.

2. *Territory East of the Mississippi:*

1. 1658-1674—Vicariate Apostolic of Canada.
2. 1674-1784—Diocese of Quebec.
3. 1784-1789—John Carroll, Prefect Apostolic of the United States.
4. 1789-1806—Diocese of Baltimore.
5. 1806-1834—Diocese of Bardstown.

The Church in the United States under French jurisdiction is still awaiting its historian.

Associates of the late Andrew J. Shipman are preparing a *Memorial Volume* containing his life, lectures, and the many valuable essays he contributed to various periodicals. Dr. Shipman was an unusual man. Successful in his profession and an accomplished scholar, he was well versed in languages known to very few English-speaking people, and in subjects which laymen usually regard as the peculiar province of churchmen. His knowledge was always

devoted to some practical use. He was a skilled controversialist, a strong advocate of thorough education, and above all the patriotic friend of the immigrant. Few men have done more than he to make strange people feel at home in a land that otherwise might have remained foreign to them. No one has excelled him in his devotion to the Slavs and other Eastern peoples who have lately come to our shores.

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Readers of the *Baltimore Catholic Review* (August 26, 1916) must have experienced a great surprise to learn that one of the most important documents in the *Archdiocesan Archives* at Baltimore, President Washington's Letter to Bishop Carroll, is missing from that Collection. The writer says:

"Catholics generally know that Baltimore is the mother See of the one hundred bishoprics that now exist in the United States. Many Baltimoreans know that our venerable great granite Cathedral was started by Bishop Carroll one hundred and eleven years ago. But likely few know that in a fire-proof vault beneath the sanctuary are kept about 50,000 rare old documents and important papers, relating to affairs in Maryland and Baltimore during the past 300 years. These are now being indexed, that historians may more quickly find documents out of which to write the history of the Church in this country. These olden records vary in value, but one of the veriest treasures has been spirited away by someone who knew a good thing when he saw it—the letter of Gen. Washington to Bishop Carroll, congratulating him on the part which Catholics took in the American Revolutionary War. The envelope, marked—"Original Letter of G. Washington to Catholics U. States," is in its proper place—but, alas, it is empty. Two letters from John Gilmary Shea to Archbishop Spalding, dated New York, December 22 and December 27, 1865, respectively, acknowledge the Archbishop's permission to use the letter, and its safe arrival in New York. It is thought that Mr. Shea returned it, along with one of the one hundred copies he printed. Distinctly, there are no suspicions of its having been lost on its New York trip. But where is it? Who has it? It is a document so dear to American Catholics that it should be located. And what is more, it should be returned to its rightful possessor—the Archbishop of Baltimore. Any honest man must feel in conscience bound to restore ill-gotten goods; and as no one had a right to give away such a treasure of the See of Baltimore, so no one has a right to keep it from its rightful owner. It is therefore hoped that some over-zealous historian, antiquarian, or collector of documents will honestly return this letter to the Archives of the Cathedral of Baltimore, where there will be joy in the Archives over one antiquarian doing penance."

A rumor has been in existence some years now that this famous Letter exists in a well-known collection of Catholic archives—it may be *à l'insu* of its present custodians; and probably if the antiquarian who is alleged to have secured it is unable to "do penance," his friends would no doubt gladly search through his papers, if this matter were brought to their attention.

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The grand Centennial celebration of the Cathedral of Bardstown, writes Father Louis Deppen, in the *Louisville Record* (Thursday, July 20, 1916) "came to a glorious end today, Thursday. It was a centennial jubilee befitting the

Majesty of God and His wondrously beautiful and holy 'Shrine of the West'—God's shrine erected a century ago in the primeval, virginal forests of this providential land. It was, moreover, a centennial jubilee befitting a church so intimately and historically associated with the personality and reign of one of France's kings—King Louis Phillipe. The Centennial celebration these last five days, was, in every respect, a royal—a princely one. All its circumstances and details, all its surroundings, all its memorials, all its spirit, were kingly. Solemn and majestic was its ecclesiastical observance; royally festal was its celebration. Grand, we said it was, and grand it truly was. Bardstown and its shrine were this week as a mecca—a place of pilgrimage. All roads in Kentucky led to it, as did also the highways of the vastly grown and extended erstwhile 'west.' The Church in Kentucky has witnessed no greater, no more solemn, nor no more genuinely festal celebration than was this one commemorating the first 100 years of his first mother-church." Few Catholics of the East are aware that the Cathedral at Bardstown is one of the architectural gems of the country. The Diocese of Bardstown was created by Pope Pius VII, on April 8, 1808, and embraces the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, as well as the old Northwest Territory. Out of this original Diocese, twenty-eight Dioceses have since been erected, five of them being Archdioceses. The episcopal See was transferred to Louisville in 1841, and the old cathedral, erected in 1816, now serves as the parish church for the town which has about 2,500 inhabitants, one-half of which are Catholics. It is earnestly to be hoped that the present pastor, the Very Rev. C. J. O'Connell, with the historical traditions of Louvain, where he was once a student, still fresh in his memory, will give us a *Memorial Volume* of these festivities. The Bardstown Centenary speaks eloquently of the triumph of the Church in the United States.

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The Library of the American Church History Seminar has been enriched with a set of the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, the official organ of the Roman Catholic Central-Verein of America, together with 100 valuable papers from the different branches of this active organization.

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Some of our Catholic magazines are circulating the story that Las Casas, the great Dominican, who died in Madrid 350 years ago, was the "first priest ordained in America." As Dr. Ryan pointed out in his article on *Diocesan Organisation in the Spanish Colonies* in the last number of this REVIEW (Vol. ii, p. 153): "the statement has frequently been made that the celebrated Las Casas, who spent his noble life in the service of the Indians, was ordained here some time before 1510, his being the first ordination in America. But who ordained him? For we know of no bishop in Spanish America before 1514. Possibly his first Mass was celebrated here, but an authentic record of his ordination is not forthcoming." We have a similar misunderstanding in the case of Maréchal, the third Archbishop of Baltimore. He was ordained in Paris, but set out at once for America, and said his first Mass in Baltimore on his arrival. Sometimes it has been said, for this reason, that he was ordained here. It is surprising that with so much original material at his command, no Catholic American scholar has as yet taken up an authentic *Life and Labors of*

*Bartolomé de las Casas.* Bandelier's careful though short study in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is all that we have in English based on the latest research. There is, of course, Helps' *Life of Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies* (Philadelphia, 1868), and an attempted biography by Rev. L. A. Dutto, *Life of Bartolomé de las Casas and the first leaves of American Ecclesiastical History*, who calls him "the first American priest" (p. 591); but we have nothing in English to compare with Fabre: *Vida y Escritos de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, obispo de Chiapa* (2 vols., Madrid, 1879). Las Casas stands supreme among all the Spanish missionaries of his time, and those who know the extent of his labors for the Indians agree with the encomium of Arthur Helps: "The life of Las Casas appears to me one of the most interesting, indeed, I may say, the most interesting of all those that I have ever studied; and I think it is more than the natural prejudice of a writer for his hero that inclines me to look upon him as one of the most remarkable personages that has ever appeared in history." Much has been discovered since the time of Helps. One incident in his life—the famous dispute with Sepulveda over the latter's work *De Justis Belli Causis*—has a striking place in present-day controversies over the right of invasion and conquest. Las Casas died at Madrid in July, 1566, at the age of 92. He is undoubtedly the principal figure of early American missionary history.

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Another excellent biographical study awaiting the pen of an American Catholic is that of Peter Martyr d'Anghera, the first ecclesiastical historian of the New World. There exists already on this subject: Mariéjol, *Pierre Martyr d'Anghera, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1887), and Schumacher, *Petrus Martyr, Der Geschichtsschreiber des Weltmeeres* (Leipzig, 1879). In this connection, also, it is regrettable that the *Estudio Biográfico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, first Bishop and first Archbishop of Mexico, written by J. Garcia Icazbalceta (Mexico, 1881, pp. 540), still remains untranslated into English.

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American visitors to Seville cannot fail to gaze upon the heavy rectangular *Casa Lonja* without mingled emotions of surprise and pride. This mother-house of the Spanish colonies is now the depot of the Archives of the Indies. No one knows exactly how many manuscripts exist there—the *legajos* or boxes containing them number almost three million. What a field for Catholic historical students!

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Probably no phase of American history has received more serious attention since the Spanish-American War than that of Spanish Colonization in the New World. Scholars are recognizing more distinctly that the colonizing schemes of the Spanish kings were directed by other impulses than the gross desire for gold and silver. One of the latest of these studies (which has not yet been printed) is that by Mr. Clarence Henry Haring of Harvard University, entitled: *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies under the Hapsburgs*. Even in an economic thesis such as this, the ideal of Spanish colonization is visible—an ideal of order, of justice, of political unity with the Mother Country, and of civilization through the doctrinal and moral teaching of the Catholic

Church. As Mr. Haring points out, Gonzales Davila in his *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* (Madrid, 1623), tells us that Spanish missionaries up to that time—hardly 100 years after the first permanent settlements—had erected 7,000 churches, 500 religious houses (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Trinitarians, and Jesuits), with more than 3,000 members, and had organized a Church which boasted of a Patriarch, six Archbishops, thirty-two Bishops, two Universities, two viceroys and 200 well-governed cities.

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The Rev. Pablo Pastells, S.J., has just finished the third volume of his *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*. The Paraguay province included Argentine, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia and Brazil. The work of Father Pastells is based entirely upon the Society's *Archives* and upon researches made in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville. This work, as well as that of Father Cuevas, reviewed in this issue, may be purchased by applying directly to the publisher, Señor Don Santiago Montero Diaz, Seville, Spain. Father Pastells has also issued a new edition of Father Colin's *Labor Evangélica de las Obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas* (3 vols. Price 81.50 pesetas).

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At a recent sale at Sotheby's, in London, among many valuable *Americana* sold to eager purchasers, was an original copy of Richard Eden's English translation of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, printed in 1555. The copy of this book in the collection is of unique interest, since it contains the autographs of several famous statesmen of Elizabeth's time, particularly that of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Probably the only perfect copy in existence of that rare edition (1590) of Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of the Newfoundland and of Virginia*, with engravings by De Bry, was another rare work disposed of in the sale.

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Those who had the pleasure of hearing David J. Hill's paper on *A Missing Chapter of Franco-American History*, which that distinguished gentleman read at the last Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, will welcome its publication in the July number of the *American Historical Review* (Vol. xxi, pp. 705-719). When Franklin arrived in Paris in December, 1776, the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence were the main topics of the day. His own venerable bearing, his wise and prudent criticisms on political matters, his republican simplicity of dress and manner, made him not only a conspicuous figure among the diplomats and courtiers of those last years of the French kingdom, but did more than many Americans realize to win for us the good will and assistance of French statesmen. Dr. Hill's article gives us a composite picture of Franklin's friends and acquaintances and shows him as he was in the midst of a government that was even then tottering to ruin.

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Another excellent volume has been added to the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*, namely, *Early Spanish Exploration in the Southwest (1542-1706)*, edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton, Professor of American History, University of California (New York: Scribner's, 1916). This volume is the

second dealing with Spanish exploration, and its pages are filled with brilliant scenes of Catholic missionary efforts. Dr. Bolton was fortunate some years ago in discovering the original copy of the *Favores Celestiales* of Father Kino. "No life," says Shea, "has been written of this father who stands with the Venerable Anthony Margil as one of the greatest missionaries who labored in this country." Dr. Bolton's publications have now made it possible to write Father Kino's biography, and a more fascinating subject could hardly be found for a popular Catholic work.

The following letter from an eminent scholar in astronomical studies in reference to the article on *Chronology* in the last issue of the REVIEW accentuates the value of the *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* which we began in April, 1915. We take great pleasure in presenting it to our readers.

The Creighton University,  
Observatory,  
Twenty-fifth and California Sts.

Omaha, Nebr., August 3, 1916.

Editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*,  
The Catholic University of America,  
Washington, D. C.

Reverend and dear Sir:

In the July number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW you speak of the difficulty of identifying historical dates when they are expressed in Old or in New Style, and when the year began on January 1, March 21, 22 or 25, or other days. Astronomers have experienced the same difficulties as historians, and they have now unanimously adopted the system known as that of the Julian Day Numbers, in which numbers are affixed to the days, to the total exclusion of months and years. In order to use it, we need three tables. The first gives the Julian Day Number for the beginning of the century, the second gives the number of days that lie between the beginning of the century and the different years in it, and the third shows the number of days from the beginning of the (common or leap) year to the beginning of each month. Summing up the century, year and month numbers, and adding our day of the month we have the Julian Day Number of the date. Thus, for Christmas this year, the century number for 1900 is 2415—020, for the year 16 we have 5843, for December 335. Adding 25 to these we get 2421—225. The reason for the numbers being large at present is that Day No. 1 in this system is B. C. 4713, January 1, in which year the Solar Cycle, the Lunar Cycle and the Roman Indiction, were each 1. This covers all possible ancient dates and uses only positive numbers.

The century number takes care of Old Style and New Style, and the three tables mentioned, with directions for their use, would occupy one page of this REVIEW. If they are to be used frequently, it would be time-saving to have subsidiary tables constructed that give the Julian Day Numbers, not for the beginning of the century only, but also for all its years and even for its months. This has already been done in the *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln* of Dr. Robert Schram. He gives the monthly Julian Day Numbers for all kinds of calendars that have ever been used by any nation, and shows how dates may be transformed from any one system to any other through their Julian Day Numbers by the mere mental



addition (or subtraction of the day of the month to or from) his tabular figures.

Once an historical date is known to historians by its Julian Day Number, and this number printed along with its civil or customary date, as for instance, 1916 December 25, J. D. 2421-223, all ambiguity and uncertainty will cease, and it will have a fixed position in chronology.

A second laudable custom among astronomers might be brought to the notice of historians. It is the suggestion to mention the year first, then the month, the day, the hour and the minute. That is, to say 1916 December 25, 3.15 p. m. By putting the year after the day of the month, as we generally do (December 25, 1916, 3.15 p. m.), we break the order of magnitude in the subdivision of time.

*Very respectfully yours,*

WILLIAM F. RIGGS, S.J.

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"It is my practice, in teaching American history," says Prof. MacDonald of Brown University, "to require each member of the class to read critically a considerable number of important documents. While such acquaintance with the sources is now rigidly insisted upon as the basis of all sound historical knowledge, the difficulty of obtaining the documents desired, and the impracticability of making effective use, with large classes, of a text only one or two copies of which are available, is often considerable; and I have thought that others besides myself might be glad to have, in a single volume of moderate compass, an accurately printed collection of such documents as any one pretending even to an elementary acquaintance with the history of the United States may fairly be expected to know." The success which has followed Dr. MacDonald's book: *Select Documents illustrative of the History of the United States* (New York, 1905), is a proof of his correct judgment in this important matter; and we quote these significant words from the Preface of his book to bring to the notice of our Catholic teachers the urgent necessity of similar collections in our own field. The teachers in our parochial schools should have such volumes at their command for reading purposes at the end of class. There should be *Readings in Church History*, *Readings in American Church History*, *Guides for Teachers in Ecclesiastical History*, with all the modern directive apparatus of source-books, bibliographical lists, questions and suggestive topics. Such auxiliary volumes cannot be compiled on a theoretical basis; it is those who are mostly engaged in this work who know best what is needed. There should be an effort on the part of the Catholic Educational Association to bring history teachers from all over the country together to discuss the plans and models for such a series. None need such auxiliary volumes more than the students in our Theological Seminaries, and a movement should be begun to organize all the professors of Church History in the Seminaries and Colleges of the United States into an AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION for these, and even more important, purposes.

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At the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association at University College, London, England, it was resolved *nemine contradicente* to continue the quarterly journal *History*. Subscriptions (four shillings, six pence) should be sent to Miss E. Jeffries Devis, University College, London, W.C., or to Messrs. Macmillan and Company.

If it were possible, we should like to know what has been the response of the Catholic reading public of the country towards one of the best series of books we possess of early missionary days—the three volumes of *The Pioneer Priests of America*, by the Jesuit scholar and historian, Father Thomas J. Campbell. Catholic boys and girls who are allowed to read the numerous “Hero Stories” in vogue, from the inane series of Henty, Alger, Cooper, etc., etc., with their faint Christian atmosphere, to the unmoral and un-Catholic series of Dumas and Hugo, ought to be introduced to Father Campbell’s glowing pages. No more romantic scenes have ever been pictured, and surely no greater heroic courage ever shown, than in these volumes. It is said that John Gilmary Shea’s manuscript of the *Life of Jogues* was stained with his tears. And Jogues is not alone in this martyrology—there are Millet, de Brebuf, Druillettes Bressani, and many others, all of whom reached heights of Christian courage seldom paralleled in modern times. These volumes should form part of every Catholic home library.

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*The Catholic Church in the West Indies from the Discovery down to the Sale of the Danish Islands to the United States (1492-1916).* This work, of course, does not exist. And, apart from occasional papers on individual islands, such as Michael O’Brien’s contributions to the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, we know of no serious attempt to write such a history in English. The projected sale of the Danish Islands has attracted considerable attention, since it is not the first time the United States has tried to buy them. Catholics, especially, should be interested in the venture. The Danish Islands did not receive their names—*St. Thomas*, *Santa Croix*, and *St. John*, during the Danish occupation of the same. Their names signify a Catholic past which has been blotted out by the tales of the pirate Blackbeard, the French émigrés of 1796-98, and the blockade-runners of our Civil War. These “last of the colonial possessions which remain to the Danish Vikings,” have had an eventful history from the days of Columbus. *St. Thomas* has been called the Gibraltar of America; and Singleton, whose “epic” poem is dated, Bridgetown, Barbados, 1767, says of them:

“Thus, too, of old, *St. Thomas* and *St. John*,  
Lands of the Danish King, for pirates fam’d,  
Within their fastnesses th’ amphibious crew,  
To all mankind detestably receiv’d.  
In hillocks, rising from old ocean’s edge,  
Fair *Santa Croix* her lovely isle presents.”

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Bonsal tells us in his entertaining book: *The American Mediterranean* (p. 223, New York, 1912), that when he visited the Island of *St. Thomas*, his stay was rendered very agreeable by a happy accident which brought him into touch with the Redemptorist Fathers, “who police the Virgin Islands for the Catholic Church as far down as *Dominica*.” To those interested in the story of these Islands, the following works may prove helpful:

1. CUNDALL, *Bibliography of the West Indies (excluding Jamaica)*. Kingston, Jamaica, 1909.

2. DE RUBALCAVA, *Tratado historico, politico, y legal de la Comercio de las Indias occidentales*. Cadiz, 1750.
3. DIXON, *et* ANDREWS, *The St. Thomas Treaty*. New York, 1869. Pp. 24.
4. GRIFFIN, *A List of Books (with references to periodicals) on the Danish West Indies*. Washington, 1901.
5. KNOX, *An Historical Account of St. Thomas, W. I., with the rise and progress in commerce, missions and churches*. New York, 1862.
6. PARTON, *The Danish Islands: are we bound in honor to pay for them?* Boston, 1869. Pp. 76.
7. TAYLOR, *Leaflets from the Danish West Indies*. London, 1888.

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For books in Danish as well as in English, a good guide is the *List of Works relating to the West Indies*. Published by the New York Public Library. New York, 1912. Travelers will find an excellent guide in OBER, *Guide to the West Indies*. New York, 1906. The Danish Islands form part of the Diocese of Roseau, the episcopal See of which is at Roseau, on the British Island of Dominica. It was erected in a Diocese by Pope Pius IX, April 30, 1850. The present Bishop is the Right Rev. Philip Schelfhaut, C.S.S.R., who was consecrated in March, 1902. There is one parish church with an auxiliary chapel at St. Thomas, attended by three resident priests. The Catholic population is about 3,000. St. Croix has two parishes, with four resident priests, and a Catholic population of 4,000. Only a few Catholics are on the island of St. John, and no priest is in residence there. The Redemptorists and the Fathers of Mary Immaculate are in charge of those different parishes.

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A good set of Rules for Cataloguing Libraries will be found in the Introduction to the *Catalogue of American Books in the British Museum*. (London, 1866.)

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The Rev. J. L. Zaplotnik, whose historical studies have always attracted considerable attention, has sent the following letter to the Michigan Historical Commission. We reproduce it for the benefit of those who appreciate strict accuracy of historical statements, as well as for those who are interested in the life of Lady de Hoeffern.

Omaha, Nebr., August 4, 1916.

Michigan Historical Commission,  
Lansing, Mich.  
Gentlemen:

I have received your pamphlet entitled; *Two Early Missionaries to the Indians*, and comprising the biographical sketches of Lady Antonia de Hoeffern and Father Francis Pierz, for which I thank you most heartily. Will you permit me to make a few remarks regarding the former, for they may not be entirely without interest to you.

Lady de Hoeffern arrived at New York with her brother, the Rev. Frederic Baraga, July 12, 1837. They wished and expected to reach La Pointe, Wis., by the end of the same month; but they experienced many annoying difficulties with the church goods freight they brought from Europe, on account of which they were delayed for several days and even weeks in many places. Passing through Buffalo, N. Y., in the latter part of August, they were in Mackinac,

September 8, in Sault Ste. Marie, September 28, and arrived at La Pointe, October 8, 1857. According to your account, Lady de Hoeffern visited Little Traverse, where she distributed considerable wealth and promoted several missions in which her brother was interested, erecting chapels, etc., and at Mackinac she established quite a large industrial school, etc. This may be true, for you may have access to sources I was unable to reach; hence I would be deeply obliged to you if you would have the kindness of stating the source of your information.

This remarkable Lady remained at La Pointe (not at Superior) for about two years. But as her health broke down, she was ordered by her physician to go to a milder climate to regain her health. She passed through Detroit, Mich., some time in November, 1839, on her way to Philadelphia, Pa. It was her original intention to return to Europe, and according to your account she actually returned to her old home at Dobernig, Austria, dying there a short while afterwards in the year 1840, and a monument with an appropriate inscription was erected over her grave, which is still being visited by travelers, especially those from America.

The Cincinnati *Wahrheitsfreund* of September 10, 1840, however, contains the following news:

"Madam von Hoeffern, sister of the Indian missionary Father Baraga, arrived here (Philadelphia) last fall, broken down in health by her work among the Indians. Now having recuperated, and on request of many ladies of first rank in the city, she will open a 'Ladies' Institute' in which will be taught: needle-work, painting, singing, music, besides German and French, and belle-lettres. The institute will have the service of Profs. Oehlschlager and Minnigerode." (Cf. the *Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Society*, Vol. xx, 1909.)

The *Catholic Herald* of November 18, 1840, published the following advertisement:

#### Seminary

Mme. de Hoeffern respectfully informs her friends that she has added to her Academy a Seminary for instruction in the English branches of education, having engaged a governess of experience for this department. Mme. de Hoeffern now gives instruction in the English, French, Italian, German and Spanish languages and music. The best references will be given and terms made known on application, in the forenoon, at the Academy, 145 South Third Street.

A friend of Lady de Hoeffern, Father Francis Pierz, wrote to the President of the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, February 15, 1842:

The widowed and highly educated Lady de Hoeffern, born Baraga, took sick while assisting her brother, the missionary at La Pointe, Wis., and was obliged to go to the milder climate of Philadelphia in quest of medical help. After her health was restored, she opened there a useful school for girls. However, she is in want of financial means to properly realize her school plan; hence I recommend her to your archiepiscopal grace kindly to send her some assistance from the funds of the Leopoldine Association.

And Dr. Joseph Salsbacher, in his *Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842*, published in Vienna, 1845, writes on page 248:

He (Father Baraga) was followed also by his sister Antonia Hoeffern to the American missions; but as the climate of those higher regions did not suit her, she returned to Philadelphia, and holds there a school for girls, from which she lives.

Whether she went back to her native country later on, or not, I do not know. Perhaps she did, although the late Fr. Joseph Benkovic, who furnished all the data on this famous lady found in Verwyst's *Life of Bishop Baraga*, pages (468-470) states in one of his works that afterwards she probably joined the Ursuline nuns in a convent, founded by her brother. If she died at

Dobernice, Austria, I think Fr. Benkovic would mention this fact as he visited repeatedly that place when gathering his data on Baraga.

This is all the information I can give you. And should these lines succeed in moving you to make further investigation in this interesting matter and eventually write a complete biography of this remarkable lady, I shall have attained the sole purpose for which I have written these lines.

*Yours very sincerely,*

J. L. ZAPLOTNIK.

A romantic page which stands out from the drab monotony of early New England life is that contained in Baker's: *True Stories of New England Captives* (Cambridge, 1897), which gives us a more complete story of these captives than that contained in Samuel G. Drake's: *Tragedies of the Wilderness*. Among them are the narratives of Christine Otis, Esther Wheelwright, and Eunice Williams.

Fifty years ago Orestes Brownson wrote: "There can be no stable government in Mexico till every trace of the ecclesiastical policy established by the Council of the Indies is obliterated, and the Church placed there on the same footing as in the United States; and that can hardly be done without annexation. Maximilian cannot divest the Church of her temporal possessions and place Protestants and Catholics on the same footing, without offending the present Church party and deeply injuring religion, and that too without winning the confidence of the Republican party. In all Spanish and Portuguese America the relations between the Church and State are abnormal and exceedingly hurtful to both. There is no effectual remedy . . . but in religious freedom . . . as under the American system." (*The American Republic, Its Constitutions, Tendencies, and Destiny*, pp. 438-9. New York, 1865.)

The magnificent new Widener Library at Harvard University possesses a unique collection of early *Americana*, among which are many manuscript originals of the early missionaries. MS. Fr. 13, for example, is the original of Father Rale's *Abnaki Dictionary*. This MS. of 559 pages is bound in heavy buckram, is 9 inches long by 6½ wide. Stolen by the English soldiers from Norridgewalk, probably before the atrocious murder of the missionary, the *Dictionary* was given by Col. Heath to Elisha Cooke, Esq., and was presented to Harvard by Middlecott Cooke of Boston, in October, 1764. On the first page are the well-known words of Father Rale: "Il y a un an que je suis parmi les sauvages, je commence à mettre en ordre en forme de dictionnaire les mots que j'apprens." It would not be very difficult to reconstruct the whole stage of Father Rale's activity among the Indians from the *Abnaki Dictionary*. The first word in the closely written lexicon, which was written at the scene of the "blood-red stain of New England," is: *j'abandonne*. History bears witness to the fact that Father Rale never knew its meaning. The *Dictionary* was reprinted in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Vol. i, (1833), pp. 370-575), where it is entitled: "One of the most important memorials in the history of the North American languages."

A cablegram from the Rev. Charles Macksey, S.J., of the Gregorian University, Rome, to the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J., of New York, announces that the Cause of the Beatification of Father Isaac Jogues has been introduced before the Congregation of Rites for definite consideration and settlement.

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Although the death of Father Jogues at the hands of the Mohawk Indians occurred in 1652 on the site of the present village of Auriesville, the cause of having him declared a martyr, and worthy of the veneration of all who hold the Christian Faith, was not actually begun until the year 1903. Prior to that time considerable preparation was made by the compilation of documents concerning Jogues and other missionaries who had labored with him, and who were put to death by the Iroquois in Canada, Brebeuf, Lalemant, Daniel and Garnier. The result of these investigations was laid before a tribunal of ecclesiastics in Quebec, headed by the present Cardinal Begin of that city. Prominent among the witnesses before this tribunal were persons who had made studies in the lives of these martyrs; among them, Rev. Arthur Jones of Montreal, Rev. Daniel Lowery representing the Albany Diocese, since Jogues was tortured and put to death in the limits of that diocese, and Revs. T. J. Campbell and John J. Wynne of the Society of Jesus. The evidence then presented has since been properly submitted to the authorities in Rome who advocate the canonization of persons eminent for holiness, and to the *advocatus diaboli*, whose office it is to oppose the canonization in every way and to show, if possible, that the persons in question are not worthy of special veneration.

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This part of the process is so thorough and searching that the consent of the advocates on both sides to the formal introduction of the cause before the Congregation of Rites is usually equivalent to the declaration that the persons involved led saintly lives, doing great service for religion, and in this instance, shedding their blood for it. How long the Congregation of Rites may require before declaring these martyrs beatified and deserving of veneration, it is impossible to say, though there is no reason why there should be any serious delay. In canonizing such men the Church will only be approving a universal sentiment in favor of their veneration which exists not only among Catholics but among Protestants also.

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Among other items of evidence presented at Quebec was a letter from a prominent Protestant divine who had gone so far in his veneration for Isaac Jogues as to place a stained-glass effigy of him in his church. Among those who took a principal part in locating the site of the Jogues martyrdom, and in tracing testimony from the customs of the Mohawk families to prove that they killed him out of enmity to religion, was the late Gen. Clark of Auburn, who, though not a Catholic, was most devoutly impressed by the life and sufferings of Jogues. The one who is now looking after the process of his beatification in this country is the Rev. John J. Scully, located at Auriesville, N. Y., in charge of the shrine erected on the site of the martyrdom.

A contrast—a sad and pathetic contrast—it was: Plymouth and St. Mary's City. We had had the opportunity of visiting and studying the old home of the Puritan colonists; and although there were but few relics remaining—the Rock, the Cemetery, two old houses, and the collections in the Museum, nevertheless the old Massachusetts town still held a fascination for the wayfarer. The boys, who cried out eagerly as the visitors came near, offering themselves as guides, knew the local history well and told it with evident pride. It was with the impression of Plymouth still fresh upon us that we set out for St. Mary's City—the first town in Catholic Maryland. Leaving Washington, by way of Pennsylvania Avenue, we passed out on the State road, which leads directly to the coast of Maryland to St. Mary's City, some seventy miles away. Passing through Bryantown, an old Catholic center, the road swept on to Leonardtown, and thence to the shore of the Potomac, where, scarcely one hundred yards from the cliff, a sign told us we were at St. Mary's City. City—there was none. A Female Academy, built about 1843, a single house—the home of the Episcopal minister, the Episcopal cemetery, and Trinity Church—a small brick building in the midst of the graves, made up the present settlement. In the cemetery, another wooden sign marked the spot of the first State House, and another the place of the Copley vault. That was all. Not a trace remained of this first English Catholic city of the New World. A little room at the east end of the Seminary has been set apart as a Postoffice, and the Postmistress, to whom we applied for information, advised us to call on the Episcopal minister or at the Bromes. The minister being away, we walked to the Brome residence about a mile away, and through the courtesy of Miss Brome we had pointed out to us the location of the different places which once made up St. Mary's City. Miss Brome is the niece of James Walter Thomas, whose volume, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1890), has helped greatly to locate the old landmarks. With Thomas's volume in our hands, we traced out the old Fortress, the spot where Leonard Calvert's home once stood, the grist-mill, the jail, and the plot where the Catholic Church and cemetery were once established. Not a trace of anything remains. The Chapel was situated in the center of one of the Brome farms, but no relics have been found there. As is well known, it was closed out of bigotry, by order of the Provincial Government, September 19, 1704, and the bricks were removed to build the Chapel at St. Inigoes. Treacy in his *Old Catholic Maryland* speaks of this lonely God's Acre, of which not a stone remains, and McMahon (*Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, p. 197. Baltimore, 1837) strikingly says: "Should the memory of such a people pass away from their descendants as an idle dream?" Eighteen years from now Catholic Maryland will be celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the Founding of St. Mary's, and surely something might be done to commemorate this sacred event. The Calvert Monument, erected by the State of Maryland, in 1890, on what is presumably the Calvert grave, has not a sign or mark about it to distinguish the Catholic associations of the place. At Plymouth they told us of the plans already being put into shape for the great celebration of 1920. Will silence greet the Feast of the Annunciation, in 1934, at old St. Mary's?

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The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, for July, publishes a letter from Edward Hand, Burgess of Lancaster, Pa., to Congress, dated March 17, 1789, urging the choice of Lancaster as the Capital of the United States.

The August number of the *Catholic World* presents its readers with several historical articles of prime value: *The Bardstown Centenary* (1816-1916), by John M. Cooney; *A Famous Catholic Historian—Godefroid Kurth*, by Dr. Kitchin; and *The Influence of the Spanish Missions on Present-day Life in California*, by Margaret Hayne. Dr. Kitchin would have made his article more historical in design if he had used Paul Fredericq's Address to Kurth, on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the latter's professorship (November 20, 1898), in which the broader problem of Kurth's influence on modern historical research is handled by the masterly pen of the Ghent historian. Godefroid Kurth was far more than the historian of the Middle Ages. The works mentioned by Dr. Kitchin as examples of his style and activity form only a secondary element in the great man's career. As Fredericq points out, Kurth was the pioneer of the *cours pratiques d'histoire* in Belgium. Kurth's greatest achievements are the students who were formed in the austere school of specialists he ruled at Liège.

In order to encourage and stimulate interest in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, the College of St. Teresa, Winona, Minn., will offer fourteen scholarships to be named for the first Bishop in each of the fourteen ecclesiastical provinces now existing within the limits of the republic. These scholarships will be named as follows:

- Province of Baltimore—Carroll Scholarship.
- Province of Boston—Cheverus Scholarship.
- Province of Chicago—Quarter Scholarship.
- Province of Cincinnati—Fenwick Scholarship.
- Province of Dubuque—Loras Scholarship.
- Province of Milwaukee—Henni Scholarship.
- Province of New Orleans—Cardenas Scholarship.
- Province of New York—Concanen Scholarship.
- Province of Oregon City—Blanchet Scholarship.
- Province of Philadelphia—Egan Scholarship.
- Province of St. Louis—Rosati Scholarship.
- Province of St. Paul—Cretin Scholarship.
- Province of San Francisco—Moreno Scholarship.
- Province of Santa Fe—Lamy Scholarship.

The financial value of each scholarship is for the present \$100. As the endowment increases the value of each scholarship will increase to the amount of \$250. The conditions under which the scholarships will be awarded are as follows:

Any young woman who has completed a standard high school or academy course may apply from any province. Each applicant must submit:

- (a) A record of high-school work signed by the principal of the school



from which the diploma was received. The record must show a general average of 90 per cent or more, with 85 per cent as the minimum mark in any subject.

(b) An English essay about 1,000 words in length on the life of the first bishop of the province from which the candidate applies. The essay must be accompanied by a complete bibliography of the sources from which the subject matter of the essay was gathered.

(c) A letter of recommendation from the pastor of the parish to which the candidate belongs.

Records of scholarships and competitive essays must be submitted to the Dean of the College of St. Teresa on or before July 15 of each succeeding year.

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It is a pleasure to bear witness to the scholarly appearance and intrinsic worth of the *Journal of Negro History*. So much has been accomplished for the Colored Race by the Catholic Church in the United States from the first coming of the negroes to our shores, that the Editors of the *Journal* will without doubt number, among the announcements of articles to appear in their publication, papers and studies on the Catholic efforts which have been expended so generously and unselfishly towards the civilization of the negro race.

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The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1914-15), which have just appeared, contain several Papers and Addresses on Catholic subjects, particularly the *Indian Policy of Bernardo de Galvez*, by E. H. West, and a *Note on the Organization of the Oldest School for Girls in the Mississippi Valley*, by C. F. Richardson, a laudatory article on the work of the Ursulines in New Orleans.

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*The Indian Sentinel*, an illustrated magazine published in the interests of the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian children, will henceforth be issued as a quarterly, under the direction of the Rev. William H. Ketcham. The Bureau of the Catholic Indian Mission is located at 1326 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.

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The Library of the American Church History Seminar has been augmented by the following additions: *A Chronological Sketch of St. Patrick's Parish, Merna, Ill.* (1916); *The Catholic University of America* (1889-1916), extract from the *Catholic World* (June, 1916), by Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D.; *Literary Landmarks*, by Margaret Brent Downing, from the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society, Vol. xix (1916), pp. 22-60; *Silver Jubilee Souvenir of the Young Men's Dramatic Club of St. Peter's Church, St. Charles, Mo.* (1913); *Progress of the Catholic Church on Long Island*, Supplement to the *Tablet*, Brooklyn, N. Y., July 22, 1916, which contains an article by James A. Rooney, LL.D., on *Catholicity in Queens County*; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates, convened at Hartford, August 26, 1818, for the purpose of forming a Constitution of civil government for the People of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1901); J. Hammond Trumbull, *Historical Notes on the Constitutions of*

*Connecticut and on the Constitutional Convention of 1818* (Hartford, 1901); Rev. E. J. Devine, S.J., *John de Brebui, Apostle of the Hurons (1593-1649)*, Montreal, 1915; *Souvenir of Loretto Centenary (1799-1899)*, from the author, Rev. Ferdinand Kittell, D.D., Cresson, 1899; and *Apuntes para la iconografia del Libertador (Bolivar)*, by Manuel Segundo Sanchez (Caracas, 1916)—a perfect example of the scholarly work done by the historians of Venezuela, containing some twenty-nine plates, with historical notes, showing the great chieftain in the different stages of his remarkable career.

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# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PART I: THE AUXILIARY SCIENCES

### III. Paleography

The cornerstone of all scholarly work in the historical field at the present time is the knowledge and interpretation of the original sources. It is not in a spirit of skepticism, but with a sincere desire to know the truth, that nowadays everything begins and everything ends with the sources. These original sources may be *narrative* sources, *documentary* sources, *literary* sources, or *archeological* sources. In any good Manual of Historical Bibliography, such as that of Langlois (*Manuel de Bibliographie historique*. Paris, 1901-04), the student will find an excellent guide for his search among these different classes of original materials. In a general way, it may be said that *narrative* and *literary* sources (or books) are mostly to be found in LIBRARIES, although in some cases, such as the Vatican Library or the National Library in Paris, manuscripts as well as books are to be found therein. *Archeological* sources are kept usually in MUSEUMS, but care must be taken not to define the term too rigidly; the British Museum, for example, is principally a Library of books and manuscripts. *Documentary* or *manuscript* sources are housed usually in ARCHIVES. The Vatican Archives, the Archives des Affaires Etrangères (Paris), the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), the Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas), the Georgetown (Riggs) Archives, the Public Record Office (London), the Royal Bavarian Archives (Munich), the Bodleian Archives (Oxford), the Manuscript Section of the Library of Congress (Washington), and many others, are examples of these manuscript centers. While the science of Paleography cannot be confined solely to manuscript sources, nevertheless for all practical purposes its scope may be limited to the work of deciphering old documents taken from these general archival centers. Manuscript sources are one of the treasure-houses of all accurate knowledge of historical events and movements. John Gilmory Shea's four classic volumes are composed almost entirely of statements based upon the documents—manuscript and literary—which he collected, and which now are to be found in one of the best archival rooms in the country, at Georgetown University. The value of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* can be best judged by Shea's paleographical knowledge and ability to judge the historical facts in these documents. And it is because we know *aliunde* from his other writings that he had developed this paleographical skill to a higher degree than most scholars of his day, that we feel sure in following his conclusions. All present and future workers in this same field will need the same equipment; for, as Lehmann has observed, Paleography is a combination of knowledge, ideas, methods, and discipline, which enable one to read old writings correctly and without danger of error, to determine their age, their provenance, and their value, and to understand and explain whatever erroneous factors have crept into such writings.<sup>1</sup> In much that still needs to be done in

<sup>1</sup> LEHMANN, *Zur Paleographie und Handschriftenkunde* (Vol. i of the *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, of Ludwig Traube), p. 61. Munich, 1909.

American Church history, the sources are still in archival centers, such as Rome, Seville, London, and Baltimore. Some of the "Histories" written thus far, and some of the publications of the leading Catholic Historical Societies, contain a mass of printed material which has not yet been used. Where such manuscript sources have already been printed in Collections, and where they have been properly edited with notes and variant readings by scholars of repute, all that is necessary on the part of the student is a knowledge of the language in which they are written. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the printed materials for our American Catholic history form a very meagre section of the documents in existence for that purpose; and, in order to approach this untouched treasury, the student must be in possession of certain *instruments de travail* which will enable him to read his documents correctly, to test their genuineness, and thus to reach the truth of the facts they may contain. Naturally, we are still a long way from the ideal state where the custodians of all such documents appreciate their national as well as their ecclesiastical value, and the days of an open sesame seem still to be in the remote future. But, meanwhile, students must realize that there is at the present time, in all historical activity, a disposition which has short patience with second-hand knowledge. The student must offer his readers truth from first-hand materials. This has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. The principal advantage is that historical workers and writers are coming more and more to appreciate the past in its own proper light, uncolored by the shadowings of later writers. For this better understanding, sciences of an auxiliary nature have gathered around the parent stem of History, and the properly qualified student must be cognizant of all these different auxiliary branches which go to make up the skilled worker in History.

Among these Auxiliary Sciences, probably the most indispensable is the study of Paleography. Paleography has for its object the knowledge and the decipherment of old writings. It differs from Diplomatic—the science of the genuineness of a document, in this: that the former teaches us how to transcribe and interpret correctly all written documents, while the latter helps us to distinguish what is genuine from what is false in the document.<sup>2</sup> Among the subsidiary or allied sciences of Paleography are: *Epigraphy*, the science of inscriptions, graffiti, etc.; *Sigillography* (*Sphragistics*), or the science of seals; *Numismatics*, or the science of the *legenda* on money and medals; *iconography*; *papyrology*; the science of *miniatures*; *cryptography*; *tachygraphy*; the science of *hieroglyphics* and *cuneiform* writings; and the science of *musical paleography* or plain chant. The division of Paleography into these subsidiary studies dates from the nineteenth century, and the term nowadays is applied almost entirely to documents written on papyrus, parchment and paper.<sup>3</sup> There are also linguistic divisions: Oriental Paleography—the latest school of which is that at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Greek Paleography, which has been so thoroughly studied by Thompson, and which is of supreme importance in theological and canonical studies, and Latin Paleography, which holds an equally

<sup>2</sup> "L'una [Paleography] insegna ad interpretare e transcrivere corretttamente i monumenti scritti. L'altra [Diplomatic] a distinguere quali siano i genuini e quali i falsi." CARINI, *Sommario di Paleografia*, p. 3. Rome, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> FROU, *Manuel de Paléographie, latine et française*, p. 13. Paris, 1910.

important place in historical studies. Under this general term "Latin Paleography" are usually grouped all the languages of modern Europe.

Dom John Mabillon, the leader of the Benedictine School of St. Maur (1632-1707), has the honor of having raised Paleography to the dignity of a distinct science, in his famous work *De Re Diplomatica*, published at Paris in 1681.<sup>4</sup> The first great step in the development of paleographical studies was taken by the *Ecole des Chartes*, in Paris, founded in 1821, for the formation of archivists. Since that time, the science has occupied a permanent place in higher education. In Germany, the patriot von Stein founded a society for the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and the Paleographical school, which was begun to carry out this colossal undertaking, soon brought the science into all the German universities. In Austria, Sickel imitated the methods of the *Ecole des Chartes* in the *Institut pour le progrès de l'histoire autrichienne*, established at Vienna in 1854. In Italy, the organization of paleographical studies was concomitant with the opening of the Vatican Archives. A glance at any bibliographical list will show how profoundly Italian scholars have entered into this study. In Belgium, the pioneer in the work was Canon Reusens, who inaugurated the study at the University of Louvain, in 1882. From Germany, France, and Belgium, the science was received into England and America.

The student who reads literally the definition of Paleography given by Reusens or by Prou—"la paleographie est la science des anciennes écritures"—might well pose the question: *What practical value has this science for American Church history?* Medieval America seems a contradiction in terms, but the truth is that we have been so accustomed to a profusion of printed books that we are apt to think lightly of the value and interest of the written records.<sup>5</sup> Less than four and a half centuries ago, however, every record of an historical nature was a written one; and very much, if not all, of American Catholic history still lies hidden in manuscript. But, apart from its necessity in research-work, Paleography is valuable for the development of the memory, for the control of the imagination, and for the re-creation of the dead past. The scrupulous exactitude it demands for the smallest detail of a written document is a discipline which must help in training the historical mind to accuracy of judgment and expression. We need not share the enthusiasm of Leon Gautier in his apostrophe to Paleography—"tu es la mère de toutes les délicates jouissances, de toutes les nobles émotions, qui, à la vue du beau, nous consolent ici-bas de notre exil"<sup>6</sup>—but, when the great cry of History is *les sources, les sources, toujours remonter aux sources*,<sup>7</sup> a knowledge of Paleography will decide the value of the historian's work.

It would be impossible to attempt even the barest outline of the science in the space devoted to this Department of the REVIEW. We take it for granted that the elements of Paleography have already been mastered by the student; that he knows the history of the different kinds of substances upon which men

<sup>4</sup> Chapter XI of the first book is consecrated to the classification of the different kinds of writings; Book V consists of a collection of fac-similes with transcriptions.

<sup>5</sup> MADAN, *Books in Manuscript*, p. 1. London, 1893.

<sup>6</sup> GAUTIER, *Quelques mots sur l'étude de la Paléographie et de la Diplomatique*, p. 42. Paris, 1864.

<sup>7</sup> The motto of the students of the *Ecole des Chartes*.

have written from the beginning—bronze, lead, stone, slate, terra cotta, clay, walls of houses (*graffiti*), ivory, tree bark, wood, wax, linen, papyrus, parchment, and paper;<sup>8</sup> that he is familiar with the development of the different forms of writing—charters, deeds, books, rolls, volumes, codices, letters, incunabula, etc., etc.; and that history of the inks used from the beginning are also known to him. These facts can be found in any Manual of Paleography. A most complicated part of the science is the history of the different styles of hand-writing. Probably the best account of these writings is that contained in Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, in the Introduction of his third volume.<sup>9</sup>

Steffens divides the history of Latin hand-writing into four periods:

A. THE HANDWRITING OF ROMAN TIMES.

1. Capital (square and rustic) writing (I–VII cent.);
2. The earlier Roman cursive (I–IV cent.);
3. Uncial writing (VI–XI cent.);
4. Later Roman cursive (IV–IX cent.);
5. Semi-uncial writing (V–VIII cent.).

B. THE NATIONAL HANDWRITINGS.

1. Old-Italian (V–XIII cent.);
  - (a) Old Italian Cursive writing;
  - (b) The writing of the Papal Chancery;
  - (c) Old Italian Book Hand;
  - (d) Lombard-Benevento Book Hand.
2. Merovingian Handwriting and Book Hand (VI–VIII cent.);
3. Visigothic Handwriting (VII–XII cent.);
4. Irish and Anglo-Saxon Script (V–XVI cent.).

C. THE CAROLINGIAN MINUSCULE SCRIPT (IX–XII cent.).

D. THE GOTHIC MINUSCULE (XII–XVI cent.).

E. HUMANISTIC AND MODERN GOTHIC SCRIPT (XVI–XX cent.).

The historian sees in these changes from one handwriting to another, guide-posts, as it were, along the centuries. The old majestic capitals of the Roman empire with their accompanying cursive for rapid writing, which is in reality a sort of simplified capital hand, gave way to the national writings after the Barbarian invasions. The cursive underwent a further change in this, that smaller letters (minuscule) were used, and from this minuscule arose the different writings called Lombardian, Merovingian, Visigothic, and Anglo-Saxon. But, as Prou points out (*o. c.*, pp. 77–78), these names have more than a geographical signification. The Carolingian style of handwriting stands alone as a memorial to the beauty of Charlemagne's various reforms, which nowadays go under the general term of the Carolingian Renaissance. The spread of the Irish missionaries in England, and on the Continent, where they erected monasteries and centers of learning from Quentovic to Rome, chief of which were the schools at Toul, Fontaine, Luxeuil, St. Gall, Plaisance, and Bobbio, brought into the civilized world, then in the throes of the invasion, one of the most powerful influences for culture which ever existed.<sup>10</sup> The Irish monks were indeed the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. PROU, *o. c.*, pp. 3–40; REUSSENS, *o. c.*, pp. 365–88; GIRY, pp. 479–507.

<sup>9</sup> This work exists also in a French translation: STEFFENS, *Paléographie latine, facsimilés accompagnés de transcriptions et d'explications, avec un exposé systématique de l'histoire de l'écriture latine*. Treves, 1910.

<sup>10</sup> GOUGAUD, *Les Chrétiens Celtiques*, p. 291. Paris, 1911.

leaders in the Carolingian Revival. The copy of the Gospels known as the *Book of Kells*, for example, stands apart in the realm of Paleography as the finest example of the period. The Caroline minuscule soon predominated throughout Europe, but about the twelfth century, a new form became widely used, known as the Gothic. This was the form used in the first printed books. It was less round and less graceful in outline than the Caroline. The influence of Humanism in the fifteenth century caused an equally strong change in the handwriting of modern Europe, and it effected a gradual return to the old Roman minuscule. With the invention of printing, books took the place of manuscripts and each country developed gradually its own modification of type, whether Caroline or Gothic. In Germany, the old Gothic Script is still used; and the modern hands in use are hardly more than a development of the forms introduced at the Renaissance. The history of writing in general would be incomplete without a paragraph devoted to the musical paleography of the Middle Ages, the study of which was so successfully revived by the late Pontiff, Pius X. No aspect of paleographical study demands a more profound knowledge of medieval customs and institutions. Some years ago an effort was made in Philadelphia to introduce the study into this country, but it was soon found that the liturgical education of the clergy had been such up to that time that it was impossible to arouse a national interest, and the effort unfortunately had to be abandoned.

The Bibliography of the paleographical sciences is an immense one. Besides the lists to be found in PROU, REUBENS, THOMPSON, STEFFENS, etc., etc., other guide-books are: MOORE, *Two Select Bibliographies of medieval historical Study* (London, 1912), which contains a classified list of works relating to English Paleography; and QUANTIN, *Dictionnaire de Diplomatique Chrétienne*, in the *Encyclopédie Théologique* (Vol. xlvii) of Migne (Paris, 1860). For practical purposes we subjoin only the more useful volumes on this vast subject.

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Page 10

# The Catholic Historical Review

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## LOSS AND GAIN IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (1800-1916)

From the discovery and first explorations of the Western Continent, the spiritual care of the native tribes as well as of the early settlers was an important part of the policy of Spain and France, and was stipulated in the patents of exploration and settlement granted by these governments. Missionaries were sent with nearly all expeditions of discovery so that the natives and inhabitants of the new lands might be brought to understand the truths of our Holy Faith and become Christians. There is no doubt that, between 1550 and 1750, thousands of Indians were converted in different parts of the territory that is now within the limits of the United States; but the mission records and statistics that have come down to us are so meager that it is impossible to estimate the number of converts among the natives, or to follow their history, except along very broad and indefinite lines. One thing is certain: no country ever had more fearless and zealous missionaries—missionaries who labored and persevered amid dangers and hardships that tried their faith and heroism. American soil was generously consecrated by martyr blood. Yet, before the year 1750, the work of the missionaries was in great part destroyed; conspiracies, rebellions among the Indians, the uprising of hostile tribes and hostile colonists, the massacre of missionaries and Catholic settlers, and the dispersion of the survivors, tell the sad story of the ruin of flourishing missions and the shattered hopes of the Church in North America, before the middle of the eighteenth century.

However, it is the purpose of this paper to deal with the religious history of later Catholic immigrants and their descendants in the United States rather than to dwell upon the history

of Indian missions and Catholic settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The problem before us is to determine, at least approximately, the extent of apostasies and other defections from the Church in the United States, especially during the last one hundred and sixteen years. Charges have been repeatedly made that the Church has not held its own in this country. That, compared with other countries, there has been a failure of organization and missionary zeal and labor on the part of our bishop and priests, and that, as a consequence, the number of Catholics in the United States today is five or even seven millions less than it should be. These charges refer almost entirely to the white population. It is a question, therefore, of the fidelity with which white immigrants and their descendants have clung to their faith, and whether the places of those who failed have been filled and are more than filled by conversions.

To solve the problem with any degree of accuracy, we must begin with some definite period and begin with sufficient knowledge of the Catholic population in this country at that time. Given the Catholic population at that date, its increase in the nation can come from (a) births, (b) immigration, and (c) conversions. Its decrease will be by (a) deaths, (b) emigration, and (c) perversion. If the elements of birth, death, immigration and emigration are correctly introduced into the calculation, and are set against each other accurately, the resultant figures will show how many Catholics should be in the United States in the year 1916 and enable us to judge whether the Church has lost more by perversion than have been gained by conversion. To determine the question of loss or gain to the Church in this country from its discovery, it would be necessary to know the number of Catholics that came to the various settlements from the first immigrations and the increase or decrease in each group from decade to decade, and the causes of the increase or decrease. Now the data and sources of information relating to the Catholic population of the old Spanish and French missions and to all other settlements within the present territory of the United States, say from the year 1600 to 1800, are so scant and indefinite that no historian or statistician has attempted to guess even the success or failure, the defeats or victories, the losses and gains, of the Church during that period, and it is not probable

that the facts will ever be known more fully than they are now. The statistical history of the Church's successes or failures during that period can no more be written than we can find the names, or trace the history, of more than a very few of the Catholic pioneer families of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. In only a very small number of places in the United States were there organized parishes or missions one hundred years ago; and it is during the last one hundred, or one hundred and twenty years, that church records and government statistics enable us to reckon how the Church has grown in this country by a natural increase of families and by immigration. Some of us have heard our parents or grandparents tell that less than one hundred years ago there was not one Catholic family in places that are now centers of Catholic dioceses. Some of the older men and women of today can remember the first Catholic family that settled in counties or towns that now have many churches and large Catholic congregations. Few of our congregations were organized before the opening of the nineteenth century, while many Protestant communities in all parts of the country have had organized congregations and church buildings since that time—an evidence that the Catholic proportion of the population of the United States was very small one hundred years ago, and that there were then no great number of Catholics in the country, and that those that were here bravely fought the good fight, kept the faith, and laid the foundations of a mighty Catholic Church in America. That there have been losses, all must admit; for men have fallen from truth and grace in every period of Christianity and in every country; but it has not been proven that the defections from the Church in the United States have been more numerous, in proportion to the Catholic population, than in other places, or so extensive as to be reckoned by millions.

In the absence of reliable data, or rather of almost all data, it is but idle speculation to attempt to estimate gains or losses before the time when the study of the composition and characteristics of our population was begun by the Government of the United States.

Between 1650 and 1750 there was little immigration into the colonies. The population of New England at the time of the

Revolution was estimated to have been produced out of an original immigration of about 20,000 persons who arrived before 1640. Franklin stated in 1751 that the population then in the colonies, amounting to about 1,000,000, had been produced from an original immigration of less than 80,000. Prescott F. Hall, in his *History of Immigration*, says: "In the thirteen original States the pioneers were practically all British, Irish, Dutch, and German, with a few French, Portuguese and Swedes. The Germans were Protestants from the Palatinate, and were pretty generally scattered, having colonized in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The Swedes settled along the Delaware River. The French were Huguenots driven from home by Louis XIV. The Irish were descendants of Cromwell's army, and came from the North of Ireland." Bishop Challoner, in 1763, estimated that, outside of Pennsylvania and Maryland, there were very few Catholics in the British Colonies. The number of Catholics in this country at the beginning of the Revolution is ordinarily estimated at twenty or twenty-five thousand. The first census was taken in 1790 and gave a total white population of nearly 3,920,000. At the time the United States comprised the territory between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River except Florida. Including Florida, the white population was about 4,000,000. Of these, according to Bishop Carroll's estimate, 80,000 were Catholics: 16,000 in Maryland; 7,000 in Pennsylvania; 3,000 in the region of Detroit and Vincennes; 2,500 in Illinois, and in other parts of the country not more than 1,500.

The first official records of immigration begin with the year 1820. From 1840 to the present, we have records including the countries, numbers, ages, sexes, and occupations of the immigrants. In the government records it is estimated that, from 1785 to 1820, the number of immigrants to this country was 250,000, and all writers agree that the great majority of these were Protestants.

At the time of the first census in 1790, Bishop Carroll estimated the Catholic population of the United States at 30,000. Between 1800 and 1820, Florida, Louisiana, and the West, with a Catholic population, according to Archbishop Maréchal, of 75,000, had been added to the territory of the United States.

The population of the country increased about 35 per cent in each decade from 1790 to 1820. If we increase Bishop Carroll's estimate of 30,000, which is considered low, to 40,000, it would amount (at 35 per cent for each decade) to 98,000 in 1820, and adding the 75,000 in the acquired territory and 70,000 gained by immigration, we can estimate the total Catholic population in 1820 at 243,000, and that figure is assumed as the basis of the following computation.

To ascertain the real increase of the Catholic population from this period to 1916, we must find the excess of births over deaths (natural increase) among Catholics, and the excess of Catholic immigrants over Catholic emigrants. The natural increase (by births) of the total population is found by deducting the increase by immigration from the total increase at the end of the ten-year period. The percentage of that increase from 1900 to 1910 for the total white population was about 22.3 per cent. That percentage has been raised to 25 per cent in computing the natural increase of the Catholic population during the same period. The percentage of natural increase in the Catholic population for any period has been determined by an examination into the excess of births over deaths in various growing dioceses in this and other countries, and by other factors thought worthy of consideration. It ranges in the United States in each decade from 35 per cent under the most favorable conditions, down to 20 per cent, and is modified in each period by the increase or decline of Catholic immigration. The increase by immigration in any decennial period is found by subtracting the number of foreign-born in the total population at the beginning of the period from the number of foreign-born in the population at the end of the period. These factors of calculation can be determined from the reports of the United States Census and the Commission of Immigration, and the process will give the increase by immigration during the ten-year period.

The Catholic increase by immigration is found for any period by adding to the Catholic population the same percentage of the total increase in the foreign-born population that will represent the proportion of Catholics in the countries from which the immigrants came. The number of foreign-born persons in the United States and the countries from which the immigrants came

can be found for each decade in the reports of each decennial census, and the number of Catholics among the foreign-born can be found by the percentage of Catholics in the population of the country from which the immigrants came, by tables similar to the following, one of which was made out for each decade since 1820.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1900 AND 1910

Countries	Per cent Catholics	Foreign-born, 1900	Catholics, 1900	Foreign-born, 1910	Catholics, 1910
England.....	.056	842,078	46,556	875,400	49,022
Wales.....	.056	93,682	5,246	82,600	4,625
Scotland.....	.13	233,977	30,417	263,400	34,190
Ireland.....	.75	1,618,567	1,213,923	1,351,400	1,013,550
Germany.....	.37	2,666,990	986,786	2,242,999	829,909
Canada and Newfoundland:					
English.....	.42	785,958	330,102	798,667	335,440
French.....	.90	395,297	355,768	399,333	359,400
Sweden.....	.0002	573,040	114	665,500	133
Norway.....	.0005	336,985	168	403,500	201
Denmark.....	.0014	154,284	215	181,500	254
Russia.....	.15	335,036	50,254	956,333	143,449
Lithuania.....	.95	89,060	84,607	164,766	156,528
Italy.....	.95	484,207	459,997	1,341,800	1,274,710
Poland.....	.95	383,510	364,335	838,120	796,214
Austria.....	.78	433,240	337,927	1,064,482	830,295
France.....	.90	104,341	93,907	117,100	105,390
Switzerland.....	.40	115,851	46,340	124,800	49,920
Holland.....	.35	105,049	36,872	120,000	42,120
Mexico.....	.90	103,410	93,069	218,800	196,920
Cuba and West Indies	.80	25,586	20,468	51,228	40,984
Hungary.....	.78	145,802	113,725	468,500	365,430
Belgium.....	.95	29,804	28,314	35,000	33,250
Portugal.....	.95	30,618	29,088	60,786	57,747
Spain.....	.95	7,072	6,719	37,344	35,477
South America.....	.90	4,761	4,285	12,889	11,601
Finland.....	.0004	62,638	25	129,600	51
Greece.....	.005	8,564	42	101,100	505
Pacific Islands.....	.40	2,049	819	1,807	722
Syria.....	.50	20,000	10,000	46,754	23,377
Atlantic Islands.....	.75	9,784	7,398	15,560	11,670
All other countries...	.30	12,577	3,773	172,515	51,754
		10,213,817 <sup>1</sup>	4,761,199	13,343,583 <sup>2</sup>	6,854,838

<sup>1</sup> Does not include: Chinese, 89,863; Japanese and other Asiatics, 37,596.

<sup>2</sup> Does not include: Chinese, 70,944; Japanese, 71,722; other Asiatics, 2,936.

By means of these methods and rules, it was found that the Catholic population of 243,000 in 1820 should have grown by natural increase and immigration to 18,483,320 in 1910. The conclusions and some of the processes appeared in a pamphlet,



*An Historical and Statistical Examination into the Losses and Gains of the Catholic Church in the United States from 1790 to 1910*, published in 1912. In that year, 1910, it was apparent that if the Church had held its own there should have been 18,483,320 Catholics in the United States. The total white population has increased by births and immigration about 11 per cent since 1910, on the basis of increase from 1900 to 1910. The rate of increase is, as a rule, greater in the second half of the decade than in the first five years. At the end of the year 1915, a liberal calculation would give the percentage of increase in the Catholic population by births and immigration as 12 per cent. This would increase the figures 18,483,320 for 1910, by 2,217,998, giving a total of 20,701,318 at the end of the year 1915. The *Catholic Directory* for 1916 gives the Catholic population of the United States at the end of the year 1915 as 16,564,109—a discrepancy of 4,137,209. This, however, does not mean that, in the century and a quarter since 1790, over four millions of Catholics were lost to the Church. Many considerations forbid such a conclusion. There are today in the United States nearly three million Italians, including foreign-born and their descendants. There are more than a million immigrants from France, Belgium, Cuba, Mexico, and Spanish America. Not 30 per cent of these would be included in the parish or diocesan census on which the *Catholic Directory* depends for its figures. Yet these uncounted millions are as Catholic today as the same class of people in the country of their ancestors. There are, again, the non-contributing and merely nominal Catholics, who are usually passed over in the parish census. There are, too, great numbers of very practical Catholics, recent immigrants who do not speak English and who are not enumerated in the parish census though they are ready to make great sacrifices to preserve their faith and that of their descendants. If the *Catholic Directory* had an accurate enumeration of all these, the discrepancy would be greatly reduced, if it did not entirely disappear.

Then, too, the figures 20,701,318 have been reached by maximum estimates and allowances for Catholic increase. Catholics in the foreign-born population are estimated at the highest percentage that the census and immigration reports will allow. The Catholic birth rate is fixed in each decade at a much higher

figure than the general birth rate of the country; yet many of our people are not free from the evils of late marriage, and of birth control, and the preponderance of men among the immigrants is high. In the great Italian and Slav immigrations, only 33 per cent of the immigrants were women. The effect of such conditions on the birth rate and increase, while not definitely calculable, is very great. Add to this the fact that the government census reports do not include the foreign-born citizens who, with their children, return to the land of their nativity, or emigrate to some other country and live the life remaining to them there. They are necessarily treated in this calculation as though they and their descendants had continued to reside in the United States. The estimate, 20,701,318 Catholics in the United States at the end of the year 1915, is the maximum estimate that can be fairly made. It represents the number of Catholics that should be in the United States if there had been no defections, or if the defections had been fully made up by conversions.

The Church in what is now the United States began the nineteenth century with about fifty priests, fifty churches, and a Catholic white population of not more than 100,000. Catholics were then but emerging from the penal days of the eighteenth century; they possessed but the most meager civic rights, with but a few men of learning, wealth, or position, among their members; they had to struggle on through difficulties and opposition which only men of strong hearts and strong faith could overcome. When we study the conditions of Catholics at the end of the eighteenth century, and consider what Catholics did in this country during the nineteenth century, we must be convinced that they fought no losing battle. They could not have been weak in their faith, their bishops and priests could not have been wanting in zeal and self-sacrificing labor for souls, and accomplish what has been accomplished in one hundred years.

No body of Catholics in history approached to anything like the marvelous progress which this poverty-stricken, hard-working, unlettered, persecuted, Catholic minority in the United States made between 1800 and 1900. Churches, schools, colleges and universities have sprung up all over the land; institutions of mercy and charity are there to testify to the love of these people

for their fellow-man. There could not have been defections and apostasies of millions of Catholics, and at the same time a material and earthly progress of religious institutions and a Catholic virility that have not been surpassed in any nation or in any age. The stalwart faith and loyalty and piety of the Catholics of this country today, their unity and devotion to the Vicar of Christ, the position of the Church in the United States, prove that, amid the conflicts of the nineteenth century, faith and fidelity supported and sanctified the lives and work of those who preceded us, and ought to determine us not to accept without proof the statements of prejudiced minds that the Church has failed in this republic; that our losses have been greater than our gains, especially when we consider that our mission to those outside the fold and gains by conversion have been as great, if not greater, during the last one hundred years than in any country of Europe.

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## CONCERNING CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The late Edward Freeman did but a poor service to his profession when he gave utterance to the dictum that "history is past politics." It is true that he but formulated the belief, as evidenced by their works, of many of his predecessors and contemporaries, and even today far too many teachers and writers of history hold to the narrow view set forth by the distinguished regius professor. Fortunately, however, not only for the historical profession but for all those who, unconsciously or otherwise, are served by history, it is now generally recognized that history is far more than past politics. Someone has happily described it as the "memory of society," a description which, barring certain difficulties in the comparison, is, perhaps, more apt than any other. The human being who has lost his memory is indeed in a pitiable plight. Just as memory of past experience is the most constant single factor in determining individual conduct, so the social memory is the most constant single factor in determining public opinion, which itself is the mainspring of social activity.

Furthermore, as the individual memory may be mistaken and the individual forced to correct it by reference to diary, letters, or memoranda, so may the social memory be at fault, and recourse must be had to documentary and other materials in order that society may, in the determination of its conduct, be guided by a correct understanding of its past experience.

The function of the historian thus is to jog the social memory, to study the experience of society in the past and to set forth his findings for the service of the present.

Let it not be assumed that I am advancing the theory—which I believe to be fallacious—that the study of the past enables us to foretell the future. The individual cannot prophesy as to his future on the basis of his memory and no more can society forecast what is to come by reference to its history. But what I do maintain is that, just as the individual cannot hope to conduct himself with wisdom and prudence unless he possesses a correct knowledge and understanding of his experience, so society cannot expect to meet wisely new situations as they arise without a true knowledge and understanding of its history.

The newspaper of the present day is sometimes regarded as the antithesis of all that is historical, and yet I venture to say that no institution, if the newspaper may be called an institution, is more dependent upon history, or has more frequent recourse to it. No account of an accident, or of a catastrophe, or of an international crisis but is set off with a wealth of historical and biographical details. The newspaper furnishes us with the most convincing demonstration of the truth that the events of the present are meaningless unless they be viewed in the light of the past.

It has been customary in some circles to regard the historical profession as devoted to a harmless, though amiable pursuit, but one of little if any "practical" use, and to look upon the student of history as a person who, having too few red corpuscles in his blood, is content to bury his head in the dust of the past, oblivious to the interests and exigencies of the present.

That such a view has prevailed is doubtless the fault, to a certain extent, of members of the historical profession themselves. Still more, however, is it due to the fact that the general public fails to realize to what a degree it depends upon history at every turn. Just as the Bourgeois Gentilhomme had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it, so society has, throughout its existence, had daily and hourly recourse to its history without realizing it.

It has been a weakness of the historical profession that, often engrossed in matters of method and of minute detail, it has too little recognized its obligations to the world in which it lives. It has overemphasized now one phase, now another, of its subject matter. Political history—the history of governments in their dealings with each other and with their peoples—preoccupied the historian until the latter part of the last century. Then we heard much about the "economic side" of history, which was thought to be the determining factor in the course of human events; then came the "geographical factor" demanding due consideration, and we were asked to believe that the accidents of the earth's surface were the predominating causal elements; "social" factors came along in turn and the science of sociology spread abroad over the land, bringing in its train the ethnic, cultural, and religious "factors." To the outsider, the historical profession seemed to be a house divided and subdivided against

itself; and the Philistines gleefully predicted its speedy collapse.

Out of the seeming chaos, however, has developed the modern idea of history—namely, that its function is to present truthfully, and in their proper inter-relations, all phases of the past for the consideration of the present. But no one historian undertakes to do this any more than any single member of the medical profession undertakes to pose as a master of all branches of medical and surgical science. Every profession is and must be composed of specialists, and the historical profession is no exception to the rule.

The functions of the specialists vary. There are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water; there are those who assemble and make accessible the materials which are to serve as the basis of all historical investigation; there are others who study in minutest detail one small phase or period or area of historical activity; there are others still who coordinate the work of others and produce histories of more general range, and there are also those who interpret, but these are called philosophers.

Certain it is that the work of the first of these groups is fundamental to the work of all the others; also it is a work in which all may have a part. Indeed the very nature of the case demands that as many as possible should have a part in it, for history is the account of all phases of human, or, if you please, social activity, which is the same thing, and it is based upon the records of that activity. Now everyone contributes, in one way or another, to the creation of those records, and everyone may and should contribute to their accumulation, to their collection and to making them accessible.

Much confusion is due to the connotation of the word "record." We are apt to think of it as something formal, something official, as appertaining to government or to organized institutions. In its broader sense, however, the word is used by the historian to describe anything that gives him a clue to the facts which he is seeking to determine. The notes and other communications exchanged between the belligerent governments at the outbreak of the present war are readily recognized as historical records of great importance, and numerous weighty volumes have already been written based on them alone. But the ill-spelled, laboriously written letters from pioneers in the Ohio country to their New England relatives are just as really historical

records, and to certain students they are far more precious than the momentous documents of midsummer, 1914. We value the contemporaneous portraits of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin, and give them a prominent place in our museums and galleries; but if there had been a camp photographer at Valley Forge, I imagine that a few score examples of his art would aid us far more in visualizing the struggle for independence than do the canvases of Peale.

No human document is beneath the consideration of the historical profession, and human documents are as infinite in their variety as are human activities themselves. The collection and preservation of such documents is essentially a cooperative task and it is to the accomplishment of this task that historical societies may most usefully devote themselves.

In the United States and Canada there are nearly five hundred voluntary organizations bearing the name of Historical Society. The American nation, more perhaps than any other, is curious as to its history. Possibly this is because the American regards the history of his country, or at any rate of his state or locality, as a personal matter. Much of it has been made within the period covered by his own memory; he himself or his ancestors have had a part in making it; the beginnings of America are not so remote as to defy the imagination. At any rate, whatever the explanation, there are more Historical Societies in the United States than in any other country. They are devoted for the most part to the history of various territorial areas, but there are some that occupy themselves with other fields. Of such probably none have greater possibilities of usefulness than those which are concerned mainly with church or religious history. There are not many of these—the American Baptist Historical Society of Philadelphia, the New England Baptist Historical Society of Boston, the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, and the Unitarian and Universalist Historical Societies, both naturally of Massachusetts, are the only societies devoted to the history of the non-Catholic denominations that find mention in a report made some years ago to the American Historical Association.

The Catholic Church is better represented, especially by the strong and active American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1884, by the younger Catholic Historical

Society of St. Paul, and by such other organizations as the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, the Maine Catholic Historical Society, and others. Some of these societies have really notable collections of books and manuscripts. One of them has, for over twenty-five years, published with much credit to itself the quarterly *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*; the St. Paul Society is engaged in putting out an annual collection of *Acta et Dicta*; while the United States Catholic Historical Society, which for five years (1887-1892) brought out the *Catholic Historical Magazine*, now publishes an annual volume of *Historical Records and Studies*. During the last two years there has appeared, from the Catholic University of America, the *Catholic Historical Review* in whose pages this article is printed, which has received most favorable notice from the historical profession in general and which promises to become the recognized organ of all American Catholic historical activity.

It will be seen, then, that the American Catholics have done much more for their history than have any of the Protestant denominations. But even all that has been accomplished is but little in comparison with the opportunities afforded by this field of history. Religious history has as yet by no means come into its own in America. Its delayed development is due in part to the tendency to draw a sharp dividing line between religious and other activities—a tendency which is emphasized by the absolute separation of church and state under our form of government. The church and religion have seemed to be things apart from the state, and the historical investigator has been too much inclined to leave them entirely to one side. This is perhaps strange when we consider the dominant part played by both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Theocratic New England and the church-dominated colonies of France and Spain give to the religious history of the ante-revolutionary period an importance which has not been entirely overlooked, but which, nevertheless, has not received sufficient attention. But the religious aspects of our national history, as distinct from our colonial history, have been almost ignored.

Now as one of the causal elements in human conduct religion is, as it always has been, of supreme importance. Man is essentially religious by nature, whether he recognizes the fact or not.



In countless villages and towns nearly all social life centers about the church or churches, and especially is this true with regard to the Catholic Church. But not only is the Catholic Church an important social center, its schools and colleges make it also a center of educational activities; indeed, it takes part in all phases of the life of its communicants, who themselves constitute a very appreciable percentage of the total population of our country.

Has not the time come to recognize the importance of church and religious history; to gather together the materials upon which that history must be based; to impress upon clergy and laymen alike the necessity of cooperation in accomplishing the task fundamental to all historical investigation?

The organization of the Catholic Church lends itself admirably to this work. The problem is mainly one of method, and it is to that problem that this article chiefly devotes consideration.

In every Diocese of the Catholic Church in America there should be organized, as has been done in those of New York, Philadelphia, St. Paul, Portland, Me., and one or two others, a Diocesan Historical Society. It would naturally be under the patronage, if not the direct guidance, of the bishop. In composition it should resemble most American learned societies, a characteristic feature of which is that they are large semi-popular bodies open to all who desire to join but administered by those most interested in the objects to which they are devoted. The result is that, under the guidance of a relatively small number of experts, the resources and support contributed by the many are most usefully utilized. Such an organization is not undemocratic, provided, of course, that ultimate control rests in the general membership.

In a Diocesan Society such as I have suggested, it is natural to expect that the clergy, by reason of their training and interest, would be the guiding element, to which, however, should be added such laymen as are qualified by education, by vocation, or by taste. The society should be established by proper ecclesiastical authority so as to give it a definite and official status capable of being recognized in a formal way. Into details of organization, however, it is not needful to enter at present. They must be determined by circumstances which necessarily vary in different dioceses.

It is especially with the functions of such a society that I

wish to deal. The functions or activities of any historical society lie naturally along two lines—the collection of historical material and the dissemination of historical information. Concomitant with these activities is the arousing of a popular and intelligent interest in history.'

It seems to be a generally accepted opinion among workers in the historical field that the function of first importance is that of collecting materials. Without collections of books, manuscripts, and other objects, the historian is helpless. They are to him what rocks and soils are to the geologist, or flora to the botanist. The Diocesan Historical Society should then devote itself first of all to the gathering of material.

To this end a suitable building should be acquired or a portion of a building set apart. The building need not be costly nor of pretentious architecture, but it must, and this is imperative, afford complete security from fire and other accidents to the collections which it is to house. We may well envy some of the European societies the charming and quaint medieval edifices which they occupy, edifices which are in themselves historical monuments of no little interest. In America we may have to be content with providing a secure resting place for our treasures, but we must not be content with less.

The collections themselves fall naturally into three divisions: Archives, Library, and Museum. Of these the Archives are the most important. They would include first of all the official records of the Diocese and of the parishes which compose it, so far as these records are not needed for constant use and purposes of reference in the offices or localities to which they belong. The Archives should also include the official correspondence of the Diocese; that is, the correspondence of the Bishop with the clergy, with the Archbishop and other ecclesiastical officials in America and elsewhere, and with Rome. The parish correspondence should also be included in the Archives; that is, the official correspondence of the clergy among themselves and with others. Provision for the centralization of such records and correspondence should be made by ecclesiastical legislation. The gathering together of this material does not necessarily mean that it is to be thrown open to all comers. The records and correspondence that I have mentioned constitute the official

Archives of the Diocese; the authorities of the Diocese have ample power to determine and control the use to which they may be put. No government allows free access to all of its archives, and it is hardly to be expected that semi-public organizations and institutions should do so.

Side by side with these original official archives, supplementing them, should be gathered copies, photographic or otherwise, of documents selected from the Vatican Archives in Rome, from those of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and from European Archives generally. In Paris the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives Nationales are especially rich in manuscript documents relating to American church history. The same is true of certain English, German, and Austrian archives, and especially of the archives of Spain. Some idea of the wealth of this sort of material may be obtained from the series of *Guides* that have been published or that are in course of preparation by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Probably the maintenance of European copyists would be too formidable an undertaking for any single Diocesan Society, but it might be accomplished through cooperation on the part of several societies, just as the Historical Societies of the Mississippi Valley have cooperated to prepare a catalogue of all documents in the French archives relating to that region.

In addition to the archives, both original and in copy, there should be collected miscellaneous manuscripts of every description. Such work as this has well-nigh endless possibilities. Probably in any parish there is hardly a family that has not some few letters, diaries, old account books, or similar material that could be secured for the society's collections. In immigrant families one would expect to find letters from the home-land; in families long established in America should be letters from sons and relatives who have moved away to newer parts of the country. Countless Catholic families have soldier or sailor sons, and their letters, especially in the aggregate, must be possessed of the greatest interest.

Another class of material, which is eagerly sought for by the economic historian and which may prove suggestive to the church historian, consists of the records of business houses. What a light it would throw upon the life of the middle ages if

we had access to any considerable quantity of the records of the shopkeepers and tradespeople of, say, Bologna. Yet the records of the tradespeople of today will be as eagerly sought for and utilized by the student of future centuries. Farm and plantation records constitute another class of economic material of which much use is made at the present time in reconstructing the life of the ante-bellum South. In the seaport towns along the Atlantic coast are many families who have preserved ship's papers, or long letters from skippers engaged in the whale fishery or in the China trade; others have fragmentary records of commercial houses throwing light upon foreign trade. The families of professional men, especially lawyers, not infrequently are found to possess whole barrels of miscellaneous papers from long forgotten law offices: wills, deeds, agreements, accounts, correspondence, and similar documents. Of intensely human interest, to employ a much abused expression, are the funeral notices, the mourning cards, and the announcements of weddings, births, or christenings that nearly every family has treasured up. Such documents may not seem important, but in the aggregate these constitute a valuable commentary on popular and social customs. A restaurant menu, a family cook book, with choice recipes written in by hand, a shopping list—all of these seem fairly commonplace and insignificant, but to the historian of two centuries hence they will not appear so. Programmes of theaters, of concerts, or of church "entertainments," the parish *Bulletins*, prospectuses of popular lecture courses, circus posters, announcements of excursions, hand bills of auctions, even the score cards sold at baseball games—all of these, in judicious selection, picture the community in its moments of recreation. The literature sent to voters before election, specimen ballots, voting lists, and similar material may often render the greatest service to the investigator. And so the list might be continued indefinitely, but it has probably been carried far enough to suggest the possibilities, in any community, of collecting material that illustrates with great wealth of detail all phases of the life of that community. When one considers the opportunity which the parish clergy have of entering into the homes of the people and of gathering such historical pabulum as has been described, one realizes what an incalculable service to the cause of history may be rendered by the Diocesan Society.

The Library of the society is of necessity more formal. Naturally it would contain such works of reference as it might be possible to secure, but especially should it devote itself to the collection of local publications. Town and county histories, biographies of former citizens and communicants, the published documents of municipalities and other political divisions—such books would form a substantial part of its collections. Other classes of materials that should be obtained are almanacs, catalogues of stores and manufacturers, text-books used in the schools, collections of popular songs, commercial prospectuses, and above all, although mentioned rather incongruously at this point, works of church and religious history. Newspapers and other periodical publications constitute an important category in the collections of any library, but in the Library of an historical society they are of an especial importance. While the Society may readily preserve the weekly newspapers of the small town and should endeavor to do so, it is clearly not possible, unless the Society has unusual resources both in money and in storage space, to preserve complete files of the great daily papers. These are the despair of the largest libraries in the country. An expedient to be recommended is the collection of newspaper clippings. In the course of a few years a collection of clippings from the larger newspapers relating to matters of church and religion would attain to very considerable proportions, and, if properly classified, would be of untold service to the cautious student. Other periodical publications, which it is especially desirable to preserve, are the religious and church papers, magazines, calendars, or bulletins, as well as the publications of missionary societies and of such other societies as have a close connection with the church. Few libraries have files of this material, which, however, is exceedingly valuable.

The Library should be so equipped as to constitute an ideal place of study, and it should be the aim of the society to make it such a center of work that students would be compelled to resort to it. There are many historical societies in the country that maintain a library of sorts which is open only to members and at some such hours as from 2 to 4 on Fridays. The Diocesan Society would doubtless follow a more liberal policy.

The Museum should be one of the society's chief attractions. Through it a strong and wide appeal may be made to the popular

imagination, and it should be utilized to the utmost as a means not only of arousing interest in matters historical, but also of adding to the Society's collections. No casual visitor ever drops into an archive depot to see what may be there, and few, without some special mission, frequent a library unless it be to see the mural paintings or the grand stairway, but no one, whether he be a tourist or merely a native, can resist the call of the museum. If the Museum, by reason of its collections and the manner of displaying them, can arouse even a transient interest in the past, who shall say that some good has not been done? It is only within recent years that we have come to appreciate the function of the historical museum. The great difficulty in all historical study is to visualize the past. Constantly we find ourselves thinking of it in terms of the present, or if we do not do that we allow our imagination to carry us far afield and we picture the men and women of former generations in a way that would doubtless surprise and possibly pain those worthies. The function of the historical museum is to aid in the correct visualization of the past. It enables us the better to know the people of a bygone age: how they looked, what they wore, the familiar objects with which they were surrounded, the utensils and implements that they were accustomed to handle, what they rode in when they went abroad, the objects they saw in shop windows, in short, all the commonplaces of their existence. It is only with some such aid that we can enter into their lives and, to a limited extent, see things with their eyes.

Almost every community can supply enough objects serving to illustrate its past and present life to stock a small museum. Of especial interest are the relics of the fatherland brought to America by the immigrants, which are too often despised by the second generation. An illustration that comes to mind is the Moravian museum at Winston-Salem in North Carolina. The illustration is the more apt because the community has from its foundation been essentially a religious community. Here in a small building are displayed dishes, costumes, musical instruments, head dress, furniture, and countless other objects, all of which have been things in actual use. The past life of the village seems to take on form and substance as one wanders up and down between the shelves and the show cases.

The arrangement of objects in a museum is an art in itself and much has of late been written about it. Into its details I need not go, even were I competent to do so. The guiding principle, however, is the association of ideas. Scattered objects which have no relation to each other mean but little and tend to confuse. If, however, an old room can be reconstructed with the furniture and bric-a-brac and rugs and dishes all in their appropriate places, how it seems to impart life and meaning to the exhibit!

Closely allied to the objects in the Museum, but constituting a distinct class by themselves, are pictures, especially photographs. The art of photography is of such recent origin that the student only of the most modern history can profit by it. Brady's photographs of the Civil War and the thousands of photographs of the present war illustrate the value of this sort of material. It is not necessary, however, to wait for a war to secure photographs of historical value. Photographs of obscure individuals, in sufficient number and properly arranged, may have important revelations for the student. Photographs of church buildings, chapels and rectories, of bridges, of wagons, of typical scenery, of streets, and of crowds, all have their uses. Indeed it is not extravagant to say that every society should, if possible, have a photographer whose duty it should be to reproduce in permanent pictorial form the scenes of every-day life as well as the extraordinary events of the community.

It is impossible in this connection to forbear mentioning the transcendent value of the cinematographic record. Suppose that we had such a record of Washington's first inauguration, of Lincoln at Gettysburg, or of the surrender at Appomattox! Many of the film producers make a practice of recording current events, and it would doubtless be possible for societies to secure such films as are of local interest after their commercial usefulness is past. Still better would it be if the society could have its own operator to make records of typical or extraordinary events, such as cornerstone layings, processions, etc., etc.

Another modern invention that provides the historian with illustrative material is the phonograph, and it would be a relatively simple and inexpensive matter for the society to collect phonographic records of local interest. The voice of the preacher,

the dialect of the immigrant, the calls of the street vender, the folk-songs of the children at play, are but illustrations of what may be preserved to the future in this way.

Thus far the function of the society as a collector of historical material has been under consideration. I propose now to consider, much more briefly and summarily, its function in the dissemination of information. Through popular lectures, through the organization of historical spectacles and pageants, around which quite a literature has of late grown up, and through the identification and marking of historic sites the society may accomplish much useful good. Most important of all, however, especially from the point of view of the serious student, is the publication of documents. If the society has been successful in the concentration of archives and the gathering of historical manuscripts, it will have on its hands much that should be made available for the widest general use. The Catholic communities of the Old World have realized their obligation in this respect and have given us, to cite but a single instance, the splendid series of the *Acta Sanctorum* which the Bollandists have been publishing since 1629.

Finally, the Society should have no little influence upon the historical instruction provided in the schools. Teachers should feel that the Archives and Library and Museum are valuable auxiliaries in their work. I am well aware that the quality and direction of history study in Catholic, Protestant, and non-sectarian schools are delicate matters for discussion. Each side charges the other with bias. The pity is that there should be sides. History is not an exact science, as that term is used, but its purpose is that of any other science—to determine the truth with regard to the phenomena which it investigates. Cannot the work of such a society as has been described aid in the better determination of the truth and in its more ready acceptance by all?

The foregoing is a rough sketch of possibilities, many of which are no doubt remote. Yet it is not unreasonable to hope that they may be realized if a start is made in the right direction with the ultimate ideals always in view. It seems even reasonable to look forward to the time when Diocesan Societies shall unite in a National Catholic Historical Association centering



about the Catholic University of America and carrying forward enterprises of the widest scope and of the utmost importance. The creation of an American Institute in Rome for the exploration of the church archives, the copying of documents in Europe and other parts of the world on a large scale, the publication of a great series of *Monumenta Ecclesiastica Statuum Foederatorum*, these and many other undertakings which are today but the visions of faith may yet become the realities of tomorrow.

WALDO G. LELAND,  
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## THE RIGHT REV. JUAN DE LAS CABEZAS DE ALTAMIRANO

### THE FIRST BISHOP TO VISIT THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup> (1562-1615)

Wherever the adventurous discoverer made his way in the ages of faith, at his side was to be found the missionary eager to extend the kingdom of God. Thus, as it was the Spaniard who first sought to colonize within the present limits of the United States, so it was the Spaniard who first preached the Gospel of Christ on the shores of the great republic. Florida was the theatre of his earliest attempts at conquest, both temporal and spiritual. An interesting and edifying chapter of our church history is that which tells of the early Catholic efforts to evangelize the Indians in Florida and along the Gulf Coast. The courage of these pioneer missionaries was most unselfish and heroic. Their zeal cost many of them their lives. Although their first attempts bore no fruit, they continued to return with persevering determination until they were finally rewarded with a generous harvest of souls.

From the discovery of Florida by John Ponce de Leon in 1513 until nearly fifty years later, attempt after attempt was made to colonize the peninsula or along the gulf coast, and the southern Atlantic seaboard. But the brave Indians of those parts offered the Spanish adventurers a far more effective resistance than those in the West Indies or on the mainland of the present Latin

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<sup>1</sup> The following bibliography may prove helpful to students interested in this subject. I. SOURCES: MSS. *Archives of the Dominican Master General*, Rome; *Woodbury transcripts*, Vol. v (Congressional Library Washington, D. C.); *Irene Wright Transcripts*, as published in Documents, pp. 442-459 and in the Congressional Library. II. WORKS: DE LA VEGA, *La Florida del Inca* (published by Barcia), Madrid, 1722; BARCIA, *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*, Madrid, 1723; GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eclesiastico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1649; PADILLA, *Historia de la Provincia de Mexico*, Madrid, 1596; REMESAL, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chyapa y Guatemala*, Madrid, 1619; MENDIETA, *Historia Eclesiastica Indiana* (published in Mexico, 1870, by Icazbalceta from a late sixteenth century manuscript); VALDEA, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba y especial de la Habana*, Havana, 1877 (Vol. iii of series known as Los Tres Primeros Historiadores de la Isla de Cuba); DE LA PEQUELA, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, Madrid, 1868, and *Diccionario Geografico, Estadico, Historico de la Isla de Cuba*, Madrid, 1863; CALCAGNO, *Diccionario Biografico Cubano*, New

America. The expeditions of de Leon, Francisco Hernandez Cordova, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, Panfilo Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna y Arellano and Angel de Villefañe were no more than a series of signal failures that entailed great loss of life and the expenditure of immense treasure. All this, together with the unproductive character of the country, the absence of gold or silver, and the insalubrious climate, caused the hardy Spaniard to conclude that the conquest was not worth the sacrifices it would cost. The same causes removed all fear of settlements being effected there by France or England to endanger Spain's American possessions. Accordingly, it was determined to make no further efforts at colonization in this quarter.

On all these expeditions for the purpose of colonization there came missionaries, whose aim was not merely to attend to the spiritual need of the *conquistadores*, but to labor among the aborigines and to bring them to embrace Christianity. Unfortunately, the hostility shown by the Indians was such that it was not possible for these ambassadors of Christ to mingle with them, or in any way to separate themselves from the Spaniards. But this implacable hostility was in large measure due to the thoughtless cruelty of the Spanish adventurers who had at various times visited the Floridian coasts, put many of the inhabitants to death, and seized others to reduce them to slavery.

The Dominicans were certainly among the most numerous, as they seem to have been the first, missionaries to direct their energies towards the christianization of the aboriginies of Florida at this early period. They were probably chosen for the perilous

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York, 1878; TRELLES, *Ensayo de Bibliografia Cubana de los Siglos XVII y XVIII*, Matanzas, 1907; CUERVO, *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*, Madrid, 1916; FUENTES Y GUZMAN, *Historia de Guatemala, ó Recordacion Florida* (an eighteenth century manuscript published by Zaragoza), Madrid, 1883, Vol. ii; *Revista Cubana*, Vol. xv, pp. 384ss. (article: *Los Primeros Poetas de Cuba*, by Nestor Ponce De Leon); *Revista de Cuba*, Vol. vii, pp. 394ss. (article: *Historiadores de Cuba*, by José Antonio Echaverria); BANCROFT, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, Boston, 1855; HELPS, *Spanish Conquests in America* (Oppenheim edition), New York, 1902; LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, New York and London, 1911; ROZE, *Les Dominicains en Amérique*, Paris, 1878; SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886; DE COURCY-SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (P. J. Kenedy edition); WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. ii, Boston and New York; ELSON, *History of the United States of America*, New York, 1905; BRYANT, *A Popular History of the United States*, New York, 1888-1890.

task because of their tried courage and their known sympathies for the Indians. Nor did they cease their efforts until Spain decided to make no further efforts at colonization there. But during the same period the Franciscans and other apostolic priests sought to give their zeal to the conversion of the same tribes. If one may judge by what the Catholic missionaries accomplished in Latin America, when they were not impeded by the *conquistadores*, or even by what they did in Florida at a later day, these men of God, bent solely on the conquest of souls, might have met with much success, where Spanish prowess proved of no avail and Spanish pride was humbled, had not the wanton cruelties and excesses of the adventurers aroused in the Indians an attitude of hatred and hostility towards the white race. As it was, the pioneer missionary endeavors here bore no fruit other than the martyrdom of a number of the clergy. A still greater number succumbed to exposure, hardships and starvation, dying martyrs to their zeal and fidelity.<sup>1</sup>

After the disastrous ending of the expeditions under Tristan de Luna y Arellano (1559-1560) and Angel de Villefañe (1560-1561), Philip II determined to make no further attempts at conquest in these inhospitable quarters. But for the settlement of a French colony in Florida in 1562—nay, in the very spot so lately deserted by Villefañe, it is probable that no monarch of Spain would have soon sent his soldiers again into a country that had so often humiliated Spanish prowess. When, however, Philip heard that the French Calvinists had taken possession of a part of Florida, he determined to expel them, and at any cost permanently to plant the standard of Spain there. French and English privateers and pirates were then unsparing foes of Spain's commerce. They showed no quarter to Spaniards, whether on land or sea. But shortly before Jacques Sorie, a French commander, had sacked Havana, set fire to the city, butchered its inhabitants, and hanged his prisoners amidst burning ruins. It was evident, therefore, that France could be permitted to settle Florida only to the detriment of Spain's American interests—at the risk of great sacrifice of life and property, or perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Catholic martyrs in this part of the country are found secular clergy, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits.

even the loss of her colonies. Philip II found a willing and competent leader for his enterprise in the person of one Peter Menendez de Avilés. Menendez was one of the ablest naval commanders of his age, had seen service in the New World, and was in Spain at the time for the purpose of obtaining royal permission to raise a fleet to sail in search of his only son and the last scion of his ancient house, who had been shipwrecked off the coast of Florida, but whom he hoped to rescue.

With royal assistance, Menendez, spurred on by a forlorn hope of finding his son alive, at once and with vigor set about raising a strong force for his commission. It was not, however, until August 28, 1565, that he arrived off the coast of Florida. On September 6, he began to land and to throw up a fort to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, in honor of the great bishop of Hippo, on whose feast-day he reached our shores. In the meantime, the French colony that had been started on St. Helena Sound, whose name was changed to Port Royal Sound, had failed; but another had been planted on the St. John's River, where Fort Caroline was erected. It was there that Menendez surprised the French, September 21, captured their fortifications, and, after the manner of the time, put all the men of the garrison to the sword, returning in triumph to St. Augustine. In the course of a few days the shipwrecked remnants of a large force of Frenchmen sent out under John Ribault in aid of the Calvinist colony, appeared before St. Augustine, and met with the same fate as their countrymen at Fort Caroline. Although one can hardly justify these acts of Menendez, one may be allowed to call attention to the singular injustice done this Spanish commander by some authors who represent him as a monster, while they overlook, or attempt to palliate, deeds of English and French officers that were equally atrocious. It was the cruel way of a cruel age. Menendez followed the example of his enemies. Had Ribault been the victor, the Spaniards would have been shown the same cruelty that they showed the French.\*

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\* SHEA, in *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 133ss., and WINSOR, *Critical and Narrative History of America*, Vol. ii, pp. 260ss., give a fair idea of Menendez and his time. HELPS, in *Spanish Conquests in America*, and LOWERY, in *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, are among the fairest of non-Catholic authors in their treatment of the Spanish conquistadores.

Menendez sailed from Spain with a number of Franciscans, a member of the Order of Mercy, and some secular priests. It would seem, however, that only two of these clergymen (secular priests) followed him to Florida, where they administered, almost alone, to the spiritual needs of the invaders for more than two years. In 1567 two Jesuit priests arrived, one of whom was soon murdered by the Indians. In 1568 a band of missionaries belonging to the same order came to Florida, but after three years of hardship and suffering they were ordered to Mexico to found a province of their institute there. For about six years after their departure there seem to have been but few priests in Florida to attend its Church, and both Spaniard and converted Indian received little spiritual consolation.

This pitiful situation came to an end with the arrival of the Franciscans—about 1577. Success soon crowned the efforts of these zealous friars. Their labors were hard and perilous; more than one of them won the martyr's crown. Still they made many conversions among the aborigines. As their numbers increased, they took charge of Indian settlements both on the mainland and the adjacent islands, until they were to be found toiling almost wherever Spanish influence was felt.<sup>4</sup> The rectorship of the church at St. Augustine, as the chaplaincy of the fort there, seems to have been reserved for secular priests. Yet these two positions were at times filled by the friars.

Such is the outline of Florida's history in the time of the white man down to 1606, when it was visited by the Right Rev. John de las Cabezas de Altamirano, a brief sketch of whose life, since he was the first bishop to tread our soil and gave us our first episcopal visitation, should be of much interest to the student of Catholic history in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

John de las Cabezas was born of noble parentage in 1561, in the city of Zamora, Spain. His father was John de las Cabezas,

<sup>4</sup> SHEA, as in the preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> BARCIA (*Ensayo Cronologica para la Historia General de la Florida*, p. 9) speaks of Father John Suarez, who died in Florida in 1528, as being a bishop. But the most careful research has failed to reveal the least evidence that Father Suarez possessed any such dignity. SHEA (*op. cit.*, p. 111) comes to the same conclusion. Even Barcia never calls Suarez "Don"—a title always applied to a bishop—but speaks of him as Father Suarez, the Commissary. CLARKE (*The Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 21-31) allowed himself

an honored cavalier and a noted jurisconsult in his day; his mother was Doña Catherine Calzada. The future bishop was given the best advantages of his time. When his early education was completed, he was sent to the great University of Salamanca to study the arts, philosophy and law. There the young student, endowed with a fine mind and possessed of great industry, not merely made rapid progress, but completed his curriculum with the highest applause. With his wealth, his high standing, his talents, his industry and education, a career of honor lay open before him in the world. But God called him to another life, and the generous-hearted young man heeded the divine call.

Hardly had Cabezas left the class halls of the noted university, when he sought admission into the Order of St. Dominic in the historic convent of St. Stephen's, Salamanca. Making his religious profession, June 30, 1581, he at once took up his course of scholastic philosophy. In this, as in the study of theology, he was blessed with an extraordinary corps of professors. Among them was the celebrated Dominic Bañez. Here, again, the young student applied himself with his wonted energy, winning many laurels. His divinity studies completed, he received the degree of Lector in Sacred Theology. Because of the record he had made in his studies, his industry, his deeply religious character and excellent disposition, he was assigned a chair of philosophy in his convent. As a professor he was also highly successful, but his labors in his native Spain soon came to an end.

In 1592, Father Luis de la Cuadra, of the Convent of St. Stephen's, was appointed, by the father-general of the Dominicans, vicar provincial of the Province of the Holy Cross in the Island of Hispaniola. Father Cabezas' attainments, his prudence and excellent qualities, young as he was, caused the new provin-

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to be deceived by Barcia. Again Barcia (*op. cit.*, p. 168) says that "according to some," Antonio Diaz de Salcedo, Bishop of Cuba, made an episcopal visitation of Florida in 1595. But Barcia is certainly in error again. It is not without reason that he does not speak with conviction in either of his assertions. Neither of them has any evidence in any document or Spanish author the writer has ever been able to consult. Everything, in fact, is against both assertions. The Spanish authors who touch on the topic at all, say expressly that Cabezas was the first bishop ever in Florida. Shea (*op. cit.*, pp. 160-161) holds the same opinion as this article.

cial to choose him as his companion to America. In Hispaniola Cabezas was again assigned to teach in the convent in San Domingo, where his branches were the arts and theology, and where he was awarded the degree of Master in the latter science. In the New World he showed the same indomitable industry and zeal for religion which had characterized his life in the Old. Besides, nature had bestowed upon the earnest friar a fine, open character and charming manners that won the hearts of all with whom he came into contact. For these reasons, he was in America but a few years when the fathers of Hispaniola chose him unanimously to be their provincial. In the exercise of this office, besides showing great tact and prudence, he gave proof of exceptional executive ability. Withal, he was a most humble and saintly man. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that the brief accounts of Father Cabezas show that he was deeply loved by his brethren.

As provincial, John Cabezas was summoned to Rome in 1601 to attend a chapter of his Order that was to be held there. On his way to Italy he passed through his native land, where he made such an impression that on his return to Spain from the chapter he found that Philip III had proposed him for the bishopric of Santiago de Cuba. This was in January, 1602. On the receipt of the bulls of his appointment he was consecrated in Madrid. From Madrid the bishop went to Salamanca to confer his first orders upon some of the students in his former convent of St. Stephen's. Then he hurried on to San Lucar de Barrameda, whence he sailed for his Diocese in Cuba.

Because it was the place where Bishop Cabezas entered the order of St. Dominic, and because of its historic connections with the New World, a brief word on St. Stephen's Convent, Salamanca, will not be out of place here. That monastery dates back to the first years of the Friars Preacher, was one of their institute's earliest *studia generalia*, was from the start intimately associated with the great University of Salamanca, and has given the world numbers of Dominicans, illustrious in every branch of science, in every sphere of ecclesiastical and apostolic activity. One of its alumni, Diego de Deza, was a friend and protector from whom Columbus received much assistance in his scheme of discovery. It was from St. Stephen's cloister that



Pedro de Cordova, Anthony de Montesinos, Dominic de Mendoza and other friars of equal renown went to plant the standard of the chivalrous saint of Caleruega in the land found by the great navigator. Probably, indeed, no monastery of Europe sent so many or more zealous or more efficient missionaries to the New World. History tells us how its friars befriended the Indians in every possible way; how they braved odium, sufferings, and even death for the protection and uplift, both temporal and spiritual, of the American aborigines; how some of them strove to plant the faith in Florida; how many of its members honorably filled high positions in Church or State, both in the Old World and in the New. During the episcopate of John Cabezas, no fewer than seven sons of St. Stephen's belonged at one time to the Church's hierarchy. Two of these were archbishops, while five were bishops. Almost all of them held these posts of trust and honor in America. Latin America should not forget the debt of gratitude it owes to St. Stephen's Convent, Salamanca.

On his arrival in Cuba the earnest bishop's heart was torn at finding his episcopal city, with some of its churches, sacked and laid in ruins by French pirates. Indeed, Cabezas' episcopate in that island was thrown in hard times, for it was encompassed by dangers and toils. But the prelate's zeal and courage shrank not before these. There was much to be done both for the spiritual welfare of his diocese and for its better organization. Besides, there were many churches that had been burned or robbed by ruthless bands of plunderers, and that had to be rebuilt or supplied with everything necessary for the divine service. All this entailed much worry and labor, as well as continual travelling. As the coast towns and seaside settlements of the West Indies were at that period a perpetual prey for the avarice of English and French corsairs, who thought nothing of taking life, the prelate was in peril, whether on land or at sea.\*

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\* For what has been said thus far on Bishop de las Cabezas see CALCAGNO, *Diccionario Biografico Cubano*, pp. 138-39; CUERVO, *Historiadores del Convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*, Vol. ii, p. 270, Vol. iii, p. 551; GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *Teatro Eclesiastico*, pp. 161-62; PEZUELA, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadico, Historico de la Isla de Cuba*, p. 216, and *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, pp. 319ss; REMESAL, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chyapa y Guatemala*, pp. 742-43; SHEA, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60; VALDES, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, pp. 454-55.

In April, 1604, Bishop Cabezas, while making a visitation of his Diocese, stopped for the night at a *hacienda*, two or more leagues from Manzanillo. The same day a band of French marauders, bent on plunder and ransom money, landed at this port and sacked the town. A half-breed—perhaps for a small bribe—betrayed the presence of the Catholic bishop in the vicinity. Gilbert Giron, the leader of the marauders, looking upon the capture of so illustrious a personage as a sure way of securing a round sum, led a part of his forces to the *hacienda* and made prisoners of the prelate and his two companions, Canon Francis Puebla and the Dominican Diego Sanchez. The three ecclesiastics were treated with scant courtesy. Dragged from their beds, they were led in chains, half dressed and barefoot, over the four or more miles of rough road that led to Manzanillo. Remesal and Cuervo tell us that, as the plunderers had set fire to the intervening country on their way to seize Cabezas, the captives were obliged to pass over a part of the distance treading in bare feet on smouldering coals. The brave bishop bore these tortures and ignominies without a murmur of complaint. At Manzanillo the prisoners were placed aboard the ships of the sea-rovers, when a parley for their release was begun with the people, who were deeply afflicted over the loss of their beloved pastor. The Cuban citizens, Indians and Spanish alike, seem to have vied with each other in raising the amount demanded by Giron for his liberty; which, however, was so great that it took eighty days to collect it. All this time the pious Ordinary, Canon Puebla and Father Sanchez, unable to gain their freedom until an enormous ransom (variously rated at from 2,000 ducats to 5,000 pesos) was paid in money and merchandise to the piratical horde, were held in durance vile on the filthy French vessels and subjected to many cruelties. Fortunately for the good of the Church and State of Cuba, Giron, possibly lying in wait for other objects of prey, tarried in the vicinity of his crime. The Cubans then rallied, surprised Giron, killed him and the greater part of his men, put the rest to flight, and regained all that had been paid for the ransom of the Bishop.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> As in preceding note; TRELLES, *Ensayo de Bibliografia Cubana*, p. 115; *Revista Cubana*, Vol. xv, pp. 388ff. More than one of these authors tell us that Bishop de las Cabezas was taken at Bayamo; but this appears to be an error into which they

But Cabezas' trouble with the heartless freebooters did not come to an end with the above incident. Regaining his liberty, he continued his way to Bayamo, and thence to Santiago, where he found that his episcopal city, together with his cathedral, had again been sacked and burned. The people were in a state of despair. But the courageous prelate, undismayed by such a succession of misfortunes, began at once to repair the evil that had been done, as well as to console and encourage his disheartened flock. Such disasters had become common and, because Havana, in addition to having a more commodious church and offering better facilities for visiting his diocese, afforded securer protection against incursions by buccaneers, Cabezas now determined to have his cathedral transferred from Santiago. Yet, as he was opposed in this by government officials, the peace-loving man gave up his design. However, he changed his residence to Havana, where he erected the first episcopal palace in Cuba. The good prelate's affection for the common people may be judged by the fact that he built his own home in the part of the city in which the laboring classes lived. Cabezas' practical mind now turned to bettering conditions in the Cuban capital, and under the impulse of his influence a canal was dug to bring water into the city from a neighboring river.<sup>8</sup>

Although the several accounts of the friar bishop's episcopate in Cuba are quite brief, and some of them run along lines so parallel as to suggest some copying, they show that, while he ruled with a firm hand, he did so with marked prudence, charity and kindness; that he was a father to all—especially to the poor, the Indians and the negro slaves; that he was much loved by his clergy, as well as by the people of all classes and every walk of life. It was, in fact, ever his aim to be loved rather than feared. Yet this desire never prevented him from doing what he felt to be his duty or for the greater good of religion. These qualifica-

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were likely led because Bayamo was then the principal port in that part of Cuba, and was not far from the scene of the prelate's capture. We have followed Silvestre Balboa Troya y Quesada, an early Cuban poet and intimate friend of Cabezas. Balboa wrote (1808) a poem, "Mirror of Patience" (*Espejo de Paciencia*), on this episode, which he dedicated to the bishop himself. On this poem see Trelles and *Revista Cubana*.

<sup>8</sup>As in notes 6 and 7

tions so necessary for the fruitful exercise of authority, conjoined to sound judgment and notable executive ability, enabled Cabezas to accomplish much for the Church of Cuba. His energy was tireless, his activity remarkable, his visitations of his diocese incessant. A man of unbounded generosity, wherever he went, he dealt out alms to the poor and needy, by whom he was especially venerated.

Possessed of great learning himself and endowed with a keen mind, Bishop Cabezas deeply appreciated the advantages of education for religion, and sought to provide Cuba with schools. Among those he specially fostered, we may mention the University of Havana which he founded in 1605, and the Seminario Tridentino, at Santiago, which he opened in 1607. Broad-minded and liberal, he was scarcely less a statesman than a churchman. His zeal and patriotism caused him to seek to advance the interests of both Church and State. Through his extraordinary tact and prudence he managed, not merely to labor in harmony, but to live on terms of almost intimate friendship with the government officials, with whom both his predecessors and his successors had considerable friction. Withal, the bishop's great talents did not prevent him from descending to minute details of organization. Indeed, it would appear that nothing was too trivial to merit the saintly man's attention or to claim his time, busy as he was, provided it would bring his people nearer to Christ, whose cause he sought in every way to advance in his Diocese.

From the time of his arrival in the Island of Cuba, the needs of the Church of Florida attracted the keen eye of the truly apostolic prelate. Florida was then a part of the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba, yet none of Cabezas' predecessors had had the courage to attempt a visit to that province of Spain. Though the dangers of such an undertaking were great, the brave man shrank not before them. But because of the many affairs demanding his attention at home, of some of which we have spoken, it was not until in 1606 that he was able to carry out this pious design. That Bishop Cabezas regarded a visitation of Florida as a most pressing duty may be seen from the fact that, to make it, he deferred a number of matters which he considered of vital importance to the Church of Cuba—one of

which was a diocesan synod appointed to be held in Espiritu Santo during Pentecost Week, and of which, as no such synod had ever been held in the island, the diocese stood in great need for the establishment of better ecclesiastical rules and regulations. Still another proof of the bishop's keen interest in the Floridian missions is to be found in the fact that, in order to visit them, he fitted out two ships at his own expense. His known practice of charity, wherever he went, leads one to believe that a part of his cargo was intended to relieve the distress he knew to exist among the poor of the peninsula.

Cabezas sailed from Ygüey (? Yaguajay), February 25, 1606, and arrived at St. Augustine about the middle of March. He set to work at once to comfort, console and strengthen the Church of Florida. For more than three months the good bishop traveled from locality to locality, carrying out his visitation, preaching the sacrament of confirmation, making rules and regulations for the benefit of religion. The report of the visitation given by the royal notary, Diego Davila, mentions nine churches or missions where confirmation was administered. These places, in the order mentioned, were St. Augustine, Nombre de Dios, San Pedro, Lalaja, Espogasche, Puale, San Juan, Locoy (Potano), and Antonico. In all, 2,444 persons received this sacrament at these missions. Of these, 370 were whites or Spaniards, while 2,074 were Indians. St. Augustine and Nombre de Dios were the only parishes where mention is made of whites being confirmed.

But confirmation was not the only episcopal function performed by Bishop Cabezas in Florida. He gave minor orders to the sacristan of the church at St. Augustine, and probably to some Franciscan students. Furthermore, he consecrated holy oils. Of how that prelate spent the Holy Week of 1606 at St. Augustine, Gov. Pedro de Ybarra gives the following account: "He was occupied all Holy Week in consecrating holy oil and chrism, in preaching, in conferring orders, and in confirming parents, children and grandchildren." De Ybarra then goes on to tell how Cabezas visited all the provinces of Florida and performed the same good offices for the people in these. There can scarcely be any doubt that this was the first time

any of these various episcopal functions were performed within the present limits of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Continuing the account of the bishop's endeavors, the Governor writes: "I assure your Majesty that the labors and dangers through which he has gone would have been impossible for him had not his great zeal for the service of our Lord and your Majesty given him strength for them. Spaniards, as well as the natives, have derived much good from his instructions. His sanctity, his patience, his spirit of forbearance, the fruit that has come from his visitation, and the security of all here, your Majesty will realize from what he writes." In his own account of the visitation, the bishop, mild and charitable though he was, is somewhat severe in his criticism of the missionaries. But these strictures, one is constrained to believe, were made largely under the influence of the Spanish officials in Florida. This opinion is forced upon us by the self-sacrificing lives which history tells us these pioneer friars led in the wilds of the peninsula, and by the difficulties which Cabezas' report shows they had with the governor and his staff.<sup>10</sup> Such controversies were common in the early days of Latin America. And while the Spanish officials were ever anxious to place the blame on the clergy, impartial history has generally laid it at the door of the *conquistadores*.

How long Bishop Cabezas remained in Florida, or the date of his return to Cuba, we have not been able to learn. But it is certain that he continued his unremitting and apostolic labors in that island until his transfer to another diocese. Doubtless the change was not unwelcome to him, for his new sphere of activity was not so much molested by sea-robbers. In June, 1610, Cabezas was promoted to the see of St. James, Guatemala, but he does not appear to have taken possession of this bishopric until two years later.

In the government of the Church of Guatemala the friar

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<sup>9</sup> *Diego Davila to Philip III*, St. Augustine, June 26, 1606; *Pedro de Ybarra to same*, same place and date (both these documents are in Vol. v of the Lowery Transcripts, arranged chronologically, Congressional Library). Cuerdo, Remesal, Gil Gonzalez Davila, Pezuela (*Diccionario Geografico etc. de Cuba*), Shea (all as referred to in note 6) and others speak of Cabezas' visit to Florida and say that he was the first bishop that went to that Spanish province.

<sup>10</sup> See Cabezas' account of his visitation in Documents, pp. 442-459.

bishop showed the same prudence, zeal and apostolic activity that had marked his career in Cuba. One of his first cares in this new field was to learn the language of the natives that he might instruct them and preach to them with greater fruit. It took him but one year to become an authority in the Guatemalan tongue. Though he was an orator of note, neither this nor his great learning prevented him from coming down to the level of the untutored aborigines, among whom his simple catechetical instructions became immensely popular. In Guatemala, as he had been in Cuba, he was a father to all. Here, also, his paternal care and solicitude went out in an especial manner to the Indians, to the poor and to the needy, whom he loved with a mother's affection. For these reasons, Bishop Cabezas soon became in Guatemala what he had been in the Island of Cuba—the idol of all races and classes. In both dioceses his rule was characterized by a singular peace and contentment among those over whom he exercised his kindly pastoral authority, as well as with the state authorities.

From Father Anthony de Remesal, a contemporary of Cabezas in Guatemala, we learn other characteristics of the saintly prelate. He was a lover of music and brought a band of negro musicians with him from Cuba to Santiago de Guatemala. These were probably his choir, as at that date it must have been difficult, if not impossible, to get whites for this important function of the Church. The bishop was fond of rubrics, and when at home he carried out the pontifical ceremonies with all possible completeness in his cathedral. Benevolent and of a cheerful disposition, in spite of his multitudinous labors, his house appears to have been a place of welcome to all. Yet he was of a noble bearing, and knew well how to combine dignity with a democratic spirit. His great theological lore and general learning gave him a high place in ecclesiastical circles; while his knowledge of law, his clear judgment, prudence and candid honesty caused his opinions to be not only valued, but sought after by the Royal Council of the Indies. In this way, one may be allowed to believe, the illustrious prelate did much to better the condition of his beloved Indians. The Church of Guatemala was benefited in many ways by his administration. For the beautifica-

tion of his cathedral he commenced a large tower, which he was not able to complete.<sup>11</sup>

In 1615 Bishop Cabezas was transferred by Paul V to the see of Arequipa, Peru, where, it was believed, he could do as much for the good of religion as he had done in his two previous appointments. But before he could take possession of his new charge, he was stricken with apoplexy. The gifted man died in Santiago de Guatemala during the Christmas holidays of the same year, and was buried in the cathedral of that city.

V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P.

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<sup>11</sup> REMESAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 742-43; FUENTES Y GUZMAN, *Historia de Guatemala, ó Recordacion Florida*, Vol. ii, pp. 201-202; GIL GONZALEZ DAVILA, *op. cit.*, p. 162.



## CATHOLICITY IN VIRGINIA DURING THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP MCGILL (1850-1872)

A study of the life and times of Right Rev. John McGill, D.D., third bishop of Richmond, possesses historic interest, not only because it brings us in touch with one of the most picturesque, learned, and—from a Southern standpoint—most influential of the earlier American bishops, but also because it gives us an insight into the difficult conditions which confronted the Church in the South during the stormy times of Know-nothingism, as well as in the dark days of the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period.

During his more than twenty-one years' rule over the See of Richmond, Bishop McGill was prominent in the South as a fearless leader of Catholic thought, a veritable intellectual giant, being exceeded in depth of mind and general learning possibly by only one of the American bishops before his time—the renowned Bishop John England, of Charleston (1786-1842), whom he also resembled in many other respects. In strength of character and tenacity of purpose, Bishop McGill was not unlike that other remarkable prelate, partly his contemporary, whose name stands as a synonym of priestly power and courage, the Most Rev. John Hughes, first Archbishop of New York (1797-1864). A large photograph of His Grace with an autograph sent to the Bishop of Richmond, together with extant letters that passed between himself and Bishop McGill, indicate not only a warm friendship between the two prelates but even an ardent admiration of the one for the other.

John McGill was born in Philadelphia, November 4, 1809, of Irish parents, with whom he went, in 1828, to Bardstown, Ky., and where, two years later, he entered St. Joseph's College, graduating with the highest honors. Having studied law with signal success, he was about to begin what promised to be an eminent legal career, when he recognized a divine call to the priesthood, and entered the diocesan Seminary at Bardstown, where he attracted the attention of his professors by his unusual depth of mind and his varied talents. He was ordained by Bishop David on June 13, 1835, and was appointed assistant-priest

of the Church of St. Louis, Louisville, and later pastor of St. Peter's Church, Lexington. He made a profound impression on priests and people by his exceptional zeal and general efficiency. He journeyed to Europe in 1838, in order to accompany Bishop Flaget on his return trip to America.

As editor of the *Catholic Advocate*, Father McGill won renown as an able thinker and controversialist. So convincing was his reasoning that he silenced a number of anti-Catholic opponents in their attacks upon the Church. The articles contained in several bound volumes of the *Catholic Advocate*, which are preserved in the Bishop's library now at Richmond, show a skill of diction and a strength of logic which should rank the name of John McGill high as a writer and apologist. Among the subjects he treated during his years in Louisville, may be mentioned an English translation of Audin's *Life of Calvin* and a criticism of Macaulay's *England*. The rare qualities he displayed in his writings and his zealous activity gave him much prominence, and we find him soon chosen as Vicar General of the Louisville Diocese.

A pontifical brief, dated July 23, 1850, announced the creation of the new See of Wheeling with the transfer to it, as first Bishop, of the Right Rev. Richard Vincent Whelan, of Richmond, and the appointment to the latter See of the Very Rev. John McGill. The transfer of Bishop Whelan was at his own request and was prompted by zeal and humility, because he deemed the See of Wheeling a more difficult one. His life during his twenty-four years he occupied his new See, was that of a veritable apostle. Bishop McGill was consecrated by Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis in St. Joseph's Church, Bardstown, on the tenth day of November, 1850. He was the first Bishop of Richmond to reside permanently at the Cathedral. Bishop Kelly, the first Bishop, lived at Norfolk, whilst Bishop Whelan, the second bishop, resided at his Seminary in the suburbs of Richmond.

The advent of the new Bishop to Richmond marked also the departure from the city of Lowell, Mass., whence he had come, of the Rev. Timothy O'Brien, one of the most remarkable priests who ever labored in the Old Dominion. In 1834 Father O'Brien built St. Peter's Church, which later became the Cathedral, and founded within the city St. Joseph's Girls Orphan Asylum.

Through his instrumentality, various members of some of the most illustrious families in the South were led into the Catholic Church, including Hon. John Floyd, ex-Governor of Virginia, with his wife, Mrs. Letitia Preston Floyd, sister of Gen. Francis Preston of the War of 1812, and the following children: Hon. Benjamin Rush Floyd, a staunch opponent of Know-nothingism; Col. George Rogers Floyd; Dr. William Preston Floyd; Mrs. Letitia Floyd Lewis; Mrs. Lavalette Floyd Holmes, wife of the noted Prof. George F. Holmes of the University of Virginia; and Mrs. Nicotai Floyd Johnston, wife of the United States Senator, John W. Johnston, himself the brother of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston and the father of Richmond's renowned surgeon, Dr. George Ben Johnston. Hon. Anthony M. Keiley, Mayor of Richmond and afterwards Judge of the International Court, Egypt, in his *Memoranda of the Catholic Church in Richmond* (Norfolk, 1874), refers to Father O'Brien's departure as follows: "Shortly after Bishop McGill's arrival, Father O'Brien left the Diocese amidst the universal respect of the people of Richmond of all denominations, and the tears and regrets of Catholics of every age and condition. To the administrative ability, tireless zeal, devoted piety and varied talents of this courageous and beloved priest, Catholicity in Richmond owes more than to any other individual priest in her history. His name and memory will ever find a warm place in the grateful hearts of our people."

When Bishop McGill took charge of the See of Richmond at the end of 1850, he found within the diocese only eight priests and ten churches, with a scattered Catholic population of between six and seven thousand souls. Of the new Bishop, Judge Keiley, whom we have already quoted, says: "Bishop McGill enjoyed and deserved the praise of eminent abilities as a preacher and a writer, and his unblemished character commanded universal respect." Because of his eloquence, Bishop McGill was selected to preach in the Baltimore Cathedral the funeral eulogy over Archbishop Eccleston, who died April 22, 1851; a task which he performed with singular earnestness and success. The following year, the Bishop purchased the lot adjoining his Cathedral, with a house which he used as his episcopal residence. In 1854 he preached the sermon at the dedication of St. Joseph's

Church, Providence. That same year he journeyed to Rome, where he was present, on December 8, when Pius IX defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Whilst in the Eternal City he purchased the valuable oil paintings, the *Crucifixion* and a *Pietà*, which now adorn St. Peter's sanctuary, in Richmond. The latter is considered a rare work of art. The Bishop signalized his return to the Diocese by the enlargement of his Cathedral and by the erection of the present plain, but imposing, marble high altar.

During the year 1855, the tidewater section of the State was devastated by yellow fever, which carried off a large proportion of the people. The dreaded plague proved the means of manifesting to the world that unflinching courage and heroism which have ever characterized the Catholic priesthood. Father Matthew O'Keefe of Norfolk and Father Francis Devlin of Portsmouth were indefatigable in their attention to the sick and dying of all classes and creeds. They not only gave spiritual help whenever possible, but also, to a large degree, afforded material assistance, bringing to the stricken and to the needy, money, food, medicines and clothing. The difficulty of obtaining laborers, who feared personal contagion, obliged both priests frequently to dig the graves, and, with their own hands, to bury the deceased victims. In spite of continual exposure to the plague, Father O'Keefe did not contract the disease, Providence decreeing for him many future years of singularly efficient labor, both in Virginia and in the Baltimore Diocese, to which he was recalled in 1887. He died at Towson, Maryland, on January 28, 1906. At his death, it was touchingly related that during his long priestly career of fifty-four years, he had responded to all the calls that came to him from the sick and dying except one, and that because he himself was at the time on his death-bed. He endeavored to rise from his bed in order to attend the call, but was gently forced back upon the pillow, whilst one of his assistants hurried to the dying parishioner.

A martyr's fate awaited Father Devlin of Portsmouth. Stricken with the disease which he contracted from his attention to the sick, and brought almost to the point of death, his constitution rallied from the attack. During his convalescence, he was warned by the physician in charge not to resume his labors

amongst the plague-stricken, under the probable penalty of losing his life. Yet, as a priest, he felt he could not turn a deaf ear to the sick and the dying, who were clamoring for assistance both spiritual and material. Accordingly, once he was able to leave his room, he immediately renewed his unremitting labor of apostolic zeal and charity. Again stricken with the malady, he gave back to God his truly devoted soul. Within a few feet of St. Paul's majestic church, at Portsmouth, stands a monument, simple, yet stately, on which may be read the following inscription:

ERECTED  
BY THE CITIZENS OF PORTSMOUTH

TO THE MEMORY OF

REVEREND FRANCIS DEVLIN,

THE HUMBLE PRIEST,

THE FAITHFUL PASTOR,

WHO SACRIFICED HIS LIFE,

IN THE CAUSE OF CHARITY,

DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1855.

HE WAS A NATIVE OF LONGFORD, IRELAND,

DIED ON THE SEVENTH OF OCTOBER,

IN THE FORTY-FIRST YEAR OF HIS AGE.

In October, 1855, the Very Rev. John Teeling, D.D., Vicar General of the Diocese, was summoned before a Richmond Court, to testify in a murder case against John Cronin, later proven to have fatally wounded his wife, whose confession Dr. Teeling had been able to hear immediately before her death. Upon the judge's ordering him to reveal the subject-matter of the confession, Dr. Teeling replied, "Any statement made in her (the victim's) sacramental confession, whether inculpatory or exculpatory of the prisoner, I am not at liberty to reveal." Upon being repeatedly questioned in various ways, the priest finally explained to the Court the motives for the inviolable guardianship of the seal of the confessional. Whereupon, the presiding judge, John A. Meredith, pronounced the following decision, known thereafter as the *Teeling Law*: "I regard any infringement upon the tenets of any denomination as a violation of the fundamental law, which guarantees perfect freedom to all classes in the exercise of their religion. To encroach upon the confessional, which is well understood to be a fundamental tenet

in the Catholic Church, would be to ignore the Bill of Rights, so far as it is applicable to that Church. In view of these circumstances, as well as of other considerations connected with the subject, I feel no hesitation in ruling that a priest enjoys a privilege of exemption from revealing what is communicated to him in the confessional."

On October 13, 1855, Bishop McGill convened at Richmond the first Diocesan Synod ever held in Virginia, all the priests of the diocese, nine in number, being present, and the necessary legislation was enacted.

The Knownothing Movement, which had swept like a storm over the country, invaded Virginia and aroused the Bishop to instant and vigorous action. The defeat of the movement in the Old Dominion was quick and complete, but not without arousing very bitter feeling. Judge A. M. Keiley, in his *Memoranda*, graphically describes the subject: "In September, 1855, he (the Bishop) became engaged in a newspaper controversy with Robert Ridgway, Esq., the editor of the *Richmond Whig*, and concluded one of the most caustic letters in the history of American newspaper disputes, with the following sentence, whose prophecy of the shameful death of Knownothingism was verified sooner than seemed to all probable: 'When Knownothingism has become in history a name, as it did once before in the days of Lactantius, the Church, which you would destroy, will still rest immovable upon the Eternal Rock where it was planted and is sustained by the Hand of God.' No party ever died so early and so scandalous a death." The overthrow of the Knownothing Movement in Virginia, which was practically complete by the end of 1855, the year of notable happenings within the Richmond Diocese, was not due to Bishop McGill alone, but also to a large extent may be attributed to Henry A. Wise, who had just been chosen Governor of the State on the Democratic ticket, his election being due, principally, to his well-known antagonism to Knownothingism and its principles. In a letter which appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* shortly before his election, Wise thus emphatically expresses his anti-knownothing sentiments:

"And lastly (say the writers of the Declaration of Independence) for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our

fortunes, and our sacred honor. There was tolerance, there was firm reliance on the same God; there was mutuality of pledge, each to the other, at one altar, and there was a common stake of sacrifice of lives, fortune and honor.

"And who were they? They were Hancock the Puritan, Penn the Quaker, Rutledge the Huguenot, Carroll the Catholic, Lee the Cavalier, Jefferson the free-thinker. These were representations of all the people of all the colonies.

"O my countrymen, did not that pledge bind them and us, their heirs, forever to faith and hope in God and to charity to each other, to the tolerance in religion, and to mutuality in political freedom? There the names stand together amongst the signatures, and I will redeem their mutual pledges with my life, my fortune, and my sacred honor, so far as in me lies—so help me Almighty God!

"I am a Protestant by birth, by baptism, by education, and by adoption I am an American—in every fibre and every feeling an American; yet in every character, in every relation, in every sense, with all my head and all my heart and all my might, I protest against this secret organization . . . to proscribe Roman Catholics and naturalized citizens!"

Wise's election, as his grandson, Barton H. Wise, in his *Life of Henry A. Wise* describes it, was the "entering wedge" towards the breaking up of the Knownothing party in the South. In fact, since the Knownothings had carried the gubernatorial and legislative elections in California, Connecticut, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York and Rhode Island, the result of the Virginia election had been keenly watched throughout the North in general and the above States in particular. After the election, a vast throng called upon Wise at Brown's Hotel, in Washington. His eloquent and fiery speech, frequently interrupted by the Knownothings present, concluded with these significant words: "I have met the Black Knight with his visor down, and his shield and lance are broken." The collapse of the Knownothing movement was followed in Virginia by marked Catholic progress. Additional priests were ordained, churches, schools, and two hospitals constructed, and new parishes founded. Meantime, the fame of Bishop McGill as a deep thinker and as an eloquent speaker caused his services to be considerably in demand outside the diocese. Thus, for example, for the consecration in the Baltimore Cathedral of the Very Rev. John Barry as Bishop of the new Vicariate Apostolic of Florida, on August 2, 1857, Bishop McGill was chosen to preach

the sermon, as he was selected for a similar function at the consecration of Bishop Lynch, in Savannah, March 14, 1858.

The raid of John Brown at Harpers Ferry (October, 1859), and the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency (November, 1860), were, as is well known, material factors in precipitating the Civil War. Even after the Cotton States had seceded, Virginia at first strongly upheld the Union which she had been notably instrumental in founding. She even brought about a peace conference of the States at Washington, February 4, 1861, but with no practical results. On the day of the conference, Bishop McGill issued a pastoral, in which he said: "The fortunes and fate of our beloved country are now trembling in the scales, and we know not what ruins and disasters may be impending. Our chief hope is in the merciful providence of God. Let us pray to Him who holdeth in His hands the fate of nations, to control events, so as to conduce to His own greater honor and glory, and to the greater good of the people."

Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops was the culminating act that practically forced Virginia from the Union. The vote of the General Assembly for secession was passed by a small majority, April 17, and was ratified by the people, May 23, 1861. Jefferson Davis having been chosen President of the seceding States, the Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery, Ala., to Richmond, May 21, 1861. Although a northerner by birth, Bishop McGill was decidedly southern in his sympathies. The energies of his strong mind and personality were steadfastly directed towards the success of the Confederate cause. When arms were taken up to protect their State from invasion, he urged upon his people, as a solemn and pressing duty, their obligation of assisting the leaders. The Catholic men enlisted in various companies, those of Richmond being members principally of the Emmet and of the Montgomery Guards. The priests of the Diocese served, wherever possible, as chaplains to the Confederate soldiers. Amongst those who obtained renown may be mentioned Rev. Joseph Plunkett of Portsmouth, Rev. Matthew O'Keefe of Norfolk, and the Very Revs. Thomas Mulvey of Petersburg and John Teeling, D.D., of Richmond, the two Vicar Generals of the Diocese. Bishop McGill himself frequently attended the Northern soldiers confined in Libby



Prison, Richmond, and, when prevented from doing so in person, sent different priests of the city in his stead. Amongst the priests who labored in the Virginia camps as chaplains to the United States troops may be mentioned Revs. Father Scully and Mahoney and the Jesuit Fathers O'Hagan, McAtee and Tissot. The Sisters of Charity were already within the State, and many others came for the purpose of nursing the soldiers. Together with the Sisters of Mercy, they performed valiant services amongst the sick and wounded soldiers of both sides on the battlefields and in the various camps and hospitals.

As was to be expected, the injury suffered from the Civil War by the Church in the South in general, and in Virginia in particular, was almost incalculable. In many cases congregations were broken up or reduced to insignificant numbers, composed mainly of old men, women and children, by far the greater number of able-bodied men and youths having enlisted as soldiers. Churches and schools in many parts of the diocese were temporarily turned into hospitals. The church at Winchester was used as a stable by the United States Cavalry, and later burned. Within the walls of St. Joseph's Church, Martinsburg, sixty horses were stabled by the Jesse Scouts, who also used the sacristies of the church as prisons. Confederate troops were quartered in St. Vincent's Church at Bath, which later was accidentally burned. The floors and walls of St. Mary's Church, Fredericksburg, were literally bespattered with the blood of the wounded and dying soldiers brought there for hospital treatment. The army regulations did not permit the Bishop to journey over the Diocese, and when not engaged in works of priestly duty or charity, he occupied his time to advantage in the composition of two learned books: *The True Church Indicated to the Inquirer*, and *Our Faith, the Victory*, which have been reprinted under the general title: *The Creed of Catholics*. In their preface, the publishers thus eulogize the work and its author: "In logical arrangement, in its completeness, and in the beauty of the language used, the *Creed of Catholics* is surpassed by no work of its kind in the English language. Bishop McGill shows a familiarity with the writings of the Fathers nearly equal to that of Dr. Moehler in his famous *Symbolik*. Modern theories on religious subjects were also well known to him, and, while

not directly alluding to them, he completely demolished the popular objections to the Catholic Church." Bishop McGill's refined intellectual taste and general accomplishment of mind are best shown, perhaps, by the rare and valuable books collected, used and transmitted by him to his successors, the Bishops of Richmond. The several thousand volumes left by him embrace practically all the works of the greatest Fathers, with other profound scriptural, theological, liturgical, historical, and miscellaneous writings.

When the war was over, Virginia entered upon a period which is considered by Southern writers as the darkest in her entire history. With part of her original territory formed into another state, a large proportion of her noblest sons killed or maimed, with her families reduced and scattered, her industries paralyzed, her government burdened with an enormous debt, and with the negro problem to hamper her efforts at rehabilitation, her former prestige as a State was practically at an end. Virginia faced a situation such as literally tried the souls of her sons and daughters. To add to the difficulties enumerated above, she had to meet the further difficulty arising from the coming into the South of numerous adventurers and office seekers from the North. Many were unscrupulous, corrupt, and given to fraudulent practices, and, because of the receptacle in which they usually brought all their personal belongings, were contemptuously referred to by the southerners as "Carpet Baggers."

After the surrender of Lee and Johnston, Bishop McGill was permitted by the Federal authorities to journey over his diocese, and his heart was torn by the evidences he beheld on all sides of the frightful destruction which resulted from the war. The work of upbuilding the religious life of his Diocese had practically to be begun anew. In a fervid pastoral, dated February 2, 1866, the Bishop referred with words of sadness to the ravages caused by the war. He condemned in scathing terms the unbridled license, the dissemination of error and indifferentism, and in general the vices which existed. His voice was raised in fatherly warning and the remedies for existing evils were pointed out in his words in no uncertain terms. He inveighed in particular against dangerous amusements and organizations, and appealed to his flock to make every sacrifice in favor of Catholic

education for the children. The efforts of the Bishop towards the religious restoration of the Diocese met with the valiant cooperation of his hard-working priests and his impoverished people, with the result that, as soon as order arose from the chaos, a steady Catholic development followed, which has continued uninterruptedly until the present day.

With the close of the mighty conflict, Bishop McGill turned his attention in a special manner towards the building and repairing of churches and schools and the reorganization of old and the establishment of new parishes. For the purpose of teaching, he brought into the Diocese the Sisters of the Visitation and augmented the number of the Sisters of Charity. Bishop McGill took a prominent part in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore which was opened by Archbishop Spalding, October 7, 1866. He was one of the prelates chosen to preach during the sessions of the Council. His sermons then delivered were considered models of learning and eloquence, and were printed in America and later reprinted in Europe. In 1868, he established at Norfolk a Diocesan Seminary which he placed under the direction of the Revs. Matthew O'Keefe and G. Vanderplas. Owing both to lack of students and means, it was discontinued after a few years, and the students sent to other Seminaries. On August 16, of that same year, the Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D., a Virginia priest of unusual brilliancy of mind, was consecrated by Archbishop Spalding as first Bishop of Wilmington, Del. The following October, the Rev. Francis Janssens, D.D., later Bishop of Natchez and Archbishop of New Orleans, came to the Diocese. The Rev. J. J. Kain, who subsequently became Bishop of Wheeling and afterwards Archbishop of St. Louis, had at this time attracted the attention of the church authorities by his remarkable work in the Valley of Virginia. In October, 1870, there came into the Diocese the Rev. Augustine Van De Vyver, who was destined later to rule over the See of Richmond longer than any previous Bishop.

In 1869, Bishop McGill journeyed to Rome, where he took part in the Vatican Council. His return to the Diocese, towards the end of 1870, marked his decline in health. Apparently he had a premonition of his end, for when he visited his Kentucky relatives in 1871, he bade them a tender farewell. On his return

to Richmond, his health grew rapidly worse. His preparation for death proved most edifying. His great soul went to God on January 14, 1872. An immense concourse of clergy and laity attended the funeral. "Few events," wrote Judge Keiley, "have occurred in Richmond working a larger measure and a more decided expression of sympathy from all classes." His body was interred in the basement of the Cathedral, and a suitable memorial tablet being shortly thereafter erected in the Church.

As in the case of Bishop England of Charleston, so with Bishop McGill, regret may be felt that it was not his lot to have presided over a larger See where the Catholics were more conspicuous in numbers and in power. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that, because of their eminent personalities, united to truly wonderful abilities, both prelates wielded an influence for good amongst the larger non-Catholic element much greater than would have been possible outside the fold in a larger Catholic community, where they would necessarily have been less thrown in contact with their non-Catholic brethren. Aside from his unusual mental ability and character and the general good he accomplished for the Church in the South during his episcopate of twenty-one years, the individual part he played in the overthrow of Knownothingism and his particular labors for religion during the trying period of the Civil War and Reconstruction have inscribed with honor the name of John McGill, third Bishop of Richmond, on the immortal pages of American Church history.

JOSEPH MAGRI, M.A., D.D.

## MISCELLANY

### I

#### THE EPISCOPAL ANCESTRY OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the last number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1916, p. 307), a writer mentions "the remarkable fact that the *episcopal hierarchy now ruling in the United States*, in England and Australia, all derive their origin from the famous English Benedictine, Bishop Charles Walmesley." He refers to a note in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW of October, 1915 (p. 253), which says that "leaving Ireland out of it, *the rest of the English-speaking world has its faith and orders* from Downside. . . . The case of America is clear. Bishop Walmesley consecrated Bishop Carroll, who, as first Bishop of Baltimore, will have ordained many to all the grades of Holy Orders and no doubt consecrated other bishops." In fact, on page 243, Lulworth Castle is called "the scene of the consecration of Dr. John Carroll and *the birthplace of the American Episcopate*." The writer of the article on the same famous Lulworth Castle in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 1889, page 63, calls Bishop Walmesley "the link which binds the Church of the United States to the Church of St. Austin and St. Gregory." In the *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of America* by Richard Clarke, Bishop Carroll is simply called *the founder of the American Hierarchy*. (Vol. i, p. 32.) An article on Bishop Walmesley in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (Vol. xxi, 1897, p. 185) is headed *The Patriarch of the American Hierarchy*.

Now, with all due respect for the esteemed writers above-mentioned, and with all the veneration and affection that Bishop Carroll may justly claim from every bishop of the United States, I venture to say that *at present*, at least, general statements like those above which I have put in italics, are no longer correct and ought to be modified. I would not object if they were restricted to the *early* or *primitive* or *original* hierarchy of Church of the United States. But it is hardly correct that "the *episcopal hierarchy now ruling in the United States* . . . all derive their origin from . . . Bishop Charles Walmesley." In proof of my position, I offer the following list of the archbishops and bishops of the United States, who do not descend hierarchically from Bishop Carroll, beginning with the year 1808 and ending with 1900.

Before examining the list it may be well to keep in mind the dates of some events in the expansion of the territory of the United States, which bear also on the expansion of its Catholic Hierarchy. After the peace treaty of 1783 the United States comprised nearly all the territory east of the Mississippi, excepting Florida, that is the thirteen original States with the territory they claimed beyond their actual possessions. Louisiana with its vast territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the frontier of Oregon came into the Union in 1803. Oregon was claimed by the United States as early as 1813; but England held undivided

control of it until 1818, when it consented to consider Oregon as a kind of common or neutral land. It was only in 1846 that the United States obtained undisputed possession of it. Florida came in 1819, Texas in 1845, and upper California as late as 1848. All this bears on the history of the Dioceses of the great Northwest and the land west of the Mississippi to the Pacific.

Bishop Carroll was consecrated on August 15, 1790, and died as Archbishop of Baltimore on December 3, 1815. During his episcopacy he consecrated Bishop Neale as his coadjutor, December 7, 1800; Bishop Egan (Philadelphia), October 28, 1810; Bishop Cheverus (Boston), November 1, 1810, and Bishop Flaget (Bardstown), November 4, 1810. During his life time, were consecrated at Rome, Italy, the two bishops of New York, Concanen (1808), and Connolly (1814).

There are several ways of tabulating or recording our Episcopal Succession; but the plainest manner of presenting it seems to be by giving, *in chronological order*, first the names of the Archbishops (in capitals) and of the Bishops with their last See, then the date and place of their consecration, and lastly the name of their consecrator.

Concanen, New York, April 24, 1808. Rome. Cardinal di Pietro.

Connolly, New York, November 6, 1814. Rome. Cardinal Brancadora.

Dubourg, New Orleans, September 24, 1815. Rome. Cardinal Doria Pamfili.

Kelly, Richmond, August 24, 1820. Kilkenny, Ireland. Bishop Troy, Dublin.

England, Charleston, September 21, 1820. Cork, Ireland. Bishop Murray, Cork.

Conwell, Philadelphia, September 24, 1820. London, England. Bishop Poynter, V. Ap.

Rosati, St. Louis, March 25, 1824. Donaldsonville, La. Bishop Dubourg.

Portier, Mobile, November 5, 1826. St. Louis. Bishop Rosati.

De Neckere, New Orleans, May 24, 1830. New Orleans. Bishop Rosati.

Rese, Detroit, October 6, 1833. Cincinnati. Bishop Rosati.

Clancey, Charleston, December 21, 1834. Carlow, Ireland. Bishop Nolan, Kildare.

BLANC, New Orleans, November 22, 1835. New Orleans. Bishop Rosati.

Loras, Dubuque, December 10, 1837. Mobile. Bishop Portier.

Miles, Nashville, September 16, 1838. St. Rose Convent, Ky. Bishop Rosati.

Hailandiere, Vincennes, August 18, 1839. Paris, France. Bishop Forbin-Janson.

KENRICK, P. R. St. Louis, November 30, 1841. Philadelphia. Bishop Rosati.

ODIN, New Orleans, March 6, 1842. New Orleans. Bishop Blanc.

O'Connor, Pittsburgh, August 15, 1843. Rome. Cardinal Franson.

BLANCHET, F. N. Oregon, July 25, 1845. Montreal. Bishop Bourget.

Blanchet, A. M. Nesqually, September 27, 1846. Montreal. Bishop Bourget.

Bazin, Vincennes, October 24, 1847. Vincennes. Bishop Portier.

Demers, Vancouver, November 30, 1847. St. Paul, Oregon. Archbishop Blanchet.

St. Palais, Vincennes, January 14, 1849. Vincennes. Bishop Miles.

Vandeveld, Natchez, February 11, 1849. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.

ALEMANT, San Francisco, June 30, 1850. Rome. Cardinal Franson.

McGill, Richmond, November 10, 1850. Bardstown. Archbishop Kenrick.

Cretin, St. Paul, January 26, 1851. Bellay, France. Bishop Devie.

Miege, Kansas City, Kans., March 25, 1851. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.

- BAILEY, Baltimore, October 30, 1853. New York. Archbishop Bedini, Ap. Legate.
- De Goesbriand, Burlington, October 30, 1853. New York. Archbishop Bedini, Ap. Legate.
- Loughlin, Brooklyn, October 30, 1853. New York. Archbishop Bedini, Ap. Legate.
- Martin, Natchitoches, November 30, 1853. New Orleans. Archbishop Blanc.
- Amat, Monterey, March 12, 1854. Rome. Cardinal Franson.
- Persico, Savannah, June 4, 1854. Bombay, India. Bishop Hartman.
- O'Regan, Chicago, July 25, 1854. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Duggan, Chicago, May 3, 1857. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Smyth, Dubuque, May 3, 1857. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- O'Gorman, Omaha, May 8, 1859. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Whelan, Nashville, May 8, 1859. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Grace, St. Paul, July 24, 1859. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Quinlan, Mobile, December 4, 1859. New Orleans. Archbishop Blanc.
- Dufal, Coadjutor, Galveston, November 25, 1860. Le Mans, France. Bishop Guibert, later Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.
- O'Connell, Grass Valley, February 3, 1861. All Hallows, Ireland. Bishop Cullen, later Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin.
- Dubuis, Galveston, November 23, 1862. Lyons, France. Archbishop Odin.
- FEELAN, Chicago, November 1, 1865. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- HENNESSY, Dubuque, September 30, 1866. Dubuque. Archbishop Kenrick.
- McCloskey, Louisville, May 24, 1868. Rome. Cardinal Reisach.
- Melcher, Green Bay, July 12, 1868. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- Lootens, Idaho, August 9, 1868. San Francisco. Archbishop Alemany.
- Hogan, Kansas City, September 13, 1868. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- SALPONTE, Santa Fe, June 20, 1869. Clermont, France. Bishop Feron.
- Foley, Chicago, February 27, 1870. Baltimore. Bishop W. G. McCloskey.
- Fink, Lavenworth, June 11, 1871. Chicago. Bishop Foley.
- RYAN, Philadelphia, April 14, 1872. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.
- GROSS, Oregon, April 27, 1873. Baltimore. Archbishop Bailey.
- SEGHERS, Oregon, June 29. Victoria. Archbishop Blanchet.
- Mora, Monterey, August 3, 1873. Monterey. Bishop Amat.
- KAIN, St. Louis, May 23, 1875. Wheeling, Va. Archbishop Bailey.
- IRELAND, St. Paul, December 21, 1875. St. Paul. Bishop Grace.
- O'Connor, Omaha, August 20, 1876. Philadelphia. Archbishop Ryan.
- LERAY, New Orleans, April 22, 1877. Rennes, France. Cardinal St. Marc.
- Chatard, Indianapolis, May 12, 1878. Rome. Cardinal Franson.
- Juenger, Nesqually, October 28, 1879. Vancouver. Archbishop Blanchet.
- Brondel, Helena, December 14, 1879. Victoria. Archbishop Seghers.
- Marty, Sioux Falls, February 1, 1880. Ferdinand, Ind. Bishop Chatard.
- Monogue, Sacramento, January 16, 1881. San Francisco. Archbishop Alemany.
- McMullen, Davenport, July 25, 1881. Chicago. Archbishop Feehan.
- Rademacher, Fort Wayne, June 24, 1883. Nashville. Archbishop Feehan.
- RIORDAN, San Francisco, September 16, 1883. Chicago. Archbishop Feehan.
- Cosgrove, Davenport, September 14, 1884. Davenport. Archbishop Feehan.
- Durier, Natchitoches, March 19, 1885. New Orleans. Archbishop Leray.
- Phelan, Pittsburgh. August 2, 1885. Pittsburgh. Archbishop Ryan.
- Scanlan, Salt Lake, June 29, 1887. San Francisco. Archbishop Riordan.
- Burke, St. Joseph, October 28, 1887. Chicago. Archbishop Feehan.

Mats, Denver, October 28, 1887. Denver. Archbishop Salpointe.  
 Bonacum, Lincoln, November 30, 1887. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.  
 Scannell, Omaha, November 30, 1887. Nashville. Archbishop Feehan.  
 Janssen, Belleville, April 25, 1888. Belleville. Archbishop Feehan.  
 Lemmens, Vancouver Island, August 5, 1888. Victoria. Archbishop Gross.  
 Hennessy, Wichita, November 30, 1888. St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick.  
 Zardetti, St. Cloud, October 20, 1889. Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Archbishop  
 Gross.<sup>1</sup>

Cotter, Winona, December 27, 1889. St. Paul. Archbishop Ireland.  
 McGolrick, Duluth, December 27, 1889. St. Paul. Archbishop Ireland.  
 Shanley, Fargo, December 27, 1889. St. Paul. Archbishop Ireland.  
 Verdager, Brownsville, November 9, 1890. Barcelona, Spain. Bishop Calala y  
 Albora.

MESSMER, Milwaukee, March 27, 1892. Newark, N. J. Bishop Zardetti.  
 Dunne, Dallas, November 30, 1893. Chicago. Archbishop Feehan.  
 Montgomery, Monterey, April 8, 1894. San Francisco. Archbishop Riordan.  
 Hoban, Scranton, March 22, 1896. Scranton. Monsignor Satolli, Ap. Del.  
 Grace, Sacramento, June 16, 1896. Sacramento. Archbishop Riordan.  
 GLENNON, St. Louis, June 29, 1896. Kansas City, Mo. Archbishop Kain.  
 O'Dea, Seattle, September 8, 1896. Vancouver. Archbishop Gross.  
 Lenihan, Cheyenne, February 24, 1897. Dubuque. Archbishop Hennessy.  
 PRENDERGAST, Philadelphia, February 24, 1897. Philadelphia. Archbishop  
 Ryan.

Trobec, St. Cloud, September 21, 1897. St. Paul. Archbishop Ireland.  
 Fitzmaurice, Erie, February 24, 1898. Philadelphia. Archbishop Ryan.  
 CHRISTIE, Oregon, July 29, 1898. St. Paul. Archbishop Ireland.  
 Cunningham, Concordia, September 21, 1898. Leavenworth. Archbishop Kain.  
 McGavick, Auxiliary, Chicago, May 1, 1899. Chicago. Archbishop Feehan.  
 Shanahan, J. W., Harrisburg, May 1, 1899. Philadelphia. Archbishop Ryan.

The following schema gives a conspectus of the principal successions exhibited in the above list:

Dubourg consecrated Rosati.

Rosati consecrated Blanc, De Neckere, P. R. Kenrick, Miles, Portier, Rese.

Blanc consecrated Odin, Martin, Quinlan.

Portier consecrated Bazin, Loras.

Kenrick consecrated Bonacum, Duggan, Feehan, Grace (St. Paul), Hennessy (Dubuque), Hennessy (Wichita), Hogan, McGill, Melchers, Miede, O'Gorman, O'Regan, Ryan (Philadelphia), Smyth, Vandevelde, Whelan.

Feehan consecrated Burke (S. Jos.), Cosgrove, Dunne (Dallas), Janssen (Bell).

McMullen, Rademacher, Riordan, Scannell.

Grace consecrated Ireland.

Ireland consecrated Christie, Keane Jas., Cotter, Shanley, and all the present bishops of the province of St. Paul, except Bishop O'Gorman of Sioux Falls.

Ryan consecrated Fitzmaurice, O'Connor (Omaha), Phelan, Prendergast.

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<sup>1</sup> Reuss' data on Bishop Zardetti are wrong, I am certain, having been present at his consecration and when he received subdeaconship and deaconship. The data furnished by Bishops Zardetti and Marty were, no doubt, correct, but were badly mixed by the printer.



Riordan consecrated Grace (Sacramento), Montgomery, Scanlan.

Bailey consecrated Gross, Kain.

Gross consecrated Lemmens, O'Dea, Zardetti.

Blanchet consecrated Demers, Seghers, Juenger.

The list also discloses the interesting fact that, during the first thirty years since Carroll's consecration (1790-1820), out of the *ten* members of the then American Hierarchy *four* did not derive their consecration from Bishop Carroll; that of the *thirty* bishops living in the United States during the first fifty years of the American Hierarchy (1790-1840) *fourteen* (in italics) did not link with Carroll, as the following schema shows:

Neale, 1800. Cheverus, Egan, Flaget, 1810. *Connolly*, 1814. *Dubourg*, 1815. *Maréchal*, 1817. David, 1819. *Conwell*, *England*, *Kelly*, 1820. Edw. Fenwick, 1822. *Rosati*, 1824. B. J. Fenwick, 1825. Dubois, *Portier*, 1826. Whitfield, 1828. F. P. Kenrick, *De Neckere*, 1830, *Rese*, Purcell, 1833, Brute, Eccleston, Chabrat, *Clancy*. 1834. *Blanc*, 1835. *Loras*, 1837. Hughes, *Miles*, 1838. *Hailandière*, 1839. There was no consecration in 1840, except that of Garcia Diego Moreno, Bishop of California, which was however, not United States territory at that time. Bishop Concanen, too, is left out.

The following two schemas show the episcopal genealogy of the present Archbishops of the United States.

### I. DERIVING CONSECRATION FROM BISHOP CARROLL

1. Cardinal Gibbons, 1868, by M. J. Spalding—Flaget—Carroll.
2. Cardinal Farley, 1895, Corrigan—McCloskey—Dubois—*Maréchal*—Cheverus—Carroll.
3. Archbishop Blenk, 1899, by Chapelle—Gibbons.
4. Archbishop Moeller, 1900, by Elder—F. P. Kenrick—Flaget.
5. Archbishop Pitaval, 1902, by Bourgade—Lamy—M. J. Spalding.
6. Archbishop Mundelein, 1909, by Bishop McDonnell—Corrigan.

### II. DERIVING CONSECRATION FROM BISHOP DUBOURG AND ROMAN PRELATES

1. Cardinal O'Connell, 1901, by Cardinal Satolli.
2. Archbishop Ireland, 1875, by Grace—P. R. Kenrick—*Rosati*—Dubourg.
3. Archbishop Messmer, 1892, by Zardetti—Gross—Bailey—Bedini.
4. Archbishop Glennon, 1896, by Hogan—P. R. Kenrick.
5. Archbishop Prendergast, 1897, by Ryan—P. R. Kenrick.
6. Archbishop Christie, 1898, by Ireland.
7. Archbishop Keane, *Jas.*, 1902, by Ireland.
8. Archbishop Hanna, 1912, by Msgr. Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate.

There are at present four titular Archbishops of the United States who do not exercise any episcopal jurisdiction. These are:

Keane, John Jos., resigned Archbishop of Dubuque, consecrated August 25, 1878, in Baltimore, by Archbishop Gibbons.

Weber, Jos., Delegate General of the Resurrectionist Fathers, Chicago, consecrated at Lemberg, Galicia in Austria, December 30, 1895, by Archbishop Morawski of Lemberg.

Seton, Robert, at present at Pau, France, consecrated in July, 1903, at Rome by Cardinal Respighi.

Kennedy, Thos., Rector of the American College, Rome, consecrated December 29, 1907, at Rome by Cardinal Gotti.

It may not be without interest for the readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW to know the apostolic succession of the near predecessors of our present Archbishops, and who are not mentioned in the first list, since they all descend from Bishop Carroll.

Purcell, 1833, by Whitfield—Flaget—Carroll.

Elder, 1857, by F. P. Kenrick—Flaget, etc.

Wood, 1857, by Purcell.

Williams, 1866, by McCloskey—Hughes—Dubois—Maréchal—Carroll.

Perche, 1870, by Rosecrans—Purcell.

Corrigan, 1873, by McCloskey of New York.

Chapelle, 1891, by Cardinal Gibbons.

Quigley, 1897, by Corrigan.

The episcopal ancestry, or, as we may well call it, the apostolic succession of the American Hierarchy is, as Archbishop Ireland truly says, "a very interesting subject," the study of which offers more than one surprise to the close follower of our American Catholic history.

In view of the data furnished in the preceding pages, the question again arises, in what sense may Bishop Carroll be called the Father and Founder of the American Hierarchy? If regard be had to episcopal consecration only, it would seem that the appellation must be restricted to the Hierarchy of the original American States. But it may be allowed in a more general sense if we look to jurisdiction only. Yet, even this cannot apply to Oregon and California. When Bishop Carroll, after the resignation of Bishop Penalver y Cardenas of Louisiana, was made Administrator of Louisiana, in 1806, he held jurisdiction over all the territory then belonging to the United States. Bishop Dubourg in reality succeeded to Bishop Carroll in the episcopal jurisdiction of the diocese of Louisiana. All this is happily stated in a carefully worded passage by J. G. Shea, our American Catholic historian, when he says: "The Most Rev. John Carroll is the origin of the American Episcopate, as first bishop and subsequently first Archbishop of Baltimore, all dioceses East of the Mississippi having been formed from that confided to his care, and all archbishops and bishops succeeding to some part of his authority." (*The Catholic Hierarchy in the United States*, p. 61.) Again, speaking in the usual sense of the apostolic succession and episcopal ancestry of the present American Hierarchy, we are tempted, at first sight, to agree with *Acta et Dicta*, when it writes: "Other bishops of the United States received episcopal consecration, some in Europe and some in America, through other lineages. The two principal lineages, however, are those we have indicated—the Roman, through Cardinal Joseph Doria, and the English, through the Vicar Apostolic, Charles Walmesley."<sup>1</sup> . . . Yet, in reality the two lines

<sup>1</sup> *Acta et Dicta*, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul. Vol. iv, No. 1, July, 1915.

or approaches lead up to the same Roman portico with the difference of but one step. Bishop Dubourg was consecrated in the city of Rome, in the French Church of St. Louis, while Bishop Carroll was consecrated in England. But Carroll's consecrator, Bishop Walmsley, had also been consecrated at Rome, by Cardinal Lanti in the Sodality Chapel of the English College, in 1756.

There is an interesting notice in Griffin's *American Catholic Historical Researches* (1895, p. 94), stating that the late Bishop Maes of Covington had drawn up an "Ecclesiastical Genealogical Chart" showing the line of episcopal descent in the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States. The chart shows two principal lines of descent which are derived from Rome. The writer says that this remarkable chart is now in the Bishop's Memorial Hall of the Notre Dame University, Indiana.

In tracing the above episcopal pedigrees I have again, as on former occasions, experienced the great value of Reuss' *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States*. From frequent correspondence with the author, I know that he was preparing a new corrected edition. Some capable person ought to take the work in hand and give us an up-to-date edition of this most valuable work. I shall gladly help.

✠ S. G. MESSMER,  
Archbishop of Milwaukee.

## II

### A FRANK WORD ABOUT SOUTH AMERICAN HISTORY

One of the most distressing problems facing the American Catholic apologist today is the attitude of our Catholic scholars towards the history of the Church in Latin America. There has been a strange, almost childish, fear about touching this question; and the prospective apologist has been rebuffed with a priori finality by the statement: "You cannot get away from facts. The history of the Church in South America will not bear investigation." The consequence is that unjust attacks on Latin America have been met with the soothing generalization: "The Puritans killed off the Indians, while the Spanish missionaries preserved and Christianized them."

Students of history, who strive to be impartial in their attitude towards South America, ought to know that practically all the effective criticism on the Church there, dates from the unfortunate publication of one book: *Noticias Secretas de America*, written by Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. These two gentlemen were the naval officers detailed by the Spanish crown to accompany the scientific expedition of La Condamine to Quito, in 1735. Reports of their investigations were published in several scientific treatises and in an historico-scientific work entitled: *Viage á la America Meridional* (Madrid, 1749). In addition to this they made a secret report to Ferdinand VI on the conduct of the civil officials and ecclesiastics of Peru, and more especially of Quito, frankly noting abuses wherever they were found to exist. This report, which was made purely for the information of the King, was never intended to be made public, and remained in manuscript for about eighty years, until it was published, in London, in 1826, by an Anglo-Irishman, David Barry. The publication could

not have been more timely for England's purpose. For over two hundred years she has been harassing Spain's colonial possessions, without being able to obtain more than a mere foothold on the South American continent. With the Wars of Independence, a new opportunity was opened up to her; and it suited her purpose to blacken the character of the South Americans in the eyes of Europe. This was undertaken in a long series of published travel-ogues printed between the years 1810 and 1835. The books published before the *Noticias Secretas* contained, as a rule, only the old stock charges of the "sale" of indulgences, the "cruelty" of the Inquisition, and the "superstition" of the Church, but those that followed the *Noticias* gave lurid accounts of the immorality of the clergy, and suppressed anything that might reflect credit on the Church. An American edition of the part of the *Noticias* which told of these abuses was brought out in Boston in 1851, under the title: *Secret Notices of Peru*. Other editions bore the title: *Popery Judged by Its Fruits*.

The work of defamation was then taken up by the Liberal school of Latin America, the double purpose of which was to justify the expulsion of the Religious and the confiscation of their property, and to destroy the hold religion had on both creole and Indian. Contemporaneous with this school of vilification we have at present in the United States two main types of Latin-American historical studies: (1) the Protestant missionary type of both history and travel-book, which has descended from the English school; and (2) the scientific type, which, even when willing to be fair, generally starts with the assumption that intellectual life in South America began with the suppression of the Inquisition.

Against our traditional acceptance of these sources of information, the most notable protest is the fascinating trilogy of Father Zahm,<sup>1</sup> a study of which appeared in the October number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW by Dr. O'Hagan. Dr. Zahm describes, at every stage of his journey through the whole continent of South America, the substantial effects as well as the melancholy ruins of the Church's activity that have survived the destructive work of liberal governments. His notes, however, are only the scholarly observations of a cultured traveller, and while this does not detract from their value, for they are all substantiated by accurate reference to a wealth of sources, they do not preclude—in fact they earnestly invite—more systematic historical study of the glorious record of the Age of Faith in Latin America which he lays before us.

It is high time for us to make amends for our unjust indifference to this history. We have a duty to South America. We must, in the interests of truth, investigate the causes of the alleged moral laxity among the clergy there, wherever we find that it existed, and we must find out what effective measures were taken by the Catholic authorities, in South America, in Spain, and in Rome, to stop these abuses. And we must, on the other hand, be able to place alongside any unfortunate evidences of human weakness the splendid record of

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<sup>1</sup> *Following the Conquistadores: Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena, Along the Andes and Down the Amazon, Through South America's Southland*. New York, 1910-16, 3 vols.

achievement that makes these lapses pale into insignificance. We must know, for instance, that on the one hand the original allotments of land and Indians to the monasteries had grown in economic value with the development of the country, and that the wealth they procured caused worldly-minded parents to urge their sons into the religious Orders for the purpose of securing a good living; and on the other, that English aggression very often disturbed clerical pursuits. We should know that during the first part of the eighteenth century, the time dealt with by the *Noticias*, the accession of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne gave England a new chance for open war with Spain; that after the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, England secured from the Spain the *asiento* giving her the exclusive right to the slave trade with the Spanish colonies; that the presence of slave ships gave rise to a contraband trade which imperilled Spain's commercial monopoly; that English pirates preyed on Spanish trade with the colonies and rendered communication with Europe more difficult; that the clergy of Peru were, in 1709, drafted into the army for the unclerical occupation of checking piracy; that several times during this period, political necessities made the Bishops and Archbishops of Peru assume the vice-regal office, to the detriment of their purely spiritual functions. We should know that the first accurate map of the Amazon was published at this time by the indefatigable Bohemian Jesuit, Padre Fritz; that earnest zeal for learning had just secured from Philip V permission to create the University of Caracas; that if the University of Lima had suffered a temporary decline, the Jesuit Colleges had more than made up for the dimming of its prestige—and this at the very time (1740) when George Whitefield's *Journal* said, in comparing Harvard College with Oxford and Cambridge: "It is not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at a low ebb. Bad books are become fashionable among them." We should know that there is no more glowing tribute to the high character of the Jesuits and their work anywhere than is contained in the *Noticias Secretas* in the very chapter (Part 2, ch. viii) which denounces clerical abuses most vehemently; that their missions at this time among the Maynas were doing as signal a service as were their better-known Reductions of Paraguay; that if these latter were suffering it was not from lack of zeal, but from the treacherous onslaughts of the usurper Antequera (1720-31), who was determined to wreck the Reductions and have the Jesuits expelled. We should know that the sacrilegious theft of a ciborium from a church in Lima (January, 1711) caused intense indignation "in this period of increasing religious devotion," as it is called by a modern writer who, neglecting his science of chronology, in another chapter describes religion at its very lowest ebb at this very time. If the Gospels related nothing but the treason of Judas, we would hardly be expected to have a high opinion of the college of Apostles.

These are a few random facts, and not at all the most striking which a study of South American History reveals. There is no lack of material for that study. There are hundreds, even thousands, of books accessible to students here in the United States who wish to learn the truth about South America. Spain has been generous, just and intelligent, in her preservation and publication

of these sources, and many of the South American countries have ably seconded her efforts to arrive at a true history of South America. We owe it to the cause of truth to weave these materials into a history, in English, of the Church in South America, and a study of it should be a feature of the history work in our Catholic colleges. For colonial South America, such studies should treat of the ecclesiastical system; the Royal Patronage; the erection of Sees; the appointment of prelates; the parishes and pastors; the sources and amount of revenues; the missionaries and their activities; the monasteries; the literary and scientific work of the friars; the hospitals, asylums and other works of charity; the development of printing and other useful arts; the means of education—universities, colleges and primary schools; the relation of the Church to the various systems of Indian serfdom; the Inquisition. Under the Republics, the history of the Church presents a new set of problems and requires a separate study.

If "brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers," there is small chance for justice. We have seen our South American neighbors through the eyes of prejudice long enough. If one would do justice to the history of the Church in South America, his blood should be warmed by the Faith, and not chilled by four centuries of heresy. The non-Catholic historian may try as he pleases—witness Cunningham-Grahame—to be fair to the Church: his heresy clouds understanding sympathy in his perspective, and he fails. The Catholic student has, by inheritance, this power of appreciation: his task and his materials lie before him.

JOHN F. O'HARA, C.S.C.

### III

#### CHARLES G. HERBERMANN

Among the many Germans who sought their fortunes in the United States towards the middle of the last century was Mr. George Herbermann, of Glandorf, Hanover, and his wife Elizabeth (*née* Stipp) who was born at Osnabrueck. Mr. Herbermann had been trained by his father for the tobacco business, but when, in 1839, he sought to establish himself as a tobacconist in his native place, the government of Hanover refused him permission. He next applied for a similar concession in Prussia, where his cousin was the Burgomaster of Saerbeck in Westphalia. Relying upon the latter's promises, he purchased in this little Westphalian hamlet a new and commodious house in which to start his factory. But the Burgomaster failed to induce the Prussian government to show Mr. Herbermann more favor than Hanover had done, and a few weeks before his marriage the bridegroom tobacconist was informed that he must turn his business energies in other directions. The young man had to bow to necessity. Having bought the house at Saerbeck, he settled there and started a country store. He married Elizabeth Stipp on the 19th of April, 1839. Her father and his ancestors for several generations had been in the fiscal service of the government, and were related to many prominent burghers of the old episcopal city, Muenster, such as the banker, Breusing, one of whose relatives founded the New York music store now owned by Schirmer.

One of the results of Mr. George Herbermann's settlement in Saerbeck was that the subject of this sketch, Charles G. Herbermann, was born a Prussian and not a Hanoverian. He was the eldest child of his parents, having been born on December 8, 1840. He grew up in the little village, a sturdy boy with a strong leaning to learning and study. He was not yet five years of age when he was placed at the village school in Saerbeck, taught at the time by a young clergyman, Vicar Hermes, a nephew of the famous Bonn Professor. Like his uncle, the Vicar was a natural pedagogue and his pupil, Charles Herbermann, made rapid progress under his tuition. Having reached the highest class before he was nine, at his teacher's suggestion he began, along with two of his schoolmates, to study privately the elements of Latin. The worthy Vicar was delighted with his scholar's progress and hoped that before long he would distinguish himself at the Muenster Gymnasium.

Matters, however, were to take a very different turn. The father's business, after prospering for a while, gradually became dull. Mr. Herbermann used his utmost endeavors to infuse new life into the undertaking and his efforts were vigorously seconded by his wife, who had become a universal favorite among her new Westphalian countrymen. But it was up-hill work. Business grew more and more slack, and when the Revolution of 1848 among other effects produced a violent mercantile shake-up, the fate of the Herbermann enterprise was sealed. George Herbermann, to whom five children had been born, during his residence at Saerbeck, found it more and more difficult to make both ends meet, and wisely resolved to better his fortunes in the new world. It was a painful resolution, especially to his wife. Fortunately, he was able to sell his property, on which he realized enough to bring over his now numerous family and to keep a little reserve capital for the day of need.

On November 1, 1850, the emigrant family went aboard the good ship *Agnes* at Bremerhafen. The voyage was doomed to be long and distressing not only because it was tempestuous, but also because sickness and death awaited the emigrants. Mrs. Herbermann was an invalid from the day she went on board of the *Agnes* to the day she disembarked. One child was born and two died before the snow-clad woods of Staten Island bade the Westphalian wanderers welcome on January 21, 1851. The family, besides the father and mother, consisted of Charles, Mary and Frederick.

The first care of George Herbermann, after providing a modest home for his family and securing a far from lucrative position, was to choose a school for his children. He sent them to the parochial school of St. Alphonsus in Thompson Street, where German was taught as well as English. Among the pupils of the school were the children of Mrs. Uhl, and of Noll, the violinist. Here Charles Herbermann remained till April 17, 1853, when he was matriculated as a student at the College of St. Francis Xavier in Fifteenth Street. Here he resumed his classical studies which had been so painfully interrupted, and his record shows that he was both a diligent and a successful student. His degree of Bachelor of Arts he received from St. John's College, Fordham, in July, 1858. The young man's inclinations drew him towards a legal career, but financial circumstances did not permit

his father to gratify the son's wishes. Though ill-fortune no longer frowned on the family, she forbade all expensive ambitions. So the young graduate put aside his legal aspirations and became an instructor at his Alma Mater in September 1858. For eleven years he remained at St. Francis Xavier's, teaching and studying. He taught not only German, English and French, but also mathematics and the classics, and he counted among his scholars such men as the Right Rev. Msgr. Edwards, Mr. John D. Crimmins, the late Coroner Messmer, Dock-Commissioner Phelan, and the President of the Garfield Bank, Mr. William H. Gelshenan, not to speak of many other successful business men. His leisure time was taken up with the study of the classics and of philosophy for both of which, as well as for mathematics and science, he had a strongly pronounced taste. At the same time a powerful baritone voice, the musical quality of which he had inherited from his mother, led the young teacher to bestow no little attention on music. He became a close friend of Mr. William Berge at that time one of the leading organists of the city, joined the choir of St. Francis Xavier's Church, and at times sang with the Mendelssohn Union, a flourishing musical organization, which, among other achievements, successfully produced Beethoven's Ninth Symphony under the direction of Theodore Thomas. Amid these employments, scientific and asthetic, the time passed by quickly and agreeably.

At home, also, affairs had taken a decided turn for the better. In 1861, the initial year of the Civil War, George Herbermann bought out his employer, Mr. Mabbett, an old New York produce and commission merchant of Dutch descent, and began his career as a New York merchant. Though the financial troubles caused by the outbreak of the war did not fail to worry the new commission merchant, he and his second son, Frederick, successfully overcame all difficulties. Year after year the business became more prosperous, and the scrupulous honesty of the old Hanoverian gained the universal respect of his fellow merchants. When, in 1893, death closed the eyes of George Herbermann, he could look back on thirty-three years of honorable activity in New York and there existed no produce commission business more trusted and more respected than his. It passed into the hands of his two younger sons, Frederick D. and Alexander J. After the death of the former, in 1900, it was conducted by the youngest son, Alexander, under the firm name of George Herbermann's Son, until the latter's death in 1914.

Charles Herbermann had derived no little satisfaction from his father's success. He took the greatest interest in the progress of the business and helped his father as far as it lay in his power. His position at St. Francis Xavier's, if not brilliant, was pleasant and offered many advantages. He made friends, not only among the Jesuit Fathers, but among his old students, the graduates of St. Francis Xavier's College and other rising men. Prominent among these were the Jesuits, Rev. Charles H. de Luyne and Joseph Shea, and, moreover, Charles Anthony Goessman, Professor of Chemistry at Amherst Agricultural College, and Prof. Francis E. Engelhardt, chemical inspector of the city of Syracuse. The years thus flew by contentedly and happily and the young man gradually acquired more and more reputation as a scholar and



teacher. This is shown by the fact that, even in the early sixties, he became the private instructor of young Nicholas Fish, the son of Ex-Governor Fish of New York, who was subsequently to become Gen. Grant's Secretary of State.

In 1869 died Dr. John Jason Owen, Professor of the Classics in the College of the city of New York. The Board of Trustees decided to divide the old department of Classical Literature, erecting in its stead the two chairs, of Latin Language and Literature and that of Greek Language and Literature. Dr. Herbermann was appointed to the former chair and left his Alma Mater on October 29, 1869. On November 1 he began his work at the College of the City of New York, a work which from the beginning enlisted all his sympathies and his energies. Not only had the young professor reconciled himself to the teaching profession, but he had become an enthusiastic pedagogue. At the City College, of which Gen. Alexander S. Webb was President at the time, he met with a very cordial reception both by the Faculty and the students. Although he was the youngest member of the Faculty, having not yet reached his twenty-ninth year, his colleagues, mostly elderly men, welcomed him most courteously and he found the boys a body of earnest and intelligent students. The new professor went at his work vigorously and soon won the confidence of all. Class after class passed through his hands, the Latin curriculum was expanded to meet the desires of the Alumni, and new courses were established. His work became from year to year more congenial. In fact, though in the course of time his energies were directed in various directions, he has always regarded his professorial career as his chief life work. A passionate lover of books, his appointment, in 1873, as librarian of the College, while it increased his work, also increased the pleasures of his collegiate life. He reorganized the library soon after his appointment; he carefully watched over the selection of the books so that very soon, although the average income of the library was only \$1,200 per annum, it contained about 40,000 volumes, very few of which would be considered superfluous. A man of catholic tastes and interested in every branch of literature, science and art, all departments of learning benefited equally by his watchfulness and care; and while, naturally, the bulk of the books are English, the shelves of the library also contain the masterpieces of belletristic, historical and scientific literature of continental Europe, and the most important American and European periodicals on every branch of science and art.

Three years after his call to the City College, Prof. Herbermann became engaged to Miss Mary Teresa Dieter. She was a native of Baltimore and of German extraction, well educated, gentle and ladylike. They were married on July 5, 1873. Unfortunately his wedded happiness was to be of short duration. After presenting him with two little daughters, she was carried off after a brief illness when her second child was eleven days old. Her death was a stunning blow to her young husband. But his duty to his two little orphans roused him from his grief, and henceforth he devoted himself to the affectionate care of his two little girls. Never neglecting his college work, he became the playmate of the little ones in his leisure hours. In the year 1880

he was married a second time to Miss Elizabeth Schoeb, a native of Marburg in Hesse, who affectionately brought up his children and was herself the mother of seven children. Prof. Herbermann's married life, in spite of repeated and severe trials, were days full of happiness. Mutual love sweetened every day and every hour and his children grew up not only clever and bright and full of accomplishments, but also affectionate and devoted to their father. When, in 1893, his second wife was unexpectedly taken away from him by death, his eldest living daughter, by his first wife, though little more than seventeen years old, undertook the management of the household and brought up her little brothers and sisters, whose ages ranged from three days to twelve years.

In spite of his domestic sorrows, Prof. Herbermann led an active life inside and outside of the City College. In 1873 he was chosen President of the Catholic Club, then called the Xavier Union, where his popularity contributed greatly to the growth of the club.

In 1879, Harper's published his first literary venture, a little volume entitled *Business Life in Ancient Rome*. It met with a favorable reception as may be inferred from the fact that it was pirated both in England and Australia. In 1886 he edited for the Appletons an edition of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* and in 1890 he published an annotated edition of the *Bellum Catalinae*. At the same time he published, in various periodicals, scholarly papers on oriental and Greek education, on medieval history, and translated Torfason's history of Vinland from the Latin for Dr. Gilmary Shea's *Catholic Historical Magazine*.

In 1898, he was elected President of the United States Catholic Historical Society and became the Editor of the *Historical Records and Studies* as well as of the series of monographs on American history. Among these monographs we may mention: *The Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (1902); Thebaud's *Forty Years in the United States*; the facsimile edition of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio* with a translation and a facsimile of his map of the world, the first map on which the name America occurred (1907); *The Diary of a Trip to the United States in the Year 1883* by Lord Russell of Killowen.

In January, 1905, Prof. Herbermann was offered the Editorship-in-Chief of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Thanks to his ceaseless energy and scholarship, as well as to the efficiency and diligence of his fellow editors, comprising the Rector of the Catholic University at Washington, Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy in the same institution, the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J., and Dr. Condé B. Pallen, who have for many years been well-known and successful publicists, the *Encyclopedia* has not only met with a warm welcome on all sides, but it has also received the approval of scholars of many nations and of the various religious denominations.

Prof. Herbermann, in the course of his long career, has been the recipient of many honors, academic and otherwise. He has repeatedly been the President of the Alumni Association of his Alma Mater. Besides the degree of Ph.D. to which he was promoted at the College of St. Francis Xavier, in 1865, he received the honorary degrees of LL.D. at St. Francis Xavier's in 1882, of Litt.D. at

Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., in 1906, the same degree from the Catholic University, in 1915, and the Laetare Medal from Notre Dame University, in 1913. He has been elected a member of the American Geographical and Historical Societies. In October, 1909, the Supreme Pontiff, Pius X, in consideration of his literary and historical work, conferred on him the Knighthood of the Order of St. Gregory. With the other editors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, he received from the same Pope the Decoration Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice, in 1913.

Prof. Herbermann attained to the venerable age of seventy-six, vigorous, active and industrious. Unfortunately, his labors had seriously impaired his eyesight about ten years ago. Thanks to the thorough education he had given his children, he was able to continue, with their cooperation, the most important literary work of his life, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

It speaks volumes for the respect he had won from the pupils of the City College, as well as for the good discipline maintained there, that he could continue teaching for so many years, in spite of his blindness, without the slightest disorder among his hearers.

In January, 1915, he resigned his active work as professor and was made Emeritus. He had thus rounded out fifty-six years of teaching, eleven at St. Francis Xavier's, and forty-five at the College of the City of New York.

His last months were spent in preparing for the *Historical Records and Studies* some sketches of his earliest professors, with whom he was afterwards associated as teacher at St. Francis Xavier's. In these sketches he has left us, unawares, the secret of the influence which first developed in him a love of learning and study.

His end came whilst he was actually engaged in these reminiscences. He died at his home on Convent Avenue, New York, on August 24, 1916. He was buried from his Parish Church, Our Lady of Lourdes. His obsequies were attended by many of his former pupils, now notable in public life, and also by prominent educators of the State and of the city. Numerous testimonials to his scholarship and to his exceptional merit as professor and citizen were received by his children.

Few men were so blessed as Dr. Herbermann in those who survive him. In his home he was patriarchal in manner. His three sons and four daughters made a family circle into which it was always delightful to enter.

L. H.

## DOCUMENTS

### THE FIRST EPISCOPAL VISITATION IN THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup> (1606)

A. G. I. 54-3-1 *Simancas, Ecclesiastico, Audiencia de Santo Domingo.—Cartas y expedientes de los obispos de la isla de Cuba vistos en el consejo desde el año de 1539 á 1674*

*Carta del obispo de cuba para su magestad en su real consejo.—Florida a su magestad.*  
... —1606.—*El obispo de Cuba 24 de Junio.—En 21 de febrero 1607.—*  
*Vista y decretada dentro. Obispo de Cuba.*

1. *Ysla de Cuba.*

Hacimiento de gracias por auer imbiado su magestad armada real para ebitar los resgates por ser el medio vnico para este efecto. *No ay que responder.*

Señor: Ante todas cosas no puedo dexar de dar a vuestra magestad muchas gracias e infinitas a la magestad diuina que puso en corazon a vuestra magestad de que nos hiciese tanta merced de mandar ahuyentar con su poderosa mano a los erexes piratas enemigos de dios nuestro señor y de

vuestra magestad que tan ocupadas han tenido todas estas costas puertos y nauegaciones procurando Señorearse de todos los puertos y pasos pues segun me an informado y escrito a imbiado vuestra magestad Armada Real para el efecto. La qual no habra dexado de tener buena marcha como yo espero y deseo porque al fin Dios es justo y a de voluer por esta causa por ser suya propia.

Muchas son y muy grandes las obligaciones que los capellanes de vuestra magestad tenemos de encomendar a Dios a vuestra magestad cada dia en nuestros sacrificios y oraciones como de hecho lo hacemos yo y todo el clero en este obispado pero este beneficio tan universal en estas partes es tan grande que el solo bastaba por total Causa aunque no ubiera otra desta antigua obligacion porque a vuestra magestad çertifico que con este remedio de limpiar con armada real estas yndias y costas dellas que es El unico y no ay otro se habran redimido muchas vidas restauradose muchas haciendas y estorbadosse a muchos el camino del ynfierno porque este mal trato de los resgates todos estos daños y otros muchos acarreaaba, Lo qual todo agora çesara sin duda ninguna.

2 F. *Prouincias de la florida.*

Da parte el obispo a vuestra magestad de su venida a las Prouincias de la florida y como escriuio luego que lleugo a sant agus tin por via de la habana y el motibo que tubo de acelerar su venida y del buen reçeumiento que le hizo el gouernador çiudad y presidio.

Por uia de la Habana en un nauio que de aqui fue aquel puerto y entiendo alcansaria la flota escreui a vuestra magestad mi venida a estas Prouincias luego que aqui llegue que fue mediado el mes de março por quaresma y la causa de auer acelerado mi venida dejando algunas cosas a que acudir de la obligacion de mi oficio y en particular el sinodo Prouincial que tenia echado para Sancti Spiritus Lugar ques esta en el riñon de la isla de cuba de que tanta neçesidad

<sup>1</sup>The editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW beg to acknowledge the courtesy of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the *American Historical Review*, who sent them this document for publication. The translation has been made by the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., whose article on Bishop Cabezas will be found in this issue.

tiene todo este obispado respecto de no se auer jamas hecho en el dicho sinodo que a sido causa de no auer modo de uiuir ni reforma de vida y costumbres ansi en los eclesiasticos como en los seglares por falta de constituciones Sinodales que son la regla de bien viuir en lo que toca a lo espiritual y en las cosas a los espiritual anejas. dando cuenta juntamente de la puntualidad que tuvo el gouernador y capitan general por vuestra magestad Pedro de Ybarra en cumplir de su parte y mandar se hiciese lo mesmo de parte desta ciudad y presidio como en todo y por todo se ha hecho muy cumplidamente la real cedula que conmigo traxe por la qual vuestra magestad manda sea receuido en estas Prouinçias como perlado dellas y que para el exercicio y la execucion de mi oficio se me de todo el favor y ayuda neçesario.

#### 3. Florida.

Pide el obispo que vuestra magestad mande ver su visita en su real consejo.

sido los gastos los peligros y quiebras de salud que en razon desto he tenido justo sera que a vuestra magestad le conste pues esto tendra en esta vida por premio de los pasados y de los que espero tener adelante en la vuelta esperando sobre todo el premio del señor en la otra vida.

#### 4. Florida.

Da noticia el obispo a su magestad de como se le mostro la cedula real para entra la tierra adentro y en virtud della le fue pedido se hallase en la entrada.

del entero cumplimiento de lo que vuestra magestad le manda y juntamente para çertificar a vuestra magestad de la neçesidad que podria auer de obreros hecho el descubrimiento desta viña del Señor que se pretende.

#### 5. Florida.

Trata el obispo que conuiene haga la jor nada en estas prouinçias pretensa Pedro de Ybarra gouernador y capitan general por vuestra magestad porque no se dilate lo u no y lo otro por estar ynformado de lo que ay la tierra aden tro el dicho Pedro de ybarra y ser neçesario para la entrada la practica y experiencia en la soldadesca alegando lo que en razon desto a oydo en sant agustin.

En lo tocante a mi visita y oficio no E perdido tiempo como vuestra magestad vera por el testimonio que ba con esta al qual me remito Suplicando a vuestra magestad sea seruido de mandarlo ver en su real consejo que conforme los trabajos an

Aqui me mostro el gouernador por vuestra magestad Pedro de Ybarra una cedula real por la qual vuestra magestad le da liçenzia para hazer una entrada que pretende La tierra adentro y en razon de encargarle vuestra magestad que los indios no reçiban detrimento y sean bien tratados me ha pedido Le aconpañe en esta jornada para que en este particular pueda dar mejor relacion

De la persona de quien vuestra magestad a echado mano para hazer esta entrada que es el sobredicho Pedro de ybarra gouernador y capitan general por vuestra magestad en estas Prouinçias puedo dezir y çertificar a vuestra magestad que a sido muy asertada la eleccion de su persona para el efecto por las muchas veras y voluntad que en el e visto el tiempo que aqui e estado de asertar a seruir a vuestra magestad en esta impresa con muchas mas ventajas que otros muchos que para seruir a vuestra magestad en este caso se pueden ofreçer y por lo que en sant agustin me an informado.

Como es de la mucha disciplina militar con que tiene inpuestos y bien disciplinados los soldados deste presidio. Auer fortificado esta fuerza de vuestra magestad dando muestras de que esta muy adelante en materia de fortificaciones y puesto la en defensa para poder tener nombre de tal que para su Capaçidad y en su tanto conforme A lo que la tierra pide esta lo que se puede desear y los cuerpos de guardia muy de otra suerte Segun se dize que antes estauan Auer reduçido las Prouinçias la

vuelta del Sur hasta las bocas de Miguel mora a la Ouidiència de vuestra magestad La presa que por su industria y fuersa de aqueste presidio en esta costa Se tomo de franceses de que vuestra magestad entiendo esta ya informado. La qual fue de mucha consideracion porque viendo los yndios destas Prouinçias que los nuestros auian venzido a los enemigos Les a pareçido que no ay nacion que pueda mas que la española y ansi temen este presidio mucho mas que de antes. Lo qual es fuersa a meterse por las puertas de los Españoles profesando su amistad, tener la gente de guerra en la ouidiència con justo respeto de que las merçedes que de algunos dias a esta parte an reçeuido do vuestra magestad entienden an sido echas apetiçion de su gouernador y capitan general Pedro de Ybarra, la traza que en la disposicion de las cosas y casos de guerra y soldadesca tiene que siendo en numero pocos los soldados de seruicio deste presidio por ser muchos impedidos y otros viejos y estar algunas plazas Ocupadas con sacerdotes y religiosos, da a entender conforme a la ostentacion y rostro que a estas Prouinçias y a los enemigos que se Ofrecen por la mar haze que tiene aun mas del numero mucho de las trecientas plazas que vuestra magestad manda que aya, vsando de ardides y trazas para conservarse en esta opinion en el meter de las guardias y inbiar algunos soldados La tierra Adentro y otras diligencias de que se aprouecha a la usança de flandes segun dizen los soldados dispuestas conforme a lo de aca, y ansi al real seruicio de vuestra magestad conbendria mucho mandar se pongan los medios neçesarios que a vuestra magestad se le an pedido en su tiempo sin los quales no se podra conseguir este intento.

#### 6. Florida.

Alega el obispo quanto conbiene que se haga esta entrada y conquista dando para ello las raçones y causas.

Que se le agradeza mucho el auer ydo a la florida y hecho la visita y lo demas que dize y que en quanto a la entrada que dize la tierra adentro a descubrir que no conuiene que desaparezca su yglesia si no que se este en ella.

Yo me E procurado con çelo del seruicio de Dios primeramente y de vuestra magestad ynformar por muchas vias de lo que se puede esperar de aquesta entrada pretensa y E hallado por mi cuenta que conuiene a la real grandeza de vuestra magestad el atender estas reales columnas que pues se dize tanto desta tierra adentro que a llegado la voz a oidos de francia y de inglaterra y se apretendido como a vuestra magestad aqui me an certificado le consta poner las columnas de francia en donde es justo se ensanchen las de vuestra magestad de creer es debe de ser mucho o algo lo que ay y aunque no fuera otro el interes que desta entrada se podia sacar sino sauer de veras y de una vez lo que ay pareçe ser digna esta impresa de un Rey tan catolico como vuestra magestad Lo es por el seguro çierto destes yndios que ay actualmente catolicos y de los españoles que aqui siruen los quales tendrian con esto Las espaldas seguras en caso de neçesidad o estarian çiertos de su poco seguro a vuestra magestad conforme me a certificado el gouernador Pedro de Ybarra cuesta Esto muy poco por ser Viaxe de tres meses el decubrimiento y poder los soldados que se lleuasen sacarse deste presidio por tiempo de hybierno quando no ay temor de enemigos por la mar y en el viaxe los soldados podrian gastar poco mas de lo que gastaran en el presidio que esta Es la traza que el gouernador de vuestra magestad me a comunicado tiene, quanto mas que desta entrada y descubrimiento podra estar çierto vuestro magestad que se puede seguir gran estençion en la fee, y aumento de fieles lo qual todo es ganar vuestra magestad almas para el çielo y obligarnos Vuestra Magestad a sus seruidores que digamos lo que al seruicio de vuestra magestad conuiene hazer en esta tierra no auiendo de por medio esta pretençion dicha.

En razon de lo que en esta materia muchos me an dicho y me an afirmado como Vera vuestra magestad en particular por una relacion que Va con Esta de los oficiales reales condeñendiendo con la petiçion arriua dicha del dicho gouernador y capitan general por vuestra magestad Pedro de Ybarra me detendre algun tiempo el que baste para Esperar la Resoluçion que de vuestra magestad por horas me dizen aqui se aguarda.

#### 7. Florida.

Ofreçese el obispo a seruir a vuestra magestad a su costa en el descubrimiento que se pretende y a dicho de estas Prouinçias mandandole vuestra magestad venir de la ysla de cuba si se vbiere ido de la florida cuando llegaren los despachos de vuestra magestad para el efecto y conuinire al real seruicio de vuestra magestad que venga en la forma que mas al real seruicio conuenga.

jornada como es abundancia de carne y algunos caballos que por ser la tierra adentro segun me an informado llana serian de mucha consideracion enpleando mi posible en esto el qual con la persona Ofresco a vuestra magestad para esto y para todo lo demas que al seruicio de vuestra magestad se ofreçiere.

8. Da relacion el obispo del portador y pide se informe vuestra magestad del por ser persona de credito.

*No ay que responder.*

manda vuestra magestad siruan aquella iglesia quatro clerigos benemeritos los que yo pusiere en defeto de no haber persona presentada por vuestra magestad en su real consejo. El qual dara a vuestra magestad entera relacion de las diligencias que serca de aueriguacion desta entrada e hecho en razon de que a vuestra magestad no se le hagan gastos escusados en estos tienpos, es testigo de vista de lo que ha pasado en estas prouinçias y pasa en la ysla y ciudad de Cuba y de lo que en estas partes se padece por no tener quien en esa corte de notiçia a vuestra magestad de cosas que al seruicio de Dios conuienen y al de vuestra magestad de las quales como persona de credito podra ynformar a vuestra magestad siendo vuestra magestad seruido.

#### 24 F. En san agustin de la florida.—

Pide el obispo a vuestra magestad que los diezmos que valdran quatrocientos ducados se repartan entre los dos clerigos cura y su quocajutor capellan de la fuersa y fabrica de la yglesia y hospital y sacristan señalando estipendio congruente a los dos curas y al sacristan y mandando vuestra mages-

Mi deseo es asertar A seruir a vuestra magestad y que se ofresca ocasion donde muestre esta voluntad si esta dicha fuere ocasion bastante y a vuestra magestad le pareçiere conuiene a su real seruicio que yo me halle En ella desde luego me ofresco y cuando caso sea que los recaudos de vuestra magestad vengan y no me hallen aqui en santagustin estare sin falta prestandome Dios la vida y dandome buen viaxe en la ysla de cuba de donde mandandome vuestra magestad bendre con mucha Voluntad dentro de ocho o diez dias con mi persona casa y hazienda trayendo conmigo Algunas cosas, que se seran de prouecho para la

El portador desta es el Padre francisco Puebla Prouisor que a sido muchas vezes y visitador en este obispado por mi antecesor y por exerçer por mi nombramiento este oficio en la ciudad de santiago de cuba y por sus buenas partes le señale por uno de quatro que puse en aquella catedral conforme a una cedula real que tengo en que me

En sant Agustin valen los diezmos poco mas de quatrocientos ducados La yglesia parroquial la qual çertifico a vuestra magestad es muy buena para ser de madera y tazamanil es pauperrima y tanto que para su fabrica ni aun para vna vela tiene y El hospital que es tambien muy bien acabado no tiene cosa ninguna sino es la limosna que da la pobre gente que espera parar en el. Vuestra magestad se sirua de que los diezmos se repartan de suerte que quepa parte a la fabrica

tad suplir de su real caja lo que de los diezmos les faltare a su estipendio y dejando el derecho a saluo adelante al obispo mesa capitular y escusado pues subiendo los diezmos y auiedo para todos sera justo todos gosemos de los diezmos.

Juntese con lo que el gouernador a escrito en esto y lo proueydo en ello y traigase al consejo.

obligandole al seruicio desta yglesia como de antes hasta que reciba de vuestra magestad la merced que de todos los sacristanes de las parroquiales de la ysla de Cuba reciben.

25. A la camara de los diezmos.  
En san agustin.—

Da la razon el obispo porque no se conuenga lo que piden los padres de sant fransisco que es aquel curato.

Juntese con lo que el gouernador a escrito en esto y tambien con lo que los frailes an escrito y traigase al consejo.

que E visto digo que no me atreueria a entregalles aqui el curato sino es que vuestra magestad precisamente me lo mandase pues vn solo religioso me a dado aqui mas que entender para acabar con el que ocupase una doctrina pues vuestra magestad a eso le ynbiaba y auia inconuinientes de no hazerlo que todas Las Prouincias juntas y con todo no e sido poderoso a salir con esto ni a conponello en razon de las pesadumbres que aqui an tenido estos padres con el gouernador de vuestra magestad de que entiendo el gouernador habra dado a vuestra magestad noticia.

26 F. En sant Agustín.

Da parte el obispo a vuestra magestad como no fue posible acabar con un religioso particular de los que vinieron para las doctrinas que fuese alla lo qual fue causa de gran dis turbio.

Que se de noticia de todo esto al nuevo comisario general, (una rubrica) y entreguese al señor don tomas a quien se cometio.

de la yglesia y al hospital y a los dos curas y beneficiado simple mandando Suplir vuestra magestad Lo que al estipendio destos ministros señalado les faltare de la parte que se les adjudicare de los diezmos y al sacristan que eso fuere pues no se escusa que le aya en esta parroquial. Supplico a vuestra magestad se sirua de que se le señale vn tanto porque el que lo a sido hasta aqui por justicia le ha sacado esta çiudad y presidio las ordenes y ansi atento mereçia premio por su trabajo y era auil y suficiente para ser eclesiático le ordene

Anme aduertido que estos padres de san fransisco an pedido a vuestra magestad este curato y Capellania alegando costumbre por auerle seruido aqui algunos años un padre de su habito se desir a vuestra magestad que mi antecesor con ser del habito no quiso que religioso fuere aqui curani capellan por algunos inconuinientes entre los quales no era el menor seruir quando querian y dejallo cuando se les antojaba. Sin que el obispo ni gouernador les pudiese yr a la mano por aprouecharse en semejantes ocasiones cuando les pareçe de sus brebas y yo por las cosas

Toda la uisita se acauara con mucho gusto con mucha paz mucha quietud todas Las pesadumbres tuvieran fin con solo un religioso que aqui predicaba algunas veces se fuera a una doctrina y con pedirselo yo a los ofiçiales reales de vuestra magestad y mandarselo al padre que tenian por presidente no se pudo acabar con el diziendo que era desonor suyo inbiarle a las doctrias y diziendo que a vuestra magestad se le auian pedido los frailes para eso al cabo a todos nos gasto la cortezia y ami me a forzado a mandar el notario me de Vn testimonio para que vaya con esta el

qual supplico a vuestra magestad mande ber probeyendo de remedio para adelante



porque mi intento no es formar queja destos padres sino procurar que vuestra magestad con su poderosa mano remedie lo que yo no E podido con mi poco caudal.

27. Enuiose.

*Las prouincias de la florida.*

Da noticia a vuestra magestad el obispo de como los padres de sant francisco tienen por opinion que el Pontifice les ha dado la investidura de la juridiccion de lo espiritual y temporal que es causa total para jamas tener paz con los gouernadores si vuestra magestad no manda a cada vno lo que a de hazer.

Estos padres tienen por opinion el papa les ha dado. La inuestidura destas dotrinas y Prouincias ansi en lo espiritual como en lo temporal por manera que a su cuenta son gouernadores y obispos de sus dotrinas sin que otro que ellos se pueda entremeter en su juridiccion porque la llaman omnimoda De aqui a nasido muchas pesadumbres y nazeran inconuinientes mentres vuestra magestad no mandare declarar lo que es de cada uno y a cada vno perteneçe. Certifico a vuestra magestad que en una dotrina proponiendo yo delante del tesorero de vuestra magestad por la Lengua a los indios La obligacion que tenian

de tener buen coraçon con vuestra magestad vsando destos terminos por ser lenguaje suyo por el poco prouecho que dellos se sacaua y el mucho gasto que vuestra magestad hazia en estas Prouincias por solo que se conseruasen en la fee y que se les enseñase el camino del cielo diziendoles juntamente que por solo este fin me auia mandado vuestra magestad Venir de tan lejos a dalles el Sacramento de la confirmacion y que por vuestra magestad Venia yo y aquellos padres a dotrinalles y que antes de pasar la platica delante me dixo el religioso de aquel partido estas palabras. Aqui podra vuestra señoria proponer eso pero en las demas dotrinas no se lo consentiran a vuestra señoria los demas religiosos. A lo qual con algun genero de colera el tesorero y yo le respondimos que por el mesmo caso se auia de proponer aquella platica en las casas comunes y en la yglesia con mas veras que hasta alli y ansi lo hizimos en las demas dotrinas aunque no hubo religioso que de alli adelante replicase sobre esto.

28 F. *Las prouincias de la florida.*

Pide el obispo a vuestra magestad se señale a los religiosos el modo de proceder con los indios.

En descargo de mi conciencia digo que en la tierra adentro me informo un religioso que la muerte de los religiosos se auia causado por auer castigado a vn casique vn fraile por una flaqueza de topalle con una yndia Siendo el castigo no con la prudenzia que se debia sino con la publicidad que se pudiese escusar mostrando en esto su poder y ansi vuestra magestad se sirba de acortarle la mano para que no vengan a semejantes excesos y callo otras muchas causas que supe por tocar en el onor de aquel santo habito.

29 F. *Las prouincias de la florida.*

Representa el obispo a su magestad como testigo de vista los grandes trabajos que pasan los religiosos dotrineros.

El trabajo y miserias que padeçen en las dotrinas es muy grande y es mucho de agradecer a los religiosos que aqui an trabajado el fruto que an hecho en algunas dotrinas que yo E uisto porque sin duda que comen con dolor el pan en ellas pero todo esto se desdora con inbiar los peralados desta religion a estas partes algunos religiosos

moços sin experiencia de trabajos y que les hierbe la sangre Los quales en lugar de seruir a Vuestra magestad y obligar de su parte a que todos pidamos el premio para los demas nos obligan a que no tengamos ojos aun para belles segun se descuidan en sus obligaciones.

**30 F. Las prouincias de la florida.**

Pide el obispo a vuestra magestad que los religiosos que an de venir a estas Prouincias no sean moços ni de estas partes sino viejos mas que moços y de españa hechos a trabajos mas humildes que letrados.

dotrinas ni tampoco de nueva España porque estan hechos a aquella grosedad y trato y de aquellos indios mexicanos y ansi se desconsuelan luego en estas Prouincias y desconsuelan a los que hallan en ellas y uno y otros toman por remedio a ueses hazer por donde los echen dellas.

**33 F. En san agustin de la florida.**

Dise el obispo se padese por estar serrados los puertos de la ysla de cuba pide a vuestra magestad lo remedie y que de baracoa y el cayo venga carne con la liuertad que hasta aqui.

Lo proueydo en la del go uernador azerca desto.

puerto auierto para uenir a estas Prouincias los que uiuián en estos lugares aunque cortos tenían pelo y gustaban de la viuienda y no se hazia falta a la habana aunque ubiese galeones y armadas y agora que con cédulas reales de vuestra magestad aun no se acaua el sacar carne de aquella ysla para estas Prouincias aca en sant agustin padecen y se quejan los soldados y alla Los pobres estan desmedrados y me fuerzan con cartas a que pida a vuestra magestad el remedio de una parte y de otra.

**34 F. En la florida.**

Pide el obispo a vuestra magestad salgan de aquel presidio los soldados casados ausentes de sus mugeres o que las traigan alli por que por ser presidio no ha querido tratar desto hasta dar parte a vuestra magestad.

Auisesse desto al gouernador para que en aquella conformidad execute el no permitir que dejen los casados estar sin sus mugeres.

En estas Prouincias los religiosos que conuienen son los que llegan a los quarenta y son mas humildes que letrados criados en esa bondad de España y curtidos en trabajos de su religion auiendo traído la talega como en las ordenes disen acuestas y ansi en descargo de mi conciencia digo que vuestra magestad no descarga la conciencia dejando Venir de España religiosos moços sino es de muy aprobada virtud para dalles a estas

Aqui en Sant agustin E uisto se padecen grandemente en materia de comida y tanta que aunque para mi plato no ha faltado gloria a Dios en mi casa la gente quitado que unos dias comieron de un poco de carne que conmigo traje para el efecto los demas dias todos son quaresmales con lo que esto topa lo dira a vuestra magestad mejor el portador que yo lo saure escreuir. Lo que puedo asegurar a vuestra magestad es que quando de baracoa y del cayo lugares de Cuba auia

En este presidio E hallado alguna gente casada que a años que no hazen vida con sus mugeres y en razon de ser presidio de vuestra magestad no les he compelido a que traigan sus mugeres por ser pobres soldados o que vayan a hazer vida maridable con sus mugeres por ser algunos de inportancia para el presidio. Lo mesmo hize en el presidio de la habana por el mesmo respecto con algunos soldados. Suplico a vuestra magestad se sirua de que se de orden como no viuan apartados de sus mugeres por la mejor traza que a vuestra magestad le pareciere pues es seruicio de Dios nuestro señor.

Los soldados deste presidio me an pedido suplique a vuestra magestad sea seruido que pues no tienen plaza a donde poder yr a comprar La comida vuestra magestad

35 F. Suplica a vuestra magestad el obispo mande ver la relacion que va con esta del tesorero real en razon de haber le pedido los soldados ynforme a vuestra magestad en conciencia de lo que justamente piden cerca de la merçed que vuestra magestad les haze.

Informen el gouernador y officiales.

que vuestra magestad tiene en estas partes y que mereçen toda la merçed que vuestra magestad les ha hecho y la que agora piden mucho mas y esto siento en Dios y en conciencia y todo lo que en esta Carta ba.

37 F. En sant Agustín.

Pide el obispo que el cura visente freire de andrada y el capellan del fuerte vuestra magestad les admita a la presentacion conforme al patronazgo real pues estan puestos por el obispo a petición del dicho gouernador Pedro de ybarra A la Camara Remitiose.

menos el cura por auer veinte años que lo es no dejara de asertar y ansi vuestra magestad se sirba de hazerle merçed que para venir a estos puestos y dejar lo que en la ysla de Cuba tenia certifico a vuestra magestad que fue menester prometerles mas de lo que quizas aca se pueda cumplir segun E uisto verdad que sea que no solo uno pero aun dos traia para ver y es tanta la pobreza de la tierra que visto no se podian sustentar Los voluere conmigo dejando estos dos clerigos arriba dichos.

38 F. En san agustin.

Pide el obispo a vuestra magestad se sirba de mandar darsalario a quien alli enseñe a los hijos de Vezinos la gramatica.

Informe el gouernador y si el capellan del presidio podria hazer esto y que est'pendio se le podria dar.

razon de ser nazidos en estas partes y criados con ellos.

Otra cosa no se me ofreçe de que dar parte a vuestra magestad por agora a quien

40 F. Pide a vuestra magestad el obispo que auindole de ocupar en el seruiçio de vuestra magestad sea en tierra firme.

A la camara.

de la santa fe catolica fecha en sant agustin de la florida a 24 de Junio de 1606 años.

Menor capellan de vuestra magestad.

por ser el Presidio Serrado se a de seruir de darles los bastimentos aqui al costo y costas que vuestra magestad tambien se sirua de que no sean a su costa las mermas de los dichos soldados y por enterar a vuestra magestad mas y en razon de auerseme puesto en conciencia pedi a los oficiales reales deste presidio me diesen una relacion que es la que va con esta.

Lo que puedo dezir con verdad que son los soldados mas humildes mas bien mandados mas pobres y para mas que hay en toda la soldadesca

Yo traje conmigo dos clerigos a mi costa para que el vno ocupase el lugar del Padre Ricardo cura que aqui murio y el otro para que enseñase a muchos hijos de vecinos que ay aqui en sant agustin y siruiese la fuersa y ayudase al cura y esto a petición de Pedro de ybarra gouernador y capitan general por vuestra magestad y ansi ocupan estos dos puestos el padre visente freire de andrada y el padre manuel gudiño a años que siruen Curatos y por falta de esperiencia a lo

Obra seria de vuestra magestad el hazer limosna a los criollos que aqui se crian que es cierto son muy abiles y Los crian los padres con mucha sujecion neçesidad de mandar dar orden como uiesee aqui un preceptor que leyese porque auiendo ahorraria vuestra magestad de traer religiosos de España y ocuparian estas doctrinas como jente que se auia criado con gajes de rey fuera de que son muy queridos entre los yndios en

suplico que si acaso alguna merçed mas de la que tengo la qual confieso no mereçer se me hiciese sea en tierra firme pues a vuestra magestad le consta de mis sucesos quan contraria me es la mar con tanto nuestro señor la real persona de vuestra magestad guarde con mayor aumento de reinos y señorios para bien nuestro y defensa

✱ Juan de las Cauzas,  
Obispo de Cuba.

(Translation)

*A. G. I. 54-3-1. Simancas, Ecclesiastico, Audiencia de Santo Domingo.—Letters and Despatches of the Bishops of the Island of Cuba Considered in Royal Council from 1539 to 1674*

*Letter of the Bishop of Cuba to His Majesty in Royal Council.—Florida, to His Majesty. . . .—1608.—The Bishop of Cuba, 24 June.—On February 21, 1607.—Considered and Approved.—Bishop of Cuba.<sup>1</sup>*

1. *Island of Cuba.*

Thanks to his Majesty for having sent the royal *armada* to avoid the ransom money; as the *armada* is the sole means to that end.

There is no reply to be given.

Sir: First of all I wish to extend to your Majesty many thanks (and infinite thanks to the Divine Majesty for putting it into your Majesty's heart) for showing us the great favor of commanding the use of your strong hand to drive away the heretical pirates, enemies alike of God our Saviour and your Majesty, who, by gaining the mastery over the harbors and gateways, have

so held and occupied all these coasts, ports and seas; since, as I have been told and have learned through letters written me, your Majesty has sent the royal *armada* for that purpose. The *armada*, I hope and pray, will not fail to meet with success; for God is just and will surely take sides in this cause which is His own.

Many and great are the obligations which we chaplains of your Majesty are under to recommend your Majesty to God every day in our prayers and Masses; as, in fact, I and all the clergy of this diocese do. But such a universal benefit as this for these parts is so great that it alone would be a sufficient cause, though there had existed no other, to place this obligation upon us. For, I assure your Majesty that through the royal *armada*, which is the only means of clearing these Indies and their coasts, many lives will be rescued, many *haciendas* restored, and the gates of hell closed to many. For the curse of ransoms has brought on all these and many other evils. Without doubt all these will now cease.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The document is certainly the earliest we have on the Church of the United States from the pen of any bishop who ever saw the country. Thus, apart from the reverence due it because of its age of more than three centuries, and apart from its great intrinsic value to the historian, it must possess a unique attraction for one interested in Catholic literature on the United States. As far as we have been able to ascertain, this is the first time the document has ever been published in any language. For the historical setting of the document, as also for the life of its writer, the Right Rev. John de las Cabezas de Altamirano, the reader is referred to the article on Bishop de las Cabezas published on pages 400—414 of this issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It is there shown conclusively that this prelate was the first bishop who ever trod the soil of our great American republic.

<sup>2</sup> The commerce between the islands of the West Indies themselves, and between them and Spain, had long been a rich prey for English and French pirates. The victims of these freebooters had frequently to pay heavy ransoms for their lives. From 1602 to 1604 the Spaniards in the West Indies scarcely dared to venture on the high seas. Their coast towns and seaside settlements were repeatedly sacked and burned by buccaneers. The vessels on which Pedro de Ybarra, Governor of Florida, came to America (about 1603), were captured and appropriated by Gilbert Giron, a French corsair and the passengers robbed, stripped of their clothing and placed in an isolated place on the coast of Cuba.

### 2 F. Provinces of Florida.

The Bishop reports his arrival in Florida to your Majesty; how he wrote, via Havana, soon after his arrival at St. Augustine, why he hastened his visitation, and the good reception accorded him by the Governor, the City and the Presidio.

Shortly after I reached this place, which was in the middle of March and during Lent, I wrote your Majesty about my arrival in these provinces. My letter was sent via Havana on a vessel which sailed from here for that port, and which I understood would overtake the fleet. I told you why I had hastened my coming, deferring several matters which it was the duty of my office to attend to—especially the provincial synod that was scheduled to be held in Espiritu Santo, a

city in the center of the Island of Cuba, and of which this whole diocese stands in great need, as such a synod has never been held in it. This has been the cause of there not being either a *modus vivendi* or a reform of life and customs, whether among the clergy or the laity, in default of synodical constitutions which are the norm of right-living in that which regards the spiritual or things pertaining to the spiritual. At the same time I gave an account of the promptness with which your Majesty's Governor and Captain General, Pedro de Ybarra, executed on his part (and commanded that the same be done on the part of the City and Presidio, as he had done wholly and to the letter) the royal *cedula* which I brought with me, and by which your Majesty commanded that I should be received in these parts as their Prelate; and that in the functions and performance of my office I should be given all necessary support and assistance.

### 3. Florida.

The Bishop requests that your Majesty order his visitation be considered in royal council.

In regard to my visitation and office I have lost no time, as your Majesty will see from the testimony which accompanies this letter, and to which I refer you, supplicating your Majesty to have the goodness to command it to be considered in royal council, whose business it is to submit

the labors, expenditures and perils I have undergone, and the loss of health I have suffered, by reason of my visitation. It is just that these things should be known to your Majesty. Then they will tend to a reward in this life for past labors, and for those which I may still accomplish on my return; while I hope, above all things, for a recompense from God in the life that is to come.

### 4. Florida.

The Bishop gives notice to your Majesty of how he [the Governor] showed him the royal *cedula* for going into the interior, and in virtue of this requested him to accompany the expedition.

Your Majesty's Governor here, Pedro de Ybarra, showed me a royal *cedula*, by which your Majesty grants him license to make an expedition into the interior. And, as your Majesty charges that the Indians shall receive no injury and that they shall be well treated by him, he has requested me to go with him on this expedition that thereby he may be able to give a better account of the exact fulfilment of your royal orders in this

matter, and at the same time to inform you of the need he may have of laborers when the discovery of this vineyard of the Lord which your Majesty claims, has been achieved.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Many of the royal *cedulas*, like this document, show the anxiety of the kings of Spain to protect the American Indians and to convert them to Christianity. In this desire they were zealously supported by the Catholic missionaries. But the *conquistadores*, ever afire for further conquest and bent on amassing gold and silver, too frequently annulled the efforts of the Spanish monarchs and missionaries for good. In justice to the invaders, however, it must be remembered that government by soldiers, to whatever nation they belonged, has never been characterised by any notable display of humanity.

## 5. Florida.

The Bishop says he thinks it very expedient that the proposed expedition into these provinces should be conducted by Pedro de Ybarra (that there may be no delay), both because said Pedro de Ybarra is well informed concerning the interior, and because practice and experience in military science are necessary for success in this undertaking. The Bishop alleges as a reason for his opinion what he has heard at St. Augustine.

Of the person whom your Majesty has selected to make this expedition, the aforesaid Pedro de Ybarra, your Majesty's Governor and Captain General in these provinces, I can say and certify to your Majesty that the choice of him for that purpose has been very fortunate. This I can do because of the great earnestness and good will I have noticed in him, since I have been here, to serve your Majesty in this enterprise. Much more may be expected of him than could be expected of many others who might offer to serve your Majesty in this affair. I can also assert the same thing because of what I have heard at Saint Augustine.

That is, he is a man of great military ability and keeps the soldiers of this presidio under subjection and in splendid discipline. The way he has strengthened your Majesty's fort here gives evidence of his being quite skilled in making fortifications. He has placed the fort in such a state of defense that it enjoys a reputation in keeping with its size and importance, is such as the country demands, and is all that can be desired. The guard-rooms, I am told, are quite different from what they were formerly. He has, moreover, reduced to the obedience of your Majesty the provinces that lie to the south as far up as the mouths of the Miguel Mora.<sup>4</sup> The capture of the French on this coast, of which I understand your Majesty has been informed, was the result of his skill and the strength of this fortress. This was of great moment; for the Indians of these provinces, seeing that our soldiers have overcome our enemies, believe that there is no nation more powerful than the Spanish, and therefore fear this presidio much more than they did in the past. This makes them come to the doors of the Spaniards, professing their friendship, and serves to hold the warlike nation in obedience. With regard to the favors which they received here from your Majesty some days ago, they understand that they were granted at the request of your Governor and Captain General, Pedro de Ybarra. Although but a small number of the soldiers in this garrison are fit for service, as many are disabled and others old, and priests and religious dwell in some parts of the barracks, De Ybarra, by cunning and scheming, has managed to give his situation an appearance that causes both the inhabitants of these provinces and the enemies who appear at sea, to believe that he has many more than the three hundred active men of war whom your Majesty commands to be held here. To maintain this idea he employs stratagems and schemes, such as stationing guards, sending soldiers into the interior and other similar activities, of which he avails himself after the fashion of Flanders (as the soldiers say)—all arranged in a way to suit this place and situation. Thus it would be greatly to your Majesty's own interest, to order that those necessary means be supplied for which he asked some time ago; for without these it will be impossible to accomplish your design.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>By the mouths of the Miguel Mora is probably meant the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay. For Spanish efforts at settlement on the Chesapeake, see SHEA, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 104ff., and Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1562-1574*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup>Pedro de Ybarra became Governor of Florida about 1603. He was succeeded in that position, late in 1609 or early in 1610, by Don Juan Fernandez de Olivera.

## 6. Florida.

The Bishop tells how expedient it is to make this expedition and conquest, and gives the reasons and motives therefor.

interior of this country that even France and England have heard of its greatness; and the intention is—of which, I am told, your Majesty has been informed—to send French troops here. Hence, it is but just that those of your Majesty should be increased. This rumor may be believed or not. But, even should no other good be

Resolved that the Bishop's going to Florida, his visitation, his remarks in regard to the expedition into the interior for discovery, and the other things he says, are highly pleasing; but that it is not expedient for him to relinquish his diocese although he should not remain in it.

Primarily through zeal to serve God and your Majesty I have in many ways procured information as to what may be expected from this proposed expedition. And in my investigations I have learned that it would be well for the royal greatness of your Majesty to be mindful of these Spanish troops. For so much is said of the derived from the expedition than to learn at once and with certainty what advantages the country may offer, the enterprise seems worthy of so Catholic a King as your Majesty. It will be for the protection of those Indians who are actually Catholics, and for that of the Spaniards in service here. With reinforcements, the soldiers on the expedition could leave the forts behind protected, and in case of necessity, could feel sure

of a little assistance. According to what the Governor, Pedro de Ybarra, has assured me, the discovery, because involving a march of no more than three months, will cost your Majesty very little. The forces engaged in it can absent themselves from the presidio during the winter, when there is no fear of enemies from the sea. The expenses of maintaining the soldiers, while on the expedition, may be somewhat more than it costs to keep them when they are in garrison. Such is the plan which your Majesty's Governor has communicated to me. He believes, moreover, that your Majesty may rest assured that this expedition and discovery will conduce greatly to the spread of the faith and the increase of the faithful. In this way your Majesty will gain souls for heaven; and this obliges Us, your Majesty's servant, to declare what We believe to be to your Majesty's honor and service. To pretend to do anything in this country without means and assistance were mere boast.

Because of what many have said and declared to me in regard to this matter, as your Majesty will see—especially from a report which the royal officials, yielding to the aforementioned petition of the said Pedro de Ybarra, your Majesty's Governor and Captain General, send along with this letter, I shall stay here for some time.<sup>6</sup> But I shall remain only long enough to await your Majesty's resolution, which, I am told, is expected almost any time.

## 7. Florida.

The Bishop offers himself at his own cost for the service of your Majesty in the proposed discovery. He says that, in case your Majesty commands him to return from Cuba, should he have left Florida when your Majesty's dispatches to that effect arrive, and it should be advantageous to the service of your Majesty, he will go back in a way most useful to the King's welfare.

My desire is to be able to be of service to your Majesty, and to have an opportunity of showing my good will. If, indeed, the present occasion be such, and your Majesty deems it advantageous to the royal service that I remain here, I offer myself here and now. Should your Majesty's provisions not find me here at Saint Augustine on their arrival, I shall be without fail—God granting me life and a safe journey—in the Island of Cuba. From there I shall most willingly return, should your Majesty command me, within eight or ten

<sup>6</sup> The two documents referred to here are likely letters of Governor de Ybarra and Diego Davila (the royal notary) to Philip III. Both bear the same date as this document (June 24, 1606), and may be seen in Vol. v of the Lowery Transcripts—arranged chronologically, Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.

days after notice, and bring with me my household and chattels. Besides these, I shall bring along a few other things, such as an abundance of provisions and a few horses. The horses, as I am told that the inland is level, will be of great help. All these things I will purchase with what means I have. And all this, as well as my person, I place at the disposal of your Majesty for this purpose, or for whatever else may be of service to your Majesty.

8. The Bishop recommends the bearer of this letter, and begs your Majesty to seek information from him, for he is a reliable man.

There is no reply to be made.

The bearer of this letter is Father Francis Puebla, who was several times ecclesiastical judge and visitor of this diocese under my predecessor. As, by my appointment, he now exercises this office in the city of Santiago de Cuba, and is an able man, I chose him as one of the four priests to officiate in the Cathedral there in compliance with the royal letters which I received, and in which your Majesty bade me to place so many worthy clergymen in the service of that Church. In default of your Majesty's proposing any one for that place through the royal council, I chose the four clergymen on my own accord. Father Puebla will give your Majesty a full and complete account of the pains I took in my investigation of the proposed expedition, that your Majesty may not be put to any unnecessary expenses at this time. He is an eye-witness of what has passed in these provinces and of what is passing in the Island and City of Cuba, as also of what these countries suffer because they have no one at Court to make known to your Majesty the things that would conduce to the service of God and to that of your Majesty. On all this Father Puebla, because a man of reliability, can give your Majesty whatever information you may desire. . . . .

24 F. At Saint Augustine, Florida.—

The Bishop requests your Majesty to order that the tithes, which may amount to four hundred ducats, be divided between the two parish priests and their assistant chaplain at the fort, and between the church building, the hospital, and the sacristan. He, furthermore, asks the King to designate a suitable salary for the two parish priests and the sacristan; and suggests that your Majesty order the deficiency in the tithes for their salary to be supplied from the royal exchequer, leaving the episcopal claims to the bishop and the caputular table untouched and exempted for the future—for, he says, as the tithes are increasing, and there is something for all, it is but just that we all enjoy them.

Let this be joined to what the Governor has written thereon, and to the proviso thereupon, and placed before the Council.

At Saint Augustine the tithes amount to a little more than four hundred ducats. The parochial church, I assure your Majesty, is very good to be of wood and boards [*tasamanil* ? *tajamanil*]. But it is extremely poor; so poor, indeed, that it has not funds enough to buy a candle. The hospital, which is also very well built has nothing except the alms of the poor who expect to be taken care of in it. May your Majesty be so good as to divide the tithes in such a way that a part of them will go to the church building, a part to the hospital, a part to the two parish priests, and a part to the curate. But may your Majesty be pleased to supply [from the royal exchequer] whatever may be lacking in the salaries of these ministers from the portion of the tithes allotted to them. A portion of the tithes should also be set aside for a sacristan, as this parochial church cannot be without one. I beg your Majesty to have the further goodness to assign a salary to the man who has been sacristan here up to the present. This city and presidio very justly requested orders for him; and for this reason, as also because he deserves some reward for his labors, is intelligent and fit for



orders, I ordained him, binding him to the service of this church as before until he receives from your Majesty the salary received by all the sacristans of the parishes in the Island of Cuba.<sup>7</sup>

25. The Department of Tithes.  
At Saint Augustine.

The Bishop tells why it is not expedient to grant the Franciscans what they ask; that is, the charge of the parish.

Let this be annexed to what the Governor has written thereon, as also to what the friars have communicated, and placed before the council.

such occasions they alleged, as it suited them, their privileges of exemption. For my part, because of what I have seen, I declare that I would not venture to entrust this parish to them, unless your Majesty positively commands me to do so.<sup>8</sup> One religious alone has given me more trouble here than all the provinces put together. He insisted on having a rectorship, in spite of difficulties that stood in the way. I had, finally, to grant his request, as your Majesty sent him here for that purpose. But, even as yet, I have not been able to come to an understanding with him, on account of the difficulties which these friars have had with your Majesty's Governor. I understand the Governor has made this matter known to your Majesty.

26 F. At Saint Augustine.

The Bishop tells your Majesty how it was not possible to come to an understanding with one of the religious who came here to take charge of the Indian missions. He has been the cause of great disturbance.

Notice of all this must be given to the new Commissary General and it must be put into the hands of Don Tomas, to whom this business has been committed.

I have been notified that the Franciscan Fathers have petitioned your Majesty for this rectorship and chaplaincy, basing their claim on custom, as one of their Order served here in these capacities for some years. I can only tell your Majesty that my predecessor, although he belonged to that Order, did not wish a religious to be parish priest or chaplain here on account of some difficulties, of which not the least was that they labored when they wished, and went away when they so desired. Neither the Bishop nor the Governor could call them for duty, for on

The visitation, as a whole, will end with much satisfaction, peace and tranquility. All the troubles would cease, but for one single religious, who was wont to preach here, and whom I attempted to put him in charge of an Indian mission. Indeed, I solicited such a place for him from your Majesty's royal officials, and even sent him to the superior of the friars. Nevertheless, we could not get him to accept the offer, as he declared that such a position was humiliating to him, although we told him your Majesty sent the fathers here to take care of the Indian parishes. At last he wore out the patience of us all, and I have

been obliged to require the notary to give me a testimonial. I send it with this

<sup>7</sup> This was certainly the first time orders were ever conferred in the present territory on the United States. They were minor orders, and were given during the Holy Week of 1606. It is probable that, besides the sacristan at St. Augustine, some Franciscan students may have received the same orders on this occasion. Davila's letter referred to in the preceding note shows that the holy oils were also consecrated on this occasion. This, too, was the first time such a ceremony was ever performed in what is now a part of the great American republic.

<sup>8</sup> The Bishop is speaking here of the canonical parish at St. Augustine, which was the principal parish in Florida, was attended perhaps only by the whites or Spaniards, and was generally under the charge of a secular priest. The rector of this parish seems ordinarily to have had an assistant whose duty it was to look after the spiritual interests of the soldiers in the *presidio*. The Indian parishes or missions were all under the care of the Franciscans. Cabezas now begins to be rather severe in his strictures on these fathers. But the glorious work of these missionaries in Florida leads us to believe that these censures were largely the result of misunderstandings; and that they were probably written somewhat under the influence of Governor de Ybarra, who was evidently not friendly disposed towards the Franciscans.

letter.<sup>9</sup> I beg your Majesty to have it considered, that a remedy may be provided for the future. For my purpose is not to complain of these fathers, but to have your Majesty to remedy with your strong hand that which I, with my limited power, have been unable to remedy.

27. It has been sent.

The Provinces of Florida.

The Bishop informs your Majesty of how the Franciscan Fathers are of opinion that the Holy Father has invested them with jurisdiction in both temporals and spirituals. This has been the whole cause of their never being at peace with the Governors. May your Majesty assign to each and every one that which it belongs to his office to do.

Have this sent to the Council for a decision.

These fathers are of the opinion that the Pope has given them the right of investiture with these Indian missions and provinces, so that, to their way of thinking, they are Governors and Bishops of their parishes; and no one, except their religious superiors, can interfere with their jurisdiction—for they call it absolute. From this have arisen many disturbances, and difficulties will continue to arise as long as your Majesty does not declare what belongs and pertains to each and every one. I declare to your Majesty that the following happened, in the presence of your Majesty's treasurer, at one of the Indian parishes I visited. I explained to the Indians

in their tongue that it was their duty to keep a good heart with your Majesty—using the expression because it is in their own language—as little benefit is derived from them, while your Majesty is under great expenditures in these provinces solely to keep them in the faith and to teach them the road to heaven. At the same time I told them that it was for this one purpose that your Majesty had commanded me to come from afar to give them the sacrament of confirmation;<sup>10</sup> and that it was through your Majesty that I and the fathers with me had come to instruct them. But before I left the place, the religious in charge said to me: Your Lordship may say this here; but in the other Indian parishes the religious will not consent to your Lordship's repeating these words. To this the treasurer and myself replied, with some show of anger, that for the same reasons the same things would be said in the other religious houses and in the church with even greater earnestness than here. This we have done in the rest of those parishes; but to the present no religious has made any objection.

28 F. The Provinces of Florida.

The Bishop begs your Majesty to point out to the religious the manner of treating the Indians.

Let this be placed before the Council.

To ease my conscience I will tell that, when I was in the interior, a religious informed me that the death of the friars was caused by the chastisement of a casique by one of the religious. To show his power the friar, instead of administering the punishment with the proper prudence, gave it with a publicity that was not necessary.<sup>11</sup> For

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 6. This priest appears to have been a Father Calaya, a native of Aragon, who was sent away from Florida in 1607.

<sup>10</sup> Diego Davila's letter to Philip III, referred to in note 6, tells us that Bishop de las Cuebas confirmed 2,444 persons in Florida; and that of these 2,074 were Indians, while 370 were whites or Spaniards. This was certainly the first time the sacrament of confirmation was ever administered in the present limits of the United States.

<sup>11</sup> SHEA gives the story of the murder of these fathers in the *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 153-155.

this reason, your Majesty will be pleased to shorten his hand that these fathers may not commit any other such excesses. I will pass over many other things that I know, because the honor due that holy habit is thereby concerned.

29 F. The Provinces of Florida.

The Bishop, as an eye-witness, tells your Majesty of the great hardships of the religious in charge of the Indian parishes.

Let this be placed before the Council.

Majesty and obliging us all to invoke a blessing upon the others, rather prevent us, by their neglect of duty, from seeing the things that are good.

30 F. The Provinces of Florida.

The Bishop begs that the religious sent to these provinces should not be young, nor of these parts. They should be rather old than young, and from Spain; they should be trained to labor and rather humble than learned.

Let this be placed before the Council.

Nor should you allow missionaries to come here from New Spain; for these latter having grown accustomed to the coarseness and vulgar manners of the Mexican Indians, become dissatisfied soon after their arrival in these provinces, and spread their dissatisfaction among the missionaries they find here. The result is that both the one and the other at times designedly act in such a way as to cause their removal.

33 F. At Saint Augustine, Florida.

The Bishop declares that suffering is caused by closing the ports of the Island of Cuba, and begs your Majesty to remedy this by permitting provisions to be brought from Baracoa and Cayo as in the past.

It is provided for in the letter of the Governor on the subject.

The labors and hardships of the fathers in their parishes are indeed very great; and it is much to their credit to have produced the fruits that I have seen in several of their charges here. Beyond a doubt they eat their bread in sorrow in these places. But all this is tarnished by the superiors of the Order sending to these parts religious who are young, hot tempered and not hardened to toil. These, instead of serving your

The religious suited to these provinces are those who have reached the age of forty, and are rather humble than learned—those who have been brought up in Spanish goodness and piety, trained in the austerities of their institute, and have, to use the expression common in the Orders, trampled worldly wealth under foot. I feel in conscience bound to say to your Majesty that you cannot conscientiously permit young religious to come from Spain to labor in these Indian parishes, unless they are men of highly approved virtue.

Here at Saint Augustine, as I have seen, the people suffer greatly for want of food. Although, thank God, my table has not failed, my household abstain, that on a few days they may eat a little meat which I brought with me for that purpose, all the other days are Lenten. The bearer of this letter can tell you better than I can write to what extent this is true. But I can assure your Majesty that, when the ports of Baracoa and Cayo, Cuba, had free access to these provinces, the people of Florida, while they were poor, had

some business and could enjoy life. No harm was thus done to Havana, although that place had its galleons and *armadas*. But now, though, in spite of your royal *cedulas*, transportation of provisions from that island to these provinces has not ceased, the people here at Saint Augustine suffer, and the soldiers complain; while the poor in Cuba are made poorer. On all sides they urge me by their letters to solicit a remedy from your Majesty.

## 34 F. In Florida.

The Bishop requests your Majesty to see that the soldiers living apart from their wives either leave the presidio, or bring their wives here. As the place is a garrison, the Bishop has not attempted to settle this question before giving your Majesty information.

Notice of this must be given the Governor, that, in conformity with this request, soldiers may not be permitted to live apart from their wives.

have no market where they can buy provisions, they have requested me to beg that your Majesty may be pleased to grant them the favor of letting them have

35 F. The Bishop, in compliance with the request of the soldiers, begs your Majesty to order a reading of the royal treasurer's report which accompanies this letter. The Bishop makes it a matter of conscience to inform your Majesty of the justice of the favor which the soldiers solicit.

Let the Governor and the officials give information on this.

them, and much more that which they now solicit; that, in fine, I believe, in God and conscience, all that is contained in this letter.

## 37 F. At Saint Augustine.

The Bishop begs that your Majesty may be pleased to admit the parish priest, Vincent Ferrer de Andrada, and the chaplain of the fort for presentation for royal patronage, since they have been placed in these charges by the Bishop at the request of the Governor, Pedro de Ybarra.

This was remitted to the Department.

In this presidio I found some married men who have not lived with their wives for years. As it was your Majesty's garrison, and these soldiers were poor, I did not oblige them to bring their wives here. Nor did I compel them to go and live with their wives; for some of these soldiers are of importance to the presidio. I did the same, and for the same reason, in regard to some soldiers at the garrison of Havana. I beg your Majesty to make some better arrangements, according as you see fit, so that these soldiers may not be obliged to live apart from their wives. This, as you know, will be to serve God our Master.

As this is a closed presidio and the soldiers have no market where they can buy provisions, they have requested me to beg that your Majesty may be pleased to grant them the favor of letting them have supplies at cost price; and that they may not be charged with their wastes. For your Majesty's better understanding, as also because I made this affair a matter of conscience, I asked the royal officials of this garrison to give me a report. They gave me the one that accompanies this letter.

I can say with truth that the soldiers at Saint Augustine are more humble, more obedient to authority and poorer than any of your Majesty's forces in these parts; that they deserve all the favors your Majesty has bestowed upon

I brought two clergy with me at my own expense, that one of them might take the place of Father Richard, the parish priest who died here, and that the other might teach the boys of Saint Augustine, serve the fort and assist the pastor. This I did at the solicitation of Pedro de Ybarra, your Majesty's Governor and Captain General. Thus these two places are filled by Fathers Vincent Ferrer de Andrada and Manuel Gudiño. As both have attended parishes for some years, they are not wanting in experience. This is especially true of Father Vincent Ferrer de Andrada, for he has held such a position for

twenty years. I, therefore, beg your Majesty to attend to their salaries, for they gave up the posts they held in Cuba to come here. It was necessary to promise them something more than can, perhaps, from what I have seen, be provided here. It is true that I brought both of them along with me as an experiment; but so great is

the poverty of the country that I see they will not be able to support themselves. I shall return alone, leaving the aforementioned clergymen here in Florida.<sup>12</sup>

38 F. At Saint Augustine.

The Bishop begs your Majesty to be so good as to order a salary for some one to teach grammar at this place.

Let the Governor give information as to whether the chaplain of the presidio will be able to do this, and as to what salary he thinks could be given him.

educated in their midst, are much sought after by the Indians.

40 F. The Bishop begs that, if he has to render any further service to your Majesty, this may be done on the continent.

Referred to the Department.

Nothing else suggests itself to me at this time of which I may give your Majesty information. May I ask your Majesty that, should you intend to confer any other favor on me besides the dignity which I now hold, although, I know, unworthily, it may be on the continent; for your Majesty knows from my antecedents how repugnant the sea is to me. Meanwhile, may our Lord preserve your Majesty, and confer upon you a yet greater extent of kingdoms and territory for our good and the defense of the holy Catholic faith.

*Done at Saint Augustine, Florida, 24 June, 1606.*

Your Majesty's humble Chaplain,

(Signed) ☉ John de las Cabezas,

*Bishop of Cuba.*

<sup>12</sup> From this letter and the summary of it made by the clerk of the Royal Council of the Indies it is evident that Vincent Ferrer de Andrada and Manuel Godiño were religious; that the first, and not the latter, was appointed pastor at St. Augustine; and that both of them came to Florida with Bishop de las Cabezas in the March of 1606. From this it may be seen that SHEA (*Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 158) is in error when he says: "The vacancy in the parish church was filled, however, on the twentieth of October, 1602, when Don [a title never applied to priests belonging to a Religious Order] Manuel Godiño appears as incumbent, remaining till 1607, assisted for a time by Don Vincent Freire Dandrade." These two clergymen were Portuguese, and were called to Spain in the latter half of 1607, along with all the Portuguese missionaries then serving on the Spanish American missions. We have not been able to learn to what Order they belonged.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Brief History of the United States.** By Matthew Page Andrews, M. A. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1915. Pp. 368+xxviii.

American History is one of the important subjects of study in the secondary and junior high schools and the number of text-books, already numerous, is rapidly increasing each year. Teachers of the subject have not agreed upon a standard work as is evidenced by the many different books in use. The author of the present volume has attempted to tell the story of American history in a manner interesting to children without sacrificing the historical value of his material. Mr. Andrews has been guided by the experience of the class-room in his composition and the result shows an appreciation of the problems which confront the teacher of history to children. It is unfortunate that many otherwise good school books have been written without regard to the mental attitude of the child and serve only to destroy the natural and spontaneous interest which the study of history should excite. This volume in this respect is a rarity for it is an elementary school history written by an educator alive to the needs of both the teacher and pupil. A text-book is not the teacher, but serves its true function as a tool or aid in the process of instruction. Mr. Andrews has generously annotated the pages of his book with interesting suggestions which should prove valuable helps to the teacher for they are not the conventional "search topics" but fruitful aids, the aim of which is to permit the teacher to supplement the text to suit the peculiar needs of the class without impairing the continuity of the study.

The author means to be fair and impartial in the treatment of questions which have been the subjects of sectional, political or religious controversy—and in a large measure he has succeeded. The Catholic teacher, however, cannot accept without modification or extensive supplement the chapters embracing the discussion of exploration and settlement, the conquest of the Territory of the Northwest and the origin of the Know Nothing or American party. The missionary motivating element in

Spanish colonization in America, the assistance given Gen. Clark by Father Pierre Gibault and the French Catholics in Illinois and Indiana, without which the American expeditions against Kaskaskia and Vincennes would have failed, and the bigoted anti-Christian movement of which the Know Nothing party was the political expression are unfortunate omissions which lessen the value of the book. Recent events are treated in the concluding chapters, among which are found the political events of the first three years of the Wilson administration, the Mexican situation and American neutrality in the European War. The illustrations and maps, and there are many of them, are useful and interesting. The five appendices include the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and tables of the Presidents and states and territories.

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**Principles of Constitutional Government.** By Frank J. Goodnow. L.L.D., President of Johns Hopkins University. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1916. Pp. 390.

The volume before us is the second to be published in the Harper's Citizen Series under the general editorship of Prof. William F. Willoughby of Princeton University. Dr. Goodnow, the distinguished President of Johns Hopkins University, has contributed to the series an exposition of the principles of constitutional government based upon the lectures delivered by him in 1913-14 before the students of the Peking University during his residence in China as legal adviser to the Republic. The book is written for the general reader and should be found useful as a text-book in secondary schools and colleges. Among the topics treated are: governments and constitutions; federal government in the United States, Canada and Australia; the European and American conception of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary; the legal status of private rights in America and in Europe; and local institutions under constitutional governments. The plan is comprehensive and the style and clarity of expression make for an interesting presentation.

Dr. Goodnow has not stopped with a mere explanation of the workings of modern constitutional governments, but makes a

critical analysis of each from which are derived conclusions of especial interest. The result is a lucid discussion in which the theories of political science form the basis for the consideration of the problems of practical politics which arise in the application of the organic laws of constitutional states. The author writes: ". . . a written constitution is only a proposed plan of government set forth in one document. It does not necessarily exhibit the actual form of government of the country. It is like the rules of a game. If the game as actually played is not played according to the rules, then the rules as set forth do not give an accurate idea of the game as played. So if those living and acting under a written constitution play the political game according to the rules, and it may perhaps be said that they seldom do this for a long time—the written constitution may give a fair idea of the actual governmental system. If, however, they do not thus play the political game, then the student of government must, if he would know the political system, find out how the political game is actually played." The subject matter of the book is presented in conformity to the plan suggested in the quotation. The appendices include the constitutions of the United States, France, Germany, Belgium and Japan, and the volume is completed with a bibliographical note and an index.

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**The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec.** By Walter Alexander Riddell, Ph.D. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1916. Vol. lxxiv, No. 1, pp. 195.

The author of this timely volume informs his readers that his dissertation is the result of a profound interest which he has in those national problems that have arisen in Canada out of the historical relations between church and state in Quebec. The aim of his dissertation is to present sufficient source-material to afford the general reader a basis upon which to build an adequate judgment of those sociological and historical origins in Quebec which have been responsible in a large part for the present racial and religious situation in Canada. If for no other reason, Dr. Riddell's liberal use of sources from Canadian,



English and French archives would make his work valuable. From a host of published works, quotations run through his pages like a thread and bind up the whole of this present monograph into a finished study on the control of the Catholic Church in Quebec. Dr. Riddell has divided his volume into two parts: the first treats the problem of demographic and social conditions of Quebec; and the second, the evolution of the relationship between Church and State under French and British rule.

No study, he says, of the rise of ecclesiastical control in the Province of Quebec would be complete unless it recognized the strong influences that were conducive to the homogeneous factors in the growth of the population or to the amalgamating factors in the occupations, language and religious exercises which made for the social and moral solidarity of this heart of the Canadian nation. Among the natural features which he mentions, is the magnificent system of Canadian waterways. In Quebec alone there are 187 principal rivers of a combined length of almost 14,000 miles. They provided easy means of access to each new settlement and means of escape in the event of Indian attacks. Within the local settlements, moreover, the relatively dense population along the river banks and the unusual opportunities for intercommunication, as contrasted with the seigniorial system of land tenure, gradually developed a high degree of mental unity. "The conditions of life were hard, but for the industrious and persevering there was a plentiful food supply which made possible a rapid increase in population. Immigration drawn from all parts of France, coupled with the widespread distribution of the immigrants on their arrival in the colony, prepared the way for the thorough amalgamation of the early French stock, so that the encouragement given by the government to early marriage and large families soon made the French Canadian population a much more homogeneous aggregation than even the population of France."

The second part of Dr. Riddell's story is, perhaps, more interesting to the ecclesiastical historian than the first. If one grants his general statement that the social and moral solidarity of the French-Canadian population made it as clay in the hands of the ecclesiastical potter, then it is not surprising that the Church should have been able to gain possession of an

immense centralized control which not only brought it into conflict with the State, but "of necessity, tended to a jealous guardianship of that control itself on the part of the Church authorities." In the evolution of this ecclesiastical control, the author points out the conditions that were favorable to its rise and development; and foremost amongst these he places the religious motive which dominated the French exploration and colonization of New France. The arrival of the Franciscans and their subsequent supplanting by the Jesuits, with the erection of the See of Quebec, are viewed as early steps in the gradual control of both Church and State. In a very well written chapter on the *Church and State under British Rule*, the author says that "the golden age of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec is today generally believed to have been during the French régime. That this is not warranted by the facts of history is shown by a comparison of the status of the Church in the two periods—French and British. It was not until after the conquest by Great Britain, in 1759, that the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec received that legal status which is responsible for giving to it a control without parallel among other Roman Catholic churches throughout the world." The friction created by the attempt to assimilate the French Canadian population after 1757, through the introduction of English law, greatly strengthened the Roman Catholic clergy by intensifying the leadership which the people instinctively gave them against the policy of their conquerors.

The problem, of appreciating the spirit in which this important historical study has been written, is not a difficult one to solve. Dr. Riddell holds no brief for the ecclesiastical control possessed by the clergy in Quebec from these old pioneer days down to the present time. But in delineating that story one cannot accuse him of suppressing any of the good points in favor of both Catholic clergy and laity or of accentuating the evil points which seem to be inherent in any close relationship between the two powers. One interesting subject, which we should like to have seen further developed, is the question of toleration under both French and British rule. Among the early traders of New France, the greater number were Huguenots and it is to the credit of both sides that a strong measure of religious tolerance was enjoyed at that time on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

We are surprised, however, to learn that the state of education during the years covered by this study (1625-1791) was as deplorably backward in the Province of Quebec as it was among the masses in England during this same period. The reader feels that Dr. Riddell might have gone into the matter more thoroughly, or at least have given us quotations which would offset the rather partial view Hugh Finlay took in 1784, that not a man in five hundred of them could read and that probably it was the policy of the French clergy "to keep them in the dark, as it is a favorite tenet of the Roman Catholic Priests that ignorance is the mother of devotion."

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**La Cuestión Religiosa en México, ó sea, Vida de Benito Juarez.**

By Regis Planchet. Rome: F. Pustet, 1906. Pp. 319.

Father Planchet has gathered together in this volume a mass of evidence to prove three points: first, that Juarez, the popular idol of Mexican liberalism, was neither a patriot nor an honest man, but a self-seeking, avaricious, stubborn despot; secondly, that the destruction of all religion was and is the object of the liberal party of Mexico and the present Mexican Constitution; and thirdly, that the liberal party was imposed upon the people of Mexico by the United States Government. "The curious feature, and perhaps the only merit of the book," the author says in his preface, is the fact that it is a compilation from the writings of the most eminent members of the liberal party in Mexico; and while there are those who will not be disposed to accept the evidence here collected as conclusive proof of the author's thesis, it can hardly be denied that he has presented a strong argument for the affirmative.

The popular idea of Juarez is expressed by Hubert Bancroft (*Mexico*, v, 389) in these words:

"Juarez has ever an unflinching faith in his own mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporizing policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envy of a triumphant reaction, as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the Constitution of 1857 by taking into his hands the reins of government at the

time when the allied clergy and army were endeavoring to destroy it. Without him the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. . . . In vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oaxaca to link his name to some of the most radical reforms the American continent has ever witnessed.”

Against this appreciation Father Planchet traces the career of Juarez from his lowly birth in the mountains of Oaxaca, until his death in 1872, probably from poison, after fifteen years of intermittent presidency of the Mexican Republic.

Juarez was a student of Theology in the Seminary of Oaxaca when “the liberal ideas with which he had become contaminated” caused him to change his course to that of Law. He became a politician and held several posts of minor importance until, in 1847, during our Mexican War, he was a deputy in Congress. Fearing the fall of Mexico, he left his post against the express decree of Congress, and went to Oaxaca, where he caused himself to be elected Governor. He held this post until 1852, and was then exiled for conspiracy against his old friend Santa Anna. After three years spent in the United States he returned to take part in the revolution of the negro Alvarez, whom he helped elect to the presidency. Juarez was then named Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and in that capacity abolished the privileges of the ecclesiastical and military courts. With a change of government he went back again to Oaxaca as Governor, to be recalled later by President Comonfort as President of the Supreme Court. He was never confirmed in this post nor officially installed, and yet it was on the strength of this office that he claimed the constitutional presidency of Mexico when Comonfort was overthrown by the revolution of the Catholic party against the odious “Constitution of ’57.” He maintained his claim against the Catholic President, Zuloaga, in spite of the fact that he had incurred another Constitutional disability by leaving the country, when he went from Manzanillo to Vera Cruz by way of Panama, Havana and New Orleans. From the stronghold of Vera Cruz he directed the numerous *caudillos* who, under the sanction of the “Reform Laws,” overran the country, pillaging and profaning churches, murdering priests and children, and

ravishing women. President Buchanan withdrew the recognition of the Catholic President and sent a new envoy to Juarez, and finally, with the aid of the United States Navy, Juarez broke the power of the Catholic party, and seized the City of Mexico.

Under the liberal rule that followed, the Treasury became bankrupt, and the Austro-French intervention made Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, with the consent of the Mexican Assembly of Nobles. Juarez, from his place of refuge, still maintained his claim to the presidency, and with the overthrow of Maximilian (again with the aid of the United States) was elected to the presidency by a grand total of 7,422 votes. The five years remaining until his death he spent in avenging himself on his enemies, and in collecting back salary and travelling expenses for the years of his exile. He clung to the presidency in spite of the entreaties and threats of influential liberals; and in view of this relation to his party, Father Planchet has been at pains to collect a series of prophecies that were fulfilled in his sudden and mysterious death.

In his treatment of the condition of the Church, Father Planchet is not so satisfactory, because his treatment is incomplete. He proposes the difficulty, but gives only a partial solution. The liberal party of Mexico counts among its founders two degraded priests, Hidalgo and Morelos, who, certain modern Catholic writers would have us believe, were inspired by the loftiest motives of love of Church and country. Later, the Constitution of '57 and the Laws of Reform were approved and abetted by many priests and bishops, against the express prohibition of Pius IX. Again, when the movement of liberals to introduce Protestantism in order to destroy Catholicity did not move fast enough, some apostate priests made an abortive attempt to start a schismatical Mexican Church.

The cause of such a deplorable state of affairs is hinted at by Father Planchet, but the treatment is insufficient. By way of partial atonement, the author presents the nobler side of the picture, with the relation of the unyielding devotion of Msgr. Munguia and the other Mexican bishops who defied the tyranny of the Constitutionals, and a glorious list of priests martyred for their refusal to take the oath to the Constitution or to give Christian burial to liberals who died impenitent.

The story of American intervention is interesting because it gives a precedent for our present relations with Mexico, and because there are some particulars the author presents that have not been sufficiently treated by American writers. When Buchanan was Secretary of State, during the Mexican War, he had occasion to learn of the strong desire of many liberals to bring about the annexation of Mexico to the United States, and later, when as President he saw the feasibility of strengthening the power of the Democratic Party by increasing the number of slave-holding States, he treated with Zuloaga for the cession of a part of the territory of Mexico with this end in view. When his suggestion was rejected by the Catholic party, he recognized Juarez and sent Minister MacLane to arrange with him for the cession of the States of Sonora and Chihuahua. This was the principal feature of the MacLane-Ocampo treaty, which caused great alarm in Mexico until it was finally rejected by the American Senate. Juarez still kept the good will of Buchanan, and when the Catholic President Miramón arranged a land-and-sea attack on Juarez at Vera Cruz, to put an end to the liberal revolution, Juarez asked and obtained of the American naval authorities in the harbor, the capture of Miramón's two ships. Although authorized by President Buchanan, this action was declared illegal by the District Court at New Orleans, and later by the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the turning point in the revolution, for when the attack on Vera Cruz failed, the Liberal Party concentrated its forces and seized the supreme power—which it has held ever since, with the exception of the short period of French intervention.

This is, in extended summary, the narrative Father Planchet has set forth in this book. Unfortunately, the reader is left to pick out the facts for himself, for there is little attempt at a continued narrative. The book makes tedious reading, largely because it is a symposium of paragraphs taken from scores of different sources, many of them the fatuous or bombastic utterances of liberals who show grave irreverence for the superlative. The fact that the author acknowledges this fault does not make the book any more readable. The type, too, is monotonous in a book which consists so largely of quotations, and allows so many digressions to come up from footnotes into the text. For the

matter that it treats the book should be immensely popular just now in an English edition; but that edition should, in the interests of good temper and good scholarship, be made to consist of a clear-cut, continuous narrative, with enough additional light on local conditions to suit our American ignorance of Mexican affairs, and with a generous relegation of quotations to footnotes and appendices. It should also omit two offensive charges, one on page 59, and the other on page 307, which are neither necessary nor useful for the purposes of the book. Finally, if the author and his prospective translator will bear another suggestion, it should close with a good, modern, alphabetical index.

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**Our First War with Mexico.** By Franklin Bishop. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. Pp. 225.

History is best viewed at a distance. The truth of this came home to us very recently. In the excitement attendant upon the threatened war with Mexico every man was interpreting the course of our government in the light of his own personal interests; some could see only religious issues while others were blinded in their judgment by the fact that their own financial resources were at stake.

So, too, was it the case of our first War with Mexico. The author of the present volume tells us in his preface that he has tried to give a fair account of the cause and events of our first war with Mexico, as it were to offset the effects of those accounts written at the time of the war and accordingly lacking either the calm, clear judgment of the historian since they were written while the country was still exulting in victory, or the unprejudiced views of non-partisan since they were written under the influence of abolition. Accordingly, standing at this distance of seventy years, he sums up for us in a clear-headed manner, the causes, progress and outcome of that first war.

He wisely begins by giving us the history of the geography of Texas. Since the boundary line between Texas and Mexico was one of the bones of contention that brought on the war he traces its history from the very beginning down through the

Louisiana purchase. In the early history of Spanish activities in this section, he describes but briefly, as also later in speaking of California, the work of the Friars in settling the country.

From this history of New Spain he passes to the Mexican War of Independence and then to the migrations of Americans to Texas under the leadership of Moses Austin. The Americans here constantly increasing in number had many and serious difficulties with the central government because of the latter's suspicion that they had been sent hither by the United States Government in an attempt to extend its boundary lines. Soon military rule was established over the colonists, which lead to an uprising under Gen. Sam Houston and finally the Texans' declaration of independence. When the new republic was admitted into the Union, Mexico objected to its annexation since its independence had never been recognized.

In his chapter, on the causes of the war, our author considers this last to be the chief one and so sets at naught the theory of those who held that a deep set plot of slave owners had been responsible for the war in having been behind all the activities and difficulties of the Texan settlers. Slavery is thus exonerated and the old dispute about the boundary line is chiefly responsible for the war.

Mr. Bishop's description of the war itself is most interesting. He carries us from the capture of Thornton's dragoons at the outset of the war through the Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma under the forceful, energetic leadership of Gen. Taylor; we next find ourselves in the conquest of California with Fremont only to return again to forge into the enemy's country from Monterey to Buena Vista with Taylor. Gen. Phil Kearney and Col. Domphan are our commanders in New Mexico and Chihuahua while at Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo Gen. Scott, a master of strategy, leads the carefully planned attack. After a short respite for peace negotiations, we again accompany Scott on his march from Puebla to Churubusco and finally enter with him into the City of Mexico. Such is our author's style that the hard facts of history have been made most interesting; captivated by the fire of his imagination we almost live the events through which he takes us.

In his concluding chapter on the results of the war, after narrating our gains in territory and losses in men he calls attention



to the fact, which he supports with a few illustrations, that Mexico supplemented West Point and Annapolis as a training school for the Civil War.

The reader will find in this clear, lively account of our first war with Mexico many parallels with our recent troubles; to do this the author seems to have made a special point. The book is of value also as a reference work having a handy index of seven pages.

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**The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805.** By Catharine C. Cleveland. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1915. Pp. 215.

This little volume is the result of Miss Cleveland's studies for the doctorate degree in the Department of History at the University of Chicago. The subject is the Protestant religious awakening in the middle west known as the Kentucky Revival. The voices of Protestant ministers were not heard in the Indiana and Illinois territory until more than 100 years after the advent of the first Jesuit missionary, and naturally the only religious activity in that country prior to 1800 was Catholic. In Miss Cleveland's discussion of the early religious conditions the work of the missionary priests is scarcely mentioned. The revival leaders headed by the Presbyterian, James McGready, their methods and teachings are described and the culmination of the movement are the subjects of the second and third chapters; and the concluding chapters contain an account of the bodily exercises and emotional features which characterized the revival meetings and their influence upon the religious and social life of the regions affected. These pages are the most interesting to the general reader.

Miss Cleveland relates many instances of the peculiar physical manifestations and bodily exercises, the singing and dancing, jerking and muscular contortions of the people induced through religious frenzy generated by the exhortations of the preachers. The persons so affected were generally women and children in the humbler walks of life; the better educated, excepting in rare instances, were not in sympathy with the revival and took but

small part in the exercises. The author dismisses as improbable the idea of supernatural agencies in the phenomena and explains them as psychological reactions to stimuli or pathological conditions similar to epilepsy, chorea, hysteria or ecstasy, the nervous diseases caused by continual mental excitement. It was this period of revival which caused many dissensions in the Protestant sects, notably among the Presbyterians. Of the results Miss Cleveland writes: "Undoubtedly the extravagances which characterize the Great Revival in the West did much to degrade, in the minds of the more thoughtful, the very ideals so vehemently insisted upon by its earnest promoters. . . . Making all due allowance for the excessive stress laid upon the emotional side of religious life, yet it remains clear that the Great Revival stimulated the religious life of the country as a whole, and did much to develop the region west of the Alleghanies." Supplemented by four maps and eight appendices containing contemporary accounts of the revival, the book represents an exhaustive search of available sources and is doubtless an accurate and impartial study of a phase of American history hitherto unexplored.

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**Introduction to American History.** By Woodburn and Moran.  
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1916. Pp. vi + 302.

Our distance from the Old World, and the American idea and attitude of self sufficiency cause us to forget our European origin and account for the small amount of attention the average young student gives to this fact when studying the history of America; we are prone to look upon our history as beginning with the landing of the Mayflower, forgetting that it is but a continuation of that of Europe, just as we forget that our civilization is based on European civilization, differing from it only in the manner of its development. The purpose of this small volume by James Albert Woodburn and Thomas Francis Moran, both professors of history, the foremost at the University of Indiana and the latter at Purdue University, is to give to the child about to study American History, this European background.

The book begins with a chapter on the Dawn of History in

which the history of the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Hebrews and of the Persians is briefly reviewed; in the twenty-five succeeding chapters, the Greeks, Romans, the Germans and the other people of Europe are treated of in turn, due space being given to the rise and spread of Christianity and to its influence on the European nations. The history of England is considered more at length than that of the other countries and there is an interesting chapter on English Life in the Middle Ages.

The Pilgrims and Explorers are given a chapter which is followed by one on the beginnings of discovery; another on the voyages and achievements of Columbus with a third dealing with his successors; the Cabots on the Atlantic Coast, Americus Vesputius in South America, Balboa on the Pacific Coast and Cartier in Canada. The next chapter is devoted to the conquests of Spain in the New World and the succeeding ones treat of the rivalry between France and England on the one hand and Spain on the other for supremacy in both the Old World and the New and of the fight between the Dutch and the Spaniards. The last chapter deals with the early attempts of the English to found colonies in North America with the final establishment of a permanent colony at Jamestown, Va., in the year 1607.

Thus in twenty-six chapters covering almost 300 pages, the child is given the introduction to the study of American history: an introduction written in a most attractive style which will appeal not only to the children for whom it is primarily intended, but to those as well who have passed the years of childhood should they chance to read its pages. It has the charm and swing of a fairy tale and like a fairy tale holds the interest until the end of the final chapter.

The questions and suggestions at the end of each chapter will be a source of help to the pupil as will the pronouncing list which follows them. The illustrations in color are very well done and the others, though, of course, not so attractive, are well chosen; both will be of advantage in the work of imagination so necessary to the study of history. The suggestions to the teacher which the pages preceding the index contain, will, if carried out, make the imparting of the subject easier. All things considered it is a text-book which one is glad to recommend.

**North America During the Eighteenth Century.** By F. Crockett and B. C. Wallis. Cambridge, 1915. Pp. 116.

Our list of handbooks of American history is already quite lengthy, but the special geographical setting in which the momentous events of this great period are viewed, is the *raison d'être* the authors offer for this seemingly needless repetition. The rise of the United States to nationhood is viewed in the light of the limitations imposed upon the course of events by the geographical conditions of the time and place. These conditions, it was, that forced the issues of the eighteenth century, which resulted in the gradual growth of the colonies to the status of a nation. The first step in the march of events was the so-called French and Indian War. This conflict was geographically inevitable. The lines of development of the French and English colonies separate at first, were sure to cross in the course of the progress of each. The English, at first inclined to linger along the coast line for purposes of protection and agriculture, soon saw the need of westward expansion. But such reaching out past the barrier of the Appalachian range must needs cross the trails of the fur-trading French on their lines of communication between Canada and Louisiana. A conflict ensued which prepared the way for the later struggle, which ended so disastrously for England. The causes and occasions that lead inevitably to the break between the colonies and their mother-country may be summed up thus: British ignorance of American conditions; a short-sighted selfish policy of commercial and industrial restriction; a Parliament interfering in the unalienable political privileges of the colonies and passing sundry acts with America unrepresented, together with the geographically unwise and religiously repugnant conditions of the Quebec Act. The authors have noted the weight that the anti-Catholic attitude of the colonies of New England exercised in the question—"The New England Colonies being further incensed by the establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion in Canada." Also as regards the effect this had upon the Canadians "for the latter knew too well what chances they had of retaining their religion and laws if ruled by the people of New England."

Other indications than the place of publication of the book

might suggest the nationality of the authors. Among them is the Acadian question. While not unreasonably impartial on the whole, English coloring is evident. They are mercilessly unsparing in their references to the Abbé Le Lentric; but it would be grossly unfair to use the faults of this misguided zealot to accuse the other Acadian missionaries of aught of disloyalty save toleration of the native habits and traditions of their peace-loving flock. Their vivid battle descriptions cling very closely to geographical details and are written in an attractive style. The opening chapter treating of surface and climate conditions of Eastern North America is fairly exact, although a native of northern New York of today might require a slight restriction in the footnote: "The Hudson is sometimes frozen so hard as to provide a highway into Albany." For the convenience of the student or teacher, exceptionally good sketch maps and illustrations are dispersed throughout the volume and each chapter closes with a succinct and precise summary of the matter just treated. Three interesting and useful tables are found in the appendix; the first, the estimated and census population of each colony in the years 1783 and 1891 respectively, with the number of slaves indicated; the second, a table showing the exports and the third, the comparative tonnage of oversea shipping at the time. The volume is a worthy addition to the literature on the beginnings of American History.

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**Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War.** By William E. Doster, late Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V., Provost Marshal of Washington. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916. Pp. 282.

The average reader of history becomes quite familiar with the leading facts, persons and movements of a period but as regards many little side lights his knowledge is limited. Still it is not necessary to mention how full of interest they really are; so that when we meet a volume such as the former Provost Marshal of Washington has given us, filled with the smaller incidents connected with the Civil War, we can readily find entertainment and gain knowledge by reading it. The matter of this book as the author himself tells us is memoranda jotted

down during his service in the field and in garrison. He makes no decided attempt at a literary style but gives a simple, readable narrative of personal experiences with persons of greater or less note and with institutions of the time. As a sort of introduction to this he has placed at the beginning of his book, an address delivered at Lehigh University on Abraham Lincoln. This address, though not an exhaustive study of the great President of the time, gives a very good picture of his life with striking incidents to illustrate his character.

Though the book in general forms interesting reading, as might be expected, some of the chapters surpass the others. The address on Lincoln together with the chapters entitled "the Old Capitol and Carrol Prisons," "the War Department and its Head," "Incidents of Provost Duty," and the "Conspiracy Trial—1865," are the best in the work. The best single section is perhaps that on the prisons. It not only describes the prisons but also gives a brief and accurate description of the prison system and the officers, of the prisoners and their crimes. The "Incident of Provost Duty" might also be mentioned since it affords the reader an intimate knowledge of conditions in Washington during the War. As regards the chapters not mentioned it may be said in brief that though they show a good knowledge of the subjects, yet are of small interest or filled with unnecessary description and detail.

Throughout the work the author attempts to give an appreciation of the greater personages with whom he came in contact. In these character sketches there is much that creates a rather unpleasant impression on the reader. The method employed is rather unhappy. He lays most stress on the weaknesses and shortcomings of the persons described and even though he mentions their abilities and virtues, they seem to have a secondary place in his mind. The general impression created is that he did not admire most of these people and is not quick to make allowances. McClellan is perhaps the best example of this.

Much has been written regarding the trial of those connected with the assassination of President Lincoln and it is the opinion of many that the execution of Mrs. Surratt and her companions was not entirely just. The author of this volume, though, is

much harsher in his criticism of the trial than the case warrants. He informs us that there was not a shadow of justice in the whole affair; the judges are branded as tyrants and he concludes his book by either acquitting the defendants or mitigating their punishment. His statements must, however, be discounted. He was counsel for two of the defendants and, adhering strictly to a previous remark as to one of the requisites of a good lawyer, he has not even after fifty years given up the case, but strives to win it, at least in public opinion, at this late date.

Such are the weak points of the work to the critic, but in spite of them the book is worth reading. The author fulfills his purpose and in doing so gives the person interested in the condition of Washington during the Civil War, the knowledge which he seeks, or, at least, a good part of it. There are explanatory notes at the end of the address on Lincoln which are of considerable help to the reader.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

Research-workers who have spent some time in the Vatican Archives within recent years have had an advantage over scholars of former days in the possession of two books which greatly facilitate the work there. The first of these is the *Guide aux Archives du Vatican*, by Father Gisbert Brom, the late Director of the *Institut Historique Néerlandais at Rome*. (Rome, 2d. ed., 1911.) This little book of 184 pages was written to inaugurate the Holland School of Research in the Eternal City, and, while dealing only with Dutch History, it is of value to all scholars as a guide. It is significant that the first edition of Dr. Brom's work was sold out within six months, and this fact alone would prove the interest taken in the scientific world in the Vatican sources. All roads lead to Rome; and there is no country of Europe or America today that can afford to overlook this *mare magnum* of documents, for the Vatican has ever been a beacon-light shining on every part of the civilized and uncivilized world. The Vatican Archives are divided by Brom into eight different collections: Archivio Segreto, Archives of Avignon, Archives of the Camera, Archives of St. Angelo, Archives of the Datary, Consistorial Archives, Archives of the Secretary of State, and Collections of various kinds. His *Guide* takes the student into these different *dépôts* and quickly enables him to find his way in the midst of what is veritably an ocean of manuscripts. A better guide for American scholars is the *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, by Carl Russell Fish, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in 1911. Dr. Fish has taken advantage of Brom's useful directions, and in his Introduction he speaks of the conditions regulating study in the Vatican Archives and Library. "The opening of the Archivio Vaticano by Leo XIII in 1880," he says, "to all persons of approved scholarship, no matter what their religion, amounted to no less than a revolution. They had indeed been opened before this date in special cases, and not everything is accessible as yet; but this step was accompanied by others, indicating a firm conviction that the papacy could stand, and would profit by, publicity. There can be no doubt of the sincerity with which this view is held by those in control of the central archives of the papacy, and of their desire to further research in every way." American Catholic historical writers have not yet begun to use this great storehouse. The possibilities of contributions for American history from the various collections of the Archivio Vaticano are endless. In three hundred closely written pages, Dr. Fish has calendared the documents dealing with our history. "It must not be forgotten," he says, "that, aside from its direct dealings with America, the whole history of the Church is a unit, and that this can be studied completely only at Rome. It is probable, also, that for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, there is no one place where the world-movement of history is so well reflected as in the Archives of the Church."

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Certainly it is not to the credit of a great nation like the United States and still less so, to the credit of a powerful and wealthy Church like the Catholic



Church of America, that no *American Historical Institute* exists at Rome for the purpose of carrying on this research-work. Americans who have visited the different Institutes there always feel a pang of regret that the American government has not taken this question up seriously. The Prussian Institute, which occupies extensive quarters in the Guistiniani Palace, the Austrian Institute, with a special school for Bohemian history, the Belgian Institute, the Institute of Holland, the Ruthenian Research-School, and the Institut de St. Louis-des-Français, are examples of what may be done by a progressive nation. The Görresgesellschaft, which houses its Roman school in Campo Santo dei Tedeschi, is a further example of enlightened Catholic progress. But America is absent from the field of all this activity. Great names have arisen from these schools—Hinojosa, Bourgin, Duchesne, Cauchie, Brom, Blok, Kehr, Gachard, Haskins, Esser, and many others, but for American Catholic history the laborers have been few. Probably the only work ever seriously undertaken was that by the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia some years ago—the net result being a transcript of the Irish College Portfolio with its valuable collection of letters on the American Church.

Many examples might be given to show the value of catalogues of these Archives. Recently, we have occasion to search for material on the origin of the religious orders in this country, and among the collections seen for this purpose was the Register of Briefs in the Archivio Segreto of the Vatican. A partial list of the contents of Vols. 291–323 will give the reader an idea of some of the material they contain:

**Vol. 291.—Januar. 1600.**

- Fol. 158. Pro Anna de Mendoc̃a muliere Mexicana. Licentia ingrediendi monasterium monialium S. Laurentii civitatis Mexican.

**Vol. 292.—Febr. 1600.**

- Fol. 47. Pro Confraternitate B.M. de Nive Nigrorum nuncupata civitatis Antequeren. in regione Mexicana. Licentia se transferendi ad ecclesiam S. Dominici.
- Fol. 76. Pro Clara de Aldarita muliere civitatis Regum in regione Peruviana. Licentia ingrediendi monasterium monialium Incarnationis dictae civitatis.

**Vol. 293.—Mart. 1600.**

- Fol. 40. Pro Fratribus Minorum S. Francisci in regione Peruviana—Nonnulla statuta.

**Vol. 294.—April. 1600.**

- Fol. 16. Pro Francisca de Guevara nob. muliere Mexican. Licentia ingrediendi monasterium monialium S. Hieronymi Civitatis Mexicanae.
- Fol. 17. Pro Marina de Guevara nob. muliere Mexicana. Similis ut supra.
- Fol. 79. Pro Eleonora Velasquez et Isabella Pantosa monialibus in civitate Panam. degentibus. Mandatum ut redeant ad monasterium Conceptionis Civitatis Regum.

**Vol. 299.—Num. 1—Sept. 1600.**

- Fol. 64. Pro monasterio monialium Incarnationis Liman. Indultum recipiendi puellas educationis causa.
- Fol. 89. Pro monasterio monialium Conceptionis Liman. Nonnulla statuta circa electionem Abbatissae.

- Fol. 94. Pro Fratribus Ordinis S. Augustini provinciarum Bethicae, Mexicanae, del Mechoacan, del Peru, del Chito, Novi regni. Nonnulla statuta.
- Vol. 299.—Num. 2—Sept. 1600.
- Fol. 175. Pro Didaco Bonifax Ordinis Minorum provinciae Quiten. in regione Peruviana. Nonnullae dispensationes.
- Vol. 300.—Octob. 1600.
- Fol. 191. Pro Confraternitate SSmi Crucifixi de Brugos civitatis Limen. in regione Peruviana. Facultas faciendi processionem in noctu feriae sextae maioris hebdomadae per vias et plateas.
- Fol. 195. Pro monasterio monialium Incarnationis Civitatis Liman. in regione Peruviana. Indultum recitandi officium duplex in festivitibus Virginum et Martyrum Emerentianae et Ursulae.
- Fol. 228. Pro nonnullis personis civitatis Liman. in regione Peruviana. Licentia ingrediendi monasterium monialium Incarnationis dictae civitatis.
- Vol. 301.—Nov. 1600.
- Fol. 90. Pro Fratribus Minorum S. Francisci in partibus Indiarum. Subiectio superioribus eorum Ordinis.
- Fol. 143. Pro monasterio Liman. Conceptionis del Peru. Nonnulla statuta circa electionem Abbatissae.
- Vol. 303.—Dec. 1600—Num. I.
- Fol. 69. Pro Violante della Serda muliere oppidi de Arequipa in regione Peruviana. Licentia transferendi ossa duorum suorum virorum.
- Vol. 303.—Num. 2—Dec. 1600.
- Fol. 376. Pro Fratribus Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci in Indiis. Nonnulla statuta circa contributionem seminarii illarum partium per eos faciendam.
- Fol. 386. Pro Maria de Crux moniale mon. S. Catharinae de Senis provinciae Mechoacan. Mandatum redeundi ad monasterium.
- Vol. 304.—Num. 1—Januar. 1601.
- Fol. 231. Pro monasterio monialium Conceptionis Civitatis de la Puebla de los Angeles Tlaxcalen.
- Vol. 307.—Num. 1—April. 1601.
- Fol. 13. Pro provincia del Brasile Congregationis S. Benedicti. Nonnulla statuta circa electionem provincialis.
- Fol. 271. Pro Antonio Cril. Ord. Praedicatorum. Deputatio in vicarium apostolicum vicariae Mexicanae.
- Vol. 312.—Sept. 1601.
- Fol. 198. Pro regularibus ad curam animarum praepositis in regionibus Indiarum Occidentalium. Nonnulla statuta.
- Fol. 284. Pro religiosi Indiarum Occidentalium. Nonnulla statuta circa eleemosynas.
- Vol. 315.—Decem. 1601. Num. 1.
- Fol. 26. Pro Maria de la Rosa oppidi de Olinda S. Salvatoris dioec. in regione Brasili. Mandatum Episcopo S. Salvatoris dioec. in regione Bras. illam recipiendi in novo monasterio ab eo erecto.
- Fol. 132. Erectio monasterii monialium B. Mariae de Remedio in civitate de Arequipa Cuscan. dioec. in regione Peru.
- Fol. 225. Pro Elisabetha de Padilla moniale monasterii S. Catherinae de Senis Ord. S. Dominici civitatis de Arequipa in Peru. Nonnullae concessiones.

Fol. 272. Pro Mariana de Paldivar de Mendoça fundatrice monasterii monialium S. Laurentii Mexican. Nonnulla statuta pro dicto monasterio.

Vol. 319.—Num. 2—Mart. 1602.

Fol. 307. Pro Agnete S. Nicolae moniale monasterii Conceptionis Civitatis Mexican. Indultum se transferendi in monasterium S. Agnetis ab ipsa fundatum civitatis Mexican.

Fol. 311. Pro Florentia de Resurrectione et Elisabetha de S. Clara monialibus monasterii Conceptionis civitatis Mexican. Indultum se transferendi in monasterium Incarnationis ab ipsis fundatum civitatis Mexican.

Vol. 323.—Jul. 1602.

Fol. 86. Erectio monasterii monialium in civitate Mexican.

Fol. 96. Erectio monasterii monialium in civitate Verae Crucis, Tlaxclanena, dioecesis.

In response to repeated requests for a list of Kansas books, the Kansas State Historical Society has selected 250 titles as a suggestive list—*A List of Books Indispensable to a Knowledge of Kansas History and Literature*. Under *Philosophy and Religion*, there is no mention of the Catholic missions in the State. Since the bibliography has been drawn up for students, one might naturally expect to find a reference to Fray Juan Padilla, as well as to the other pioneer missionaries of that section—Fathers Van Quickenborne, Lutz, Hoecker, Schoenmakers, and Bax. A reference to John Gilmary Shea would have sufficed. The fact that there is no volume containing the history of the Catholic Church in the State cannot, of course, be charged against the Kansas Historical Society.

The Yale University Press has reprinted *Some Cursory Remarks*, being the account of a voyage made by James Birkett to North America (1750-57). It is filled with quaint comments on our life here at the time, and the towns and cities he described would hardly recognize themselves in these pages.

Fray Toribio de Benavente, better known under the name Motolinía, was one of the first band of Franciscans who sailed for Mexico with Fray Martin de Valencia and survived all his companions. He was born at Benavente, Spain, at the end of the fifteenth century, and died in Mexico City, August 10, 1568. The story is related that, while he and his companions travelled through Mexico, the Indians, seeing their ragged clothes, kept repeating to one other the word: *motolintá*. Fray Toribio asked its meaning, and, on being told that it was the Mexican for *poor*, he adopted it as his own name. "It is the first word I have learned of this language," he wrote, "and, that I may not forget it, it shall henceforth be my name." Toribio soon became one of the chief counsellors of the conqueror Cortés and was one of the most important personages in the civil and religious organization of Mexico and Central America. His writings are all of eminent value. The best known probably is his famous Letter to Charles V, dated January 2, 1555, which contains a violent attack upon Las Casas. His *História de los Indios de Nueva España*, which furnished

Mendieta with materials for his historical works, has recently been republished with a critical apparatus by Father Daniel Sanchez Garcia, O.F.M. (Barcelona, 1914). The famous Letter which calls Las Casas an apostate for refusing the See of Chiapas is published in an appendix to the volume.

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Although its title does not suggest the richness of Catholic colonial history it contains, Mr. Osman's *Starved Rock* (Chicago, 1916, 2d ed.) may well be recommended as a model of popular historical narrative. Centering their lives and activities around Starved Rock—one of the remarkable natural curiosities of the Middle West, the author pictures the work of the missionaries and explorers in its vicinity—Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, Tonty and the others so well known in the story of the discovery of the River of the Immaculate Conception (Mississippi). The absence of an index is a detriment to the value of the book.

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Is History capable of scientific treatment? If it is not, then it naturally follows that it is not a fit instrument of higher education. Such a statement, containing as it were a challenge to the scientific historian, has never met an adequate response from those who are engaged professionally in the study and teaching of history. "In England and America," says Dr. Frederick J. Teggart, in his recent volume *Prolegomena to History* (University of California Press, Berkeley, Cal., 1916),

" . . . it is only on rare occasions that the professor of history seems disposed to lay aside the presentation of assured fact in order to consider the nature of the foundation upon which his constructions rest. Hence it is that most of our contributions to historical theory are to be found in the inaugural lectures of university professorships and the presidential addresses of historical societies and associations. Possibly the subjects of these communications, which have much in common, are considered too general and debatable to be offered in regular course of instruction; possibly it is only upon such important occasions that the scholar may look for an audience sufficiently expert to justify him in taking up problems of admitted complexity, and it may be that the speaker welcomes the opportunity to express his matured convictions. It is evident, indeed, that these are not perfunctory speeches; they are, without exception, informed by a spirit of earnestness, which, however, not infrequently cloaks hesitating thought. In a measure all these pronouncements, it must be admitted, are excursions into unfamiliar territory, and betray an air of having been written under pressure, rather than of being the spontaneous expression of familiar ideas. However this may be, the fact remains that the English-speaking representatives of historical scholarship, when called upon to stand out for a moment from among their fellows, find that the particulars which they themselves have been investigating cannot be relied upon to make a general appeal, and so it comes that cherished researches are temporarily neglected for the brief advocacy of some view of the nature and utility of history. Restricted to such situations, it is not remarkable that the consideration of the fundamental

problems of historical study has shown but little vitality during the last fifty years. Assertion evokes rejoinder—Freeman will have none of Stubbs, and Firth improves upon Bury—and each latest speaker is sensitive to the lapse of his immediate predecessors. Thus the problems, lightly touched, remain, like politics and religion, subjects on which every man is presumed to have an opinion, but which the taste of the moment places outside the pale of direct and sustained discussion.

"Among historical scholars there still is disagreement as to whether history is or may be a science, though there seems to be unanimity of opinion that some part, at least, of historical work is 'scientific.' 'Whether,' said Stubbs, 'we look at the dignity of the subject-matter, or at the nature of the mental exercise which it requires, or at the inexhaustible field over which the pursuit ranges, History, the knowledge of the adventures, the development, the changeful career, the varied growths, the ambitions, aspirations, and, if you like, the approximating destinies of mankind, claims a place second to none in the roll of sciences.' Bury would have us remember always that though history 'may supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, she is herself simply a science, no less and no more.' Villari, after passing in review the opinions held on the question, reaches the conclusion that 'History can never be converted into a philosophical system nor into a natural or mathematical science. Nor would it even be possible to attain that purpose by forcing it to use methods appertaining to other studies.'"

Dr. Teggart takes up the problem with the calm spirit of the impartial investigator, and describes for us in his own clear way the relation of History to Literature, to Philosophy and to Science. His volume furnishes a key to the proper appreciation of the office and nature of historiography. "The historian," he says, "is memory's mouthpiece for his countrymen; and history is the inspiration of the patriot." A complete bibliographical appendix on the Method of Science in general and upon the problem of Historiography is given in the volume. Dr. Teggart has added a very valuable study to the ever-increasing literature on Methodology.

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In his latest volume *Cuba Old and New* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1915), Albert J. Robinson has written a sketch of the main points of Cuban history in order to assist the American mind in understanding the nature of the people and their customs. Twenty years of special study of, and contact with, the affairs of the island have gone into the making of this little book; but somehow it lacks that particular charm which a sympathy with the religion, that has been more than half the life of the people since the days of Columbus, could have given to it.

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The Provincial of the Viatorians, the Very Rev. E. L. Rivard, C.S.V., has recently published a sketch, entitled: *St. Viator and the Viatorians* (Chicago, 1916), the third chapter of which deals with the coming of the Order to the United States. Their history is intimately connected with the healing of the

Chiniquy schism in Illinois. The book might find a welcome place in the reading-room of our colleges and a marker might be put in at the *Envoi* on page 224—for the boys, who are hesitating about their state of life.

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"The principle of religious liberty is one of the most striking features of American Democracy"—writes Dr. Dealey, of Brown University, in his volume: *Growth of American State Constitutions* (Ginn and Co., New York, 1915). The phraseology of the Constitution in the matter of religious worship is probably as well known to most Americans as the opening lines of the Declaration of Independence. The clause which prohibits Congress from establishing any given religion or from hindering its free exercise, and which recognizes no religious test as a qualification for office or public trust, periodically makes its appearance in the Catholic press to vindicate the rights of American Catholic citizenship when attacked. An important element in the present national attitude on religious tolerance is emphasized by the writer of this excellent handbook, namely, that some of the States even yet have not advanced so far as the Federal Constitution in this regard. There are still survivors in some of the State Constitutions of that earlier and more intolerant spirit which now seems so strangely out of place. For example, New Hampshire still retains its Puritanic article on Evangelical Protestantism. The first sentence reads as follows:

"As the morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection, and as the knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the Deity and of public instruction in morality and religion, therefore, to promote these important purposes, the people of this State have a right to empower and do hereby do fully empower, the legislature to authorize, from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this State to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality."

The *provenance* of the anti-Catholic legislation of the early Colonies, which fathered whatever intolerance existed down to the adoption of the Constitution, has not yet been fully studied.

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Father Ludovico Preta, O.F.M., has succeeded in bringing the story of the Franciscan Missions in California within the scope of a single volume—*Storia delle Missioni Francescane in California* (San Francisco, 1915). There is no doubt, as he says in his preface, that the history of early Christian civilization in California is the most interesting and most picturesque page in the great confederacy of the United States:—

"Per l'energia di proposito nel gettare le fondamenta degli stabilimenti delle Missioni, per opera de' Frati Minori; pel coraggio di perseveranza di fronte a difficoltà senza numero; per lo zelo da essi mostrato pel miglioramento degli aborigeni; per il meraviglioso e rapido progresso nella prosperità

e potere delle Missioni; per le scene svariate e pittoresche della vita patriarcale nel sistema di Missione, durante un periodo di più di mezzo secolo; finalmente per la triste e patetica morte del sistema di Missione, dopo la sua gloriosa e spirituale carriera, la storia di questo Stato forma un capitolo a nessun altro secondo."

The author has made use of all the sources at his disposal and in particular of the volumes on the same subject by his confrater, Father Engelhardt. An excellent map of the Missions is contained in the volume. An index would have made the work of practical value for teachers.

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With a wealth of illustrations ranging from Roman war scenes to an ordination, Miss Jennie Hall has written a fascinating book on *Our Ancestors in Europe* (New York, 1916). As Dr. Gambrill happily says in his Introduction to the work, the old narrow conception of the American story as a thing apart from the rest of the world seems to be rapidly passing:—

"The roots of American civilization are in Europe. Our beginnings and early development form a part of one of the most far-reaching changes of history: the expansion of Europe beyond the ancient limits of the Mediterranean world, the discovery of the American continents, the opening of direct sea routes to India and the far East, the commercial revolution, the first stages of the Europeanization of the world. Only in this larger setting can the history of the United States become really intelligible. If we are to understand our own country and how it came to be what it is, we must know something of the story of its ancestors in Europe and of the heritage we have received from them."

It was to serve this purpose that this volume was planned. The author has shown rare skill in her treatment of the subject, and we could recommend no better series of slides for lantern work in history in the parochial school than the pictures and reproductions of her book. The text will be found to be accurate, and the *questionnaires* at the end of the chapters will furnish the teacher with ready material to encourage the children in the inquiring attitude of mind they need to cultivate as early as possible in their studies.

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*Mother Mary Veronica, Foundress of the Sisterhood of the Divine Compassion*, a biography by the Rev. Dr. Heuser (New York, 1915), is a well-written sketch not only of Mother Veronica's life but also of her director, the well-known Msgr. Thomas Scott Preston. The story is told with all the lofty spiritual vision which pervades all the writings of the author.

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Some Catholic Canadian scholar should give us a catalogue of all the sources and materials on the history of the Church in the Dominion from the *University of Toronto Studies: Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, which has now reached its twentieth volume.

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A friend writes us from St. Louis, Mo., anent the articles by the Right Rev. Bishop Corrigan on the *Episcopal Succession in the United States*:

"Few articles touching on American Catholic History can be more fundamentally important than the series now appearing in the *Review* from the pen of Right Rev. Owen Corrigan, on *Episcopal Succession*. The excellence of His Grace's treatment on the subject invites congratulations, and St. Louis should be among the first to be permitted to show its appreciation of the scholarly accuracy of the work. For there is no place in the hierarchical succession that proves such a pitfall for even fairly cautious writers as the relations between the Diocese of St. Louis and New Orleans on the one hand, and their mutual relation to the earlier Diocese of Louisiana, on the other.

"Bishop DuBourg used to sign himself, at times, *Bishop of St. Louis*, at other times, *Bishop of New Orleans*, as well as with his real title, *Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas*. The *Litany's Directory* of 1822 tells us that the Bishop of Louisiana had 'his episcopal chair' in each of these two cities: St. Louis and New Orleans. Yet Bishop DuBourg was never truly Bishop of New Orleans, nor of St. Louis.

"If this fact is kept in mind, such errors will not occur as that, for instance, which we find in the citation which Bishop Corrigan makes at the opening of his treatment of St. Louis, where New Orleans is placed three times in rapid succession instead of Louisiana. In the Bishop's own writing the error never occurs; he brings out very clearly, especially when treating of New Orleans, the distinction between New Orleans and Louisiana; and he tells us with all possible explicitness that the Dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans were created the same day, July 18, 1826, with Bishop Rosati as Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans.

"It is pleasant to the humble sons of the diocese of St. Louis that their Diocese be looked upon as the younger brother of the great See of the south; but it is better—as Bishop Corrigan has brought out—that the two great metropolitan Sees on the lower Mississippi, both of whose Cathedrals bear the name of the saintly crusader King, should have the closer relationship—that God gave to them—of twins."

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Many histories of the United States by Italian authors, written in Italian, would seem to be quite in keeping with the glory that race must ever possess in the great Genoese, but Signor Garretto in his *Storia degli Stati Uniti dell' America del Nord* (1492-1914) tells us that he has found only six such accounts of our history in Italian. The work is intended particularly for Italians in Italy, and, while there is an occasional misconception of American customs, the work has much more to recommend it than the general type of the making-America-known "histories."

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Two recent books on Oregon present their readers with excellent views of the early history of that part of the United States—*Catholic History of Oregon*, by Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara (Portland, 1916), and *Early Days in Old Oregon*, by Katherine Judson (Chicago, 1916). "Old Oregon," says Miss Judson,

"was a mighty sweep of country, and a most romantic one. From the northern border of Mexican California to near Sitka in Russian America it stretched, nearly eight hundred miles. Eastward it stretched over a



country of mighty mountain ranges from which at regular intervals rose the snow peaks, ever glistening white, over a country of dense forests, of mighty rivers and foaming mountain torrents, over a country of sand and sagebrush, and on still eastward over the cut-rock desert where 'men had songs for supper' and where no game could live, on and on eastward nearly one thousand miles until the limits of the Oregon country, the crest of the main range of the Rockies, met the old-time, unknown Louisiana."

The romance still lingers, and the story of its discovery and its subsequent growth are still only partly studied. The brief Summary of its history from original sources which Miss Judson publishes in an appendix, and the bibliography of works already written on the subject, give evidence of a field of intense interest for the American historian. Oregon is rich in Catholic history, and Father O'Hara has been the first to make known to us the story of the Catholic pioneers, such as Blanchet, De Smet, and the famous Dr. John Loughlin, who is one that the Church may regard with pride. Father O'Hara's work is likewise the result of a long delving into unpublished material, and the result is a closely written monograph of about two hundred pages, containing the outlines of a Catholic history of the State.

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The life of a Bishop, whom his friends consider to be a Lion of the House of Judah, still remains to be written, but we may welcome such side-lights upon the career of Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, N. Y., as Father Mullaney, C.S.S.R., gives us in his *Four-Score Years: a Contribution to the History of the Catholic Germans in Rochester* (1836-1916). The volume is especially well done and will be more and more valuable as the years go by and the sources of popular information grow weaker.

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Brother Edward, LL.D., President of La Salle College, Philadelphia, has published his study on *History an Essential of Catholic Education* in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for December, 1916.

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*Real Stories from our History*, published by Ginn and Company (1916) is another little volume of picturesque scenes by John T. Faris. In its report to the National Education Association, the *Committee of Eight on the Study of History in the Elementary Schools*, appointed by the American Historical Association, said: "Our History teaching in the past has failed largely because it has not been picturesque enough." In preparing his volume, Mr. Faris has kept this report in mind and has given to his chapters a human interest which interprets them with special clearness for present-day readers. Some typical chapters are: *Going to School in Old England*, *The Oldest Library in America*, and *The Pony Express*. This little book can be recommended to the children of the parochial schools, and their teachers may see in it a possible model for similar works on Catholic topics.

*First Lessons in American History*, by S. E. Forman (New York, 1916, pp. 343), is particularly valuable for its illustrations. It is the story of the nation told as Dr. Forman thinks it should be told, to beginners. Since children are always interested in the lives of the great, he has "treated the subject on its biographical side." The style is somewhat exaggerated in its attempt to reach the child's mind, and, since no attempt is made to be scientific, there is a blurred presentation of the facts here and there. The chapter entitled: *Europe Four Hundred Years Ago*—a bird's-eye view of the Middle Ages—has some jarring conclusions in its endeavor to crowd all Europe into seven pages. There is every fairness to the Catholic side of the Discovery and Colonization of the New World.

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Rochambeau, at Yorktown and other decisive battles of the American Revolution, is a familiar figure to every American school child. But Rochambeau, the child who was father to that man, is a stranger both to history and tradition. From the pen of Marshall P. Thompson (*Magazine of History*, Poughkeepsie, June, 1916, Vol. vi, No. 6), comes a delightful article on the childhood and youth of the gallant ally of the colonists. This essay is amplified from an address which Mr. Thompson delivered before the Sons of the American Revolution, and it is to be followed by other papers dealing with Rochambeau's later career. A graphic picture discloses the dying warrior in his chateau at Bloise, his mind wandering back to the early days, and lingering with affection on the American episode of his eventful life. Before him hang two pictures, dearer than all the artistic wealth gathered for centuries in his castle—Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Washington and the great canvas depicting the surrender of Cornwallis—both gifts from admiring Americans sent after his return to France. When the venerable Donatien de Vimeur, Count de Rochambeau, lay dead in the halls of his fathers, on his breast were pinned his two most precious treasures, the orders of the Loyal Legion and the Cincinnati. Napoleon had chosen him first Grand Commander of the illustrious military order he had just founded, the Loyal Legion. The Cincinnati had showered every possible honor upon him, and in later years, when the Sons of the American Revolution formed their distinguished patriotic society, they had taken as their insignia, in grateful memory of what Rochambeau and the French had achieved for the cause they honored, the cross of the Loyal Legion. Mr. Thompson here gives a valuable historical fact in his brief history of the insignia of the Loyal Legion, namely, that the cross which Napoleon finally selected was the Cross of St. Louis, emblem of one of the most ancient and revered orders of chivalry, suppressed with others during the Terror. Rochambeau had received this noble order and he prized it above all other honors and, at his suggestion the ancient insignia was taken over by the Loyal Legion. The Sons of the American Revolution therefore wear, as their cherished insignia, the Cross of St. Louis, just as it was emblazoned on the banners of France, when under the saintly king the flower of its chivalry went forth to battle with the Turk. Mr. Thompson follows the journal of Count de Rochambeau in his admirable picture of the youthful days

of this well-beloved personage. "I was born," wrote the Count, "in the chateau at Bloise on the first day of July, 1725. I was educated at the college of the Fathers of the Oratory which has since become a military school. I had an elder brother and I was of delicate health." Mr. Thompson finds the key of Rochambeau's character and the explanation preeminent success in these few words. He has an elder brother, strong and vigorous enough to sustain the honors and dignity of this noble line. Therefore, Donatien was destined for the Church. At six, he was studying the classics with the Fathers of the Oratory and there he remained until, as Mr. Thompson whimsically relates, M. de Crusol, the good Bishop of Bloise and a Jesuit, suspected the Oratorians of Jansenistic teachings, and prevailed on Count de Rochambeau to remove his son from Vendome. So he was entered in the College of the Jesuits at Bloise. The young student devoted himself diligently to his studies for seven years, and to this discipline the writer attributes Rochambeau's later power—his optimism, clear vision, keen judgment, his fortitude, his tact and courtesy, and above all the Gallic trait of taking things as they came and making the best of them, without inquiring into disturbing secondary causes. This fusing of such qualities made an irresistible appeal to the more serious minded Washington and won his esteem and affection almost against his wishes. The Jesuits, writes Mr. Thompson, had been for two hundred and fifty years the most perfect school-masters of Europe, and they never turned out a better pupil than Donatien de Vimeur. At fifteen, tall and still delicate, Rochambeau, the novice, was looking forward to being tonsured at Pentecost, and he regarded his career in the Church as entirely worthy of his loftiest ambition. Two days before the feast, M. de Crusol arrived with momentous tidings. The elder brother was dead and Donatien was heir of the Counts of Rochambeau. He must now, the Bishop told him solemnly, prepare to serve God and his country with as much zeal as he had hoped to serve Him in the Church. A month later, the Jesuit novice entered the great military school at Paris. At seventeen he graduated with high honors and received his first commission, a cornet in the regiment of St. Simon. He first drew his sword in Bavaria and for Marie Teresa in her struggle against Frederick the Great.

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Cathedral Square, in Washington, D. C., is that block bounded by Half, L and M Streets and South Carolina Avenue, S. E., and the term recalls a fact almost forgotten, that Bishop Carroll once contemplated erecting his episcopal church on this site. Why he abandoned the idea and why this square of ground stood so long without a church that the heirs-at-law of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the donor, in 1895 began suit for recovery, are among the many hidden facts which are important to a clear understanding of early history in the Archdiocese of Baltimore. The suit known legally as *Farley vs. Archer* was instituted by the heirs-at-law of Daniel Brent, deceased, and Enoch F. Fenwick, deceased, to recover possession of Cathedral Square, number 698, conveyed by Daniel Carroll of Duddington, to John Carroll, Archbishop of

Baltimore. Daniel Carroll, according to a memorandum in his real estate book still existing in his family, took this action in deference to the wishes of his father, Charles Carroll of Carrollsburgh, who had made verbal promise of this land to his kinsman, for the purpose for having erected thereon the Cathedral church of the diocese already in contemplation. Charles Carroll died in 1778 and it was more than a quarter of a century later that his heir fulfilled his wishes. But when Daniel Carroll of Duddington made over the property there was no longer a question of its being the site of the Cathedral, for, several years before, that had been established in Baltimore; but he states specifically in his entry, which is in his own writing and of the same date as the title deed to Bishop Carroll, that he expected soon to see a Catholic church erected thereon. When the will of Archbishop Carroll was read it was found that he had left all property vested in him for church and charitable purposes to Daniel Brent, his nephew, and Enoch Fenwick, as residuary legatees, to hold in trust for the purposes designated. The suit was to establish whether Cathedral Square was personal or Church property, and the heirs of Carroll joined issue with their kinspeople, Brents, Fenwicks and Youngs. Possession was asked because in 1895, nearly a century after the gift was offered, Cathedral Square was still a vacant plot. It was discovered soon after the heirs-at-law had begun proceedings, that Cardinal Gibbons possesses, in the archives of Baltimore, a subscription list for the building of a Catholic church in the city of Washington for the benefit of those Catholics living on or near the Eastern Branch and this list was led by the name of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, who gave city block No. 698, known as Cathedral Square. The suit was then withdrawn by the consent of all the plaintiffs before being called into court. Ten years later the church of St. Vincent de Paul was erected on the historic spot. This church, one of the youngest in the parishes of Washington City proper, occupies the northwest corner of the land where Charles Carroll of Carrollsburgh hoped to see the spires of an episcopal church gleaming against the river.

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The year just passed, 1916, was fruitful in centenaries, and none more interesting than that of the State of Indiana, celebrated with appropriate pomp in many different cities which flourish near the Wabash. Some valuable historical data have been uncovered in various local celebrations, as, for instance, that held in Vincennes in July. Merrill Moores, member of the present Congress from the Seventh District, was the principal speaker, and he said among other exceedingly interesting things:

"In becoming modesty, let us forget what our State has accomplished in a brief century of life, and laying aside all thought of what Indiana is today in the great sisterhood of states, let us reverently approach the cradle of her infancy, that we may do fitting honor to the pioneers to whose labors and sufferings, our three million citizens are indebted, for what Indiana is today. Civilized Indiana was not conquered from the wilderness without bloodshed, in addition to the toil and privation. The first European settlement within its borders was effected by men of Norman blood, at Vincennes early in the

eighteenth century. Nearly two centuries ago and eighty years before the Constitutional Convention met at Corydon, as we are told, the Commandante at Vincennes (a nephew of Joliet, who with Father Marquette had explored the Mississippi in 1673) was in company with his general, D'Artagnette and his faithful chaplain Senat, a missionary priest at Vincennes, burned at the stake by the Chickasaws who had raided the post."

Through the courtesy of Rev. James B. Bray, of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Arcade, N. Y., we had the privilege of seeing an original copy of Shea's fac-simile reprint of the *Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, Esq. President of the United States*, first published by J. P. Coghlan, London, 1790, together with the first President's celebrated answer. The Encyclopedia Press published the fac-similes a few years ago. It is a source of American Catholic history which should be put into the hands of every boy and girl in our schools.

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One of the early benefactors of the See of Bardstown has failed to receive recognition in any of the valuable and entertaining sketches which have appeared since the celebration of the Diocesan Centenary. This is Benjamin Stoddert, of Georgetown, D. C., first Secretary of the Navy, who in 1802 conveyed 500 acres of land, in what is now the central portion of Bardstown, to Bishop Carroll for the use of the Sulpician Fathers of Baltimore. This gift was Stoddert's response to the appeal of his friend, Bishop Carroll, in behalf of the isolated Catholics of Kentucky. On a portion of Stoddert's tract was erected that monument of the zeal and energy of the early missionaries—the log seminary, reared by the hands of the first ecclesiastical students with Father Guy Ignatius Chabart, future Coadjutor of the saintly Flaget, as their director. On this land also was built St. Rose's, the first brick church in Kentucky, and eventually the Cathedral and its subsidiary edifices built on the site of Stoddert's gift.

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Henry A. Watterson, the veteran journalist, out of the ripe experience of sixty years, has recently written that this country owes a heavier debt to the Irish and the Scots than to the Puritan and the Cavalier combined. Benjamin Stoddert was of Scottish ancestry and he was the second generation of his family to be born in Maryland. He was not a Catholic, but he possessed broad views and noble instincts. He was of Charles County and his friends and associates from childhood had been members of the Catholic faith. The land which he devoted to the worthy purpose of assisting the struggling Church in Kentucky was part of a tract which he had received for gallant services in the revolutionary war, with Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment of Pennsylvania. He was so severely wounded at Brandywine, that thereafter he was compelled to serve his country with the pen instead of the sword. For five years he acted as secretary of the war board, and, after the peace of Ghent, he continued in an advisory capacity with the civilians attached to the military headquarters. Stoddert was a merchant prince, junior partner in the great firm of Christopher Lowndes of Maryland. The ships of this firm numbered

more than a hundred and entered every port in the commercial world. The vast warehouses stretched for hundreds of feet along the river front of Georgetown and there were branch offices in London, the Barbadoes, and Jamaica. John Adams had been president of the war board when Stoddert was secretary, and, when in 1798 it had been determined to divorce the land from the sea defenses, the shipping merchant of Georgetown was considered the ideal man to rebuild the Navy. During his administration were either built in entirely or completed, the old wooden frigates of the second or "heroic age" of the American Navy, the *Constitution*, the *Constellation*, the *Congress*, the *United States* and the *Chesapeake*. He had a keen eye to pick a hero, for among his personal appointments as cadets to Annapolis were the elder Perry, Decatur, Hull and Bainbridge. Stoddert died in 1813, in straitened circumstances, one of the many victims of the insolvency of Robert Morris, his friend and associate in many commercial enterprises. He lived and died in the established Church of England, but many of his latter-day descendants have embraced the faith to which he had given so generously. Among these was that *grande dame*, familiar to old residents of Georgetown, Miss Elizabeth Ewell, daughter of Elizabeth Stoddert, who had married Dr. Richard Ewell of Virginia. Miss Ewell was an accomplished musician and, after her conversion in middle life, she gave her services as a work of love to Trinity Church as organist and director of the choir. Fragile health prevented her entering the Visitation Convent, but she spent much time with the nuns and conducted music classes for them. She was the sister of the gallant defender of Richmond, Gen. Richard Stoddert Ewell. Sister Marie Edith, of the Congregation de Notre Dame, Montreal, is the great-great-granddaughter of the first Secretary of the Navy. and her sister, Miss Lyzinka Turner, both daughters of the late Thomas Smith Turner of St. Louis and his wife, who was Harriet Stoddert Brown of Nashville, Tenn., has lived for more than twenty years at Funchal, Madeira Islands, a life of generous self-sacrifice, devoted to the interests of the poor Portuguese embroideresses.

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During the juncture of time in which Benjamin Stoddert's handsome Georgian mansion on Prospect Hill, Georgetown, was the gathering place of Washington's political and social celebrities, a frequent visitor was that giant figure in the annals of Catholicism in the Mississippi Valley, Judge Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas, a refugee from the French Revolution, who had settled near Pittsburgh and in 1803 represented his district in the National Congress.

Judge Lucas came of a proud Norman line with extensive estates at Port Audemur, and he held the hereditary office of *procureur du roi*. He had received his legal training at the University of Caen, and Jefferson found him a wise and prudent councillor in many diplomatic rises. He fulfilled with distinguished success several secret diplomatic missions for the third president, among them that connected with the Louisiana Purchase. At the request of Jefferson, Judge Lucas travelled incognito to St. Louis, New Madrid, and New Orleans, in order to discover the sentiments of the people regarding the proposed annexation. Eventually Lucas removed to St. Louis with his family. His descendants

are among the strong Catholic forces that have contributed to the greatness of that city and that have made its history stand apart from the Middle West in the matter of culture and advancement. Judge Lucas made a home in the wilderness, half-way between the small town of St. Louis and the thriving village of St. Ferdinand and he called it, for the sake of the old days, Normandy. This is now a flourishing suburb of St. Louis, and on plots given by the Lucas family stand a splendid establishment of the Good Shepherd, a parish church and school and several convents. The daughter of this sturdy pioneer, Ann Lucas, married Capt. Theodore Hunt, U. S. Navy, a Virginian of illustrious ancestry, kindred of the Lords Fairfax, and a convert to the Faith. Madam Ann Lucas Hunt is one of the revered names in American Catholic annals. She gave what was a large fortune in her day, \$20,000 in gold, to the Roman College of the Propaganda Fide to be used exclusively for the training of priests to labor west of the Mississippi, and her name and the extent of her gift are set down in Rome on the tablet which records the benefactors of the polyglot college. To her benefaction must be placed in part the inestimable value accruing to the Church from the French and Belgian missionaries who, for fifty years, came in a constant procession to carry the gospel to the Rocky Mountains and the wilds of the South and Southwest. Madam Hunt's daughter, Julia, married an intrepid warrior of the old army, Maj. Henry Smith Turner, also a Virginian of distinguished lineage, kindred of the Lees, Balls and Washingtons, and a convert. They had ten sons, all of whom left families proportionately large and loyally Catholic. One of these sons, Thomas Smith Turner, great-grandson of Judge Lucas, married Harriet Stoddert Brown, great-granddaughter of Benjamin Stoddert, and brought into the faith this branch of descendants of Bardstown's earliest and most generous benefactor.

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## GENERAL CONTENTS

---

- Abbey, Sacred Heart, 138.  
 Acadia, 52.  
*Acta et Dicta*, 390, 432.  
*Acta Sanctorum*, 398.  
 Adams, John, 55; convert relatives of, 69.  
 Address, to Roman Catholics, by Washington, 491.  
 Albany, Diocese of, 140, 141.  
 Alcade, O. P., Bishop, 134.  
 Alemany, Rt. Rev. Joseph Sadoc, O.P., chosen Bishop of Monterey, 293; first Archbishop of San Francisco, 293; transferred to San Francisco, 294; consecration, 428.  
 Alerding, Rt. Rev. Herman Joseph, fourth Bishop of Fort Wayne, 290.  
 Alexander VI, 150; Bull of, 151, 236.  
 Alexandria, Diocese of, 123, 135.  
 Alleghanies, Missions of, 110.  
 Allen, Rt. Rev. Edward P., 131.  
*Almanac, Metropolitan Catholic*, 182-3.  
 Almanacs, Catholic, 183.  
 Alvarado, 6.  
 Altamirano, Rt. Rev., Juan de las Cabezas, 400-414, 442-459.  
 Amat, Rt. Rev. Thaddeau, third Bishop of Monterey, 294.  
 America, Catholic University of, National Catholic Library at, 109.  
 America, episcopal affairs in, 152; first Christian Martyr of, 18; first gold mined in, 152; missionaries for, 184; progress of Spanish Church in, 155; Spanish colonies of, 151.  
 American, Seminary in Germany, 185; American Capitoline Hill and its early Catholic proprietors, 269-282; Catholics, and history, 390; Catholicity, 306.  
 American Baptist Historical Society, 389.  
 American Catholic Historical Society, 389.  
*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 427.  
 American Church History Seminary, Library of, 365-6.  
 American Democracy, principles of, 488.  
 American Government, appeals of French colonists to, 196; intervention in Mexico, 468.  
 American Hierarchy, 307-315, 427-433.  
 American Historical Association, 114, 389.  
 American Historical Institute at Rome, 399, 479.  
*American Historical Review*, 442.  
 American Indians North of Mexico, Handbook of, 119.  
 American items from an old Austrian Catholic periodical, 184-188.  
 American, a Frank Word about South, History, 433-436.  
 American Toryism, authors and articles on, 349-350.  
*Americana, Bibliographia Catholica*, 117.  
 Amherst, 438.  
 Ancestry, Episcopal, of American Catholic Hierarchy, 307-315, 427-433.  
 Annapolis, Md., 269.  
 Anti-Catholic Laws in Mexico, 178.  
 Antilles, Apostolic Delegate for, 27, 30.  
 Antonelli, Cardinal, and first Americans at Propaganda, 108.  
 Appommatox, 397.  
 Arbre Croche, Michigan, 188.  
 Archives, Propaganda, 19, 22, 23, 24, 39, 45, 77, 108, 109, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203, 204, 227, 230, 317-320; Archdiocesan, Westminster (London), documents for American Catholic History, 231; Baltimore, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32-38, 40-42, 44, 235; Catholic, (of America (Notre Dame University), 26, 201; Dublin Diocesan, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33-35, 38-42, 44; Diocesan, 392-394; Dominican Master General, 20, 24, 31, 42, 43; National Catholic, necessity of, 234-235, 348; of the Sisters of Charity, 110; Quebec, 235; Tallaght, 44; Urban College, 109; Vatican, 234, 235, 478.  
 Archivo Nacional of Madrid, 238  
 Arequipa, 414.  
 Argenti, John Joseph, letter of Troy to 41, 44.  
 Argentina, 259; education in; Universities of, 262; racial types, 266.  
*Ark and the Dove*, The, 271.  
 Arkansas, Catholicity in, 132; diocese of, 133.  
 Asiatics, in America, 382.  
 Association, National Catholic Historical, 398-399.  
 Asuncion de Baracoa, Diocese of, 154.  
 Asylum, St. Joseph's, Richmond, 416.  
 Attitude of Spain during the American Revolution, the, 47-65.  
 Audin, 416.  
 Australian Hierarchy, Downside connection with, 313.

- Auxiliary Sciences, Philology, 119-122; Chronology, 240-44; Paleography, 367-73.**
- Bacon, Rt. Rev. David W., first Bishop of Portland, 299.**
- Badin, Father, jealousy of, 228; first Priest ordained in the United States, 284.**
- Bahamas, Apostolic Delegate for, 27, 30.**
- Bailey, Archbishop, 429.**
- Bainua, Diocese of, 153.**
- Balboa, Nuñez de, 158; Silvestre, 409.**
- Balleis, O.S.B., Rev., 187.**
- Baltimore, 432.**
- Baptist Historical Society, American, 389; New England, 389.**
- Bardtown, 415, 491.**
- Barry, Rt. Rev. John, 421; David, 433.**
- Bayamo, 408-409.**
- Bazin, 428.**
- Benedictine pioneers in Australia, spiritual descent of American Catholic Church from, 307, 312, 314, 315.**
- Benevente, Fray Toribio de, 485-86.**
- Bibliography, American Catholic, 119, 122.**
- "Billy Wilson's Zouaves," 189.**
- Birkett, James, 481.**
- Birt, Dom Norbert, O.S.B., 312.**
- Blakely, Rev. Paul, S.J., 349.**
- Blanc, Most Rev. Anthony, 129, 428.**
- Blanchet, Most Rev. F. N., 428.**
- Blenk, Most Rev. James H., S.M., 130.**
- Blok, 479.**
- Botoga, the Athens of South America, 261; libraries in, 261; University of, 263; press of, 265.**
- Bohemia College, 231; Bohemia Manor, Md., 231.**
- Boil, Fr., O.F.M., 236; problem of the two Fathers Buil; Englehardt, Fita and Pastor on, 350.**
- Bollandists, 398.**
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene, 355, 356.**
- Bordeaux, Felix Dougherty at, 108, 188.**
- Borgess, Rt. Rev. Casper Henry, second Bishop of Detroit, 286.**
- Boston, Province of; diocese of; Suffragans of, 296-301.**
- Bourgin, 479.**
- Bourne, Cardinal, 314.**
- Boyle (Buil), 236.**
- Bradley, Rt. Rev. Denis M., first Bishop of Manchester, 301.**
- Brady, Rt. Rev. John, Auxiliary of Boston, titular Bishop of Alabanda, 297; Brady's photographs of the Civil War, 397.**
- Bramston, Bishop James Yorke, 312.**
- Brann, Monsignor, 304.**
- Brassac, Father, Vicar-General of American Bishops for European missionaries for America, 186.**
- Bray, Rev. James B., 491.**
- Brazil, Republic of; lack of higher education; no University in, 263.**
- Brennan, Rt. Rev. Thomas F., of Dallas, 137, 138.**
- Brent, Robert, first Mayor of Washington, 280.**
- Bressani, Father, 109.**
- Breteche, Baron de la, and the Scioto Company, 196.**
- Briefs, Register of, 479-481.**
- Briggs, Bishop John, Vicar Apostolic, 314.**
- Brignole Sale, College of, 184.**
- Brondel, Bishop, 429.**
- Brooke, Clement, 278.**
- Brooklyn, Diocese of, 142.**
- Brossart, Rt. Rev. Ferdinand, on Father Young, 237; Bishop of Covington, 289.**
- Brom, Gisbert, 478.**
- Brown, Rt. Rev. Dr. T. J., 314; John, 422; Henry J., 492.**
- Brown University, religious freedom in, 112.**
- Brownson on Native Americanism, 348; on government in Mexico, 361.**
- Brownsville, Vicariate of, 136.**
- Brucker, Rev. Aloysius, S.J., on Catholics in Colorado (1545), 115.**
- Bruté, Papers, 197, 203.**
- Bruté, Rt. Rev. Samuel Gabriel, first Bishop of Vincennes, 287.**
- Buchanan, James, Convert relatives of, 71.**
- Buenos Aires, press of, 265.**
- Buffalo, Diocese of, 141, 184, 187.**
- Buil, Bernard, first Vicar Apostolic of New World, 151, 152, 235, 236.**
- Bull, *Illius fulciti*, 152.**
- Bulletin, Catholic University*, 49; parish, 399.**
- Burke, Rev. Thomas, C.M., 183.**
- Burke, Bishop, 429.**
- Burke, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 141.**
- Burlington, Diocese of, 298.**
- Busch, Bishop, 183.**
- Byrne, Father William, 189.**
- Byrne, Rt. Rev. Andrew, 133.**
- Byrne, Rt. Rev. Thomas Sebastian, fifth Bishop of Nashville, 288.**
- Cabezas, Rt. Rev. Juan de las, 400-414, 442-459.**
- Cabrillo, 291.**
- Calderon, 267.**
- Calverts, the, 278; Charles, third Baron of Baltimore, 270.**
- California, 147; Diocese of, suffragan of Archbishop of Mexico, 292; Jesuits in, 291; Lower, discovery of, 291; Mis-**

- sions of, story of, 291; Dominicans in, 291; Franciscans in, 484-485.
- Campbell, Father T., S.J., 304, 358.
- Campo Santo dei Tedeschi, 479.
- Canada, 52, 57, 64; ecclesiastical control in, 463-465.
- Canaries, 55.
- Canevin, Rt. Rev. J. F. R., 377-385.
- Capitol Hill, first proprietors of, 270.
- Caracas, University of, 435.
- Carey, Father Luke, O.F.M., on Bishop Egan, 231.
- Carmelite Nuns of Port Tobacco, 238-239.
- Carnegie Institute, Washington, 114; *Guides*, 393, 478.
- Caroline, Fort, 403.
- Carroll, Ann Rozier, 279.
- Carroll, Archbishop John, 280, 490; names suggested to, 227; Didier and, 202-203; letters to Archbishop Troy, 310-311; letter of Father Badin to, 284; Concanen's letters to, 23-24, 30; Discourse on General Washington, 109; and the Gallipolis scheme, 204; genealogical chart of Carroll family, 279, 282; letters of, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 39, 108, 128; Carroll, Daniel, 270; the Commissioner, Daniel of Duddington, 278, 279, 281, 489; Daniel of Rock Creek, 280; Daniel of Upper Marlboro, 280; consecration of Archbishop, 427; of Carrollsburgh, Charles, 279; of Carrollton, Charles, 278, 421; Archbishop Plessis' letter to, 40; Plowden's letters to, 26, 203; Plunkett's letter to, 42; letters from Propaganda, to, 19-46, 22, 27-28, 77, 82, 147, 179; consecration of, contemporary account of, 310; and Catholic population of U. S., 380-81.
- Carrell, Rt. Rev. George Aloysius, S.J., first Bishop of Covington, 289.
- Carta dell'America del Nord, 182.
- Cartas y otros documentos de Hernan Cortes, 232.
- Casa de Contractacion, 152.
- Casa Lonja, at Seville, 354.
- Casanova, Most Rev. Mariano, 264.
- Casas, B. de las, 481-482.
- Castanada, 5-17 *passim*.
- Catholic Church, in the West Indies, 358-59; in the United States, loss and gain problem of, 377-386.
- Catholic Directory*, 383.
- Catholic, education, in Mexico, 181; immigrants, 377; population, 378-385.
- Catholic Hierarchy, in America, 307-315; 427-433.
- Catholic Historical Societies, 386-400.
- Catholic Historical Magazine*, 390.
- Catholic Encyclopedia*, 440.
- Catholicity in Ohio, 283; in Philadelphia, 230, 380; in Maryland, 269, 380; Centenary of, in Kentucky, 236-37; in Virginia, 415-426.
- Cauchie, 232, 479.
- Celtic, Republic, 204.
- Central America, 481.
- Cerne Abbey Manor, 279; Cernesabby Manor, location of, 270, 275.
- Chabrat, Rt. Rev. Guy Ignatius, 285, 495.
- Challoner, Bishop, 310; letters of, 316.
- Champlain, 195.
- Chance, Rt. Rev. John J., 132.
- Chapelle, Most Rev. Placide Louis, 130, 432.
- Charles V, 481.
- Charleston, Bishop England of, 415.
- Chartrand, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 287.
- Charles III, 49, 50; of Spain, 172.
- Chatard, Rt. Rev. Francis Silas, 287.
- Chester, Peter, Governor of the Floridas, 57.
- Cheverus, Cardinal-Archbishop of Bordeaux, former Bishop of Boston, 21, 25, 27, 29, 40, 77, 223, 229, 230, 296, 300.
- Chiapas, 175.
- Chicago, 183, 187.
- Chile, intellectual and material progress of, 259, 264.
- Chillum Castle, Kent, 277, 278.
- Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie, Mission to, 285.
- Christian Brothers, Schools of, 179.
- Christie, 430, 431.
- Church History of America, neglect of documents for, 233-34.
- Church in Spain, 148; in Western Canada, 235; in South America, 433-436; in Mexico, 168-182.
- Cincinnati, Province of, 283-291; Cathedral of, 183; Archbishop Purcell of, 185; Society of the, 488-489.
- Clancey, 428.
- Clark, George Rogers, 63.
- Clarke, Richard H., 302.
- Clement XIV, and the suppression of the Society of Jesus, 316.
- Cleveland, Grover, convert relatives of, 72.
- Claremont, N. H., first parish in, 300.
- Coleccion de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de America y Filipas, 111.
- Colin, Father, 355.
- College, Catholic College of Pueblo (S.J.), 179; Chihuahua (S.J.), 171; del Rosario, 261; El Parral (S.J.), 171; Espiritu Santo (S.J.), 171; Franciscan, Ilatelolas, 170; Guadalajara, 180; Guadalajara, testimony about, 175; Guadalupe (O.F.M.), 171; Gu-

- anajuato (S.J.), 171; College, Guana-  
 juato, 180; Guatemala (S.J.), 171; of  
 St. Teresa, Winona, Minn., scholar-  
 ships for study of Catholic Church in  
 U. S., 364-365; San Fernando (O.F.  
 M.), 171; San Ildefonso (S.J.), 171;  
 San Ildefonso, Rector of, 175; Col-  
 lege, suppression of, 176; San Javier  
 of Valladolid (S.J.), 171; San Juan  
 Nepomucene of Saltillo (S.J.), 179;  
 La Habana (S.J.), 171; San Luis  
 (O.P.), 171; San Luis Potosi, 171, 180;  
 Santo Tomas (S.J.), 171; Santa Cruz  
 (O.F.M.), 171; Merida (S.J.), 171;  
 Mexico City, 180; Monterey, 180;  
 Queretaro (S.J.), 171; Queretaro,  
 testimony of Congress, 175; Regina  
 Coeli (O.P.), 171; San Pablo (Au-  
 gustinian), 171; San Pedro and San  
 Pablo (S.J.), 171; Vera Cruz (S.J.),  
 171; Zacatecas (S.J.), 171.  
 College, Irish *Portfolio*, 479.  
 Colombia, 259; educational facilities in,  
 261.  
 Colonists (Anglo-Saxon), cruelties of,  
 158.  
 Colonization, history of Spanish, 148.  
 Colton, Rt. Rev. Charles Henry, 142.  
 Columbia, District of, history of land  
 comprising, 281.  
 Columbus, 3, 147, 151, 152, 156, 267;  
 Cuba sighted by, 154; and Diego de  
 Deza, 406.  
 Columbus, Diocese of, 290.  
 Columbus, Knights of, Commission  
 established by, 248.  
 Colonists, English Catholic, 146.  
 Comanche Indians, 4.  
 Commission on Religious Prejudice,  
 the, 348.  
 Comonfort, General, 174.  
 Compassion, Sisterhood of, 485.  
 Cona, settlements of, 10, 12.  
 Conaty, Rt. Rev. Thomas James, Rector  
 of Catholic University, sixth Bishop  
 of Monterey and Los Angeles, 294.  
 Concanen, appearance of, character of,  
 45; relations between Carroll and, 21;  
 efforts to forward documents to, 38;  
 first hand information to, 28; friend-  
 ship between, 20; misunderstanding  
 between, 38; plans for American  
 Church, 20; letters to Carroll, 23-24,  
 29-30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 35-36, 37; urges  
 appointment of Connolly, 23; his  
 authority over Dominicans in New  
 World, 31; efforts for New York  
 Mission, 35; election to See of New  
 York, 19-46, 77; and Kohlmann,  
 indignation at, 37; misinformed about,  
 38; and Maréchal, 41, 42, 227; reasons  
 for selection of, 22; and Troy, 26, 33,  
 34, 35, 44; will of, 44, 428.  
 Conception, Immaculate, river of (Mis-  
 sissippi), 482.  
 Conception de la Vega, See of, 154.  
 Congregation de Propaganda Fide, 393.  
 Congregation of the Mission, 134, 183.  
 Congress, American prohibition of slave  
 trade by, 159.  
 Congress, Library of, 109, 269.  
 Connolly, Bishop, 25, 139, 140.  
 Conquistadores, 148, 160, 259, 400-414,  
 433-436.  
 Conroy, Rt. Rev. John J., 141.  
 Conwell, Bishop Henry, 227, 428.  
 Copley, Sir Lionel, 275.  
 Copley, Thomas and Andrew White,  
 Jesuit missionaries, 271.  
 Cordova, Hernandez, 401.  
 Corrigan, Archbishop, 140, 143, 302,  
 204; *Register of the clergy*, 193, 194. *q*  
 Corrigan, Rt. Rev. Owen B., Auxiliary  
 Bishop of Baltimore, 301.  
 Corrigan, Rt. Rev. Owen B., 127-146,  
 283-302, 485-486.  
 Coronado, Francisco Vasquez, 5-18  
*passim*.  
 Corpus Christi, 129, 134, 136-137.  
 Cortes, 158, 291, 481.  
 Cosgrove, 429.  
 Coskery, Very Rev. Henry B., 299.  
 Cotter, 429.  
 Covington, Diocese of, 289.  
 Coyle, John C., 117.  
 Cretin, 428.  
 Cuadra, Fray Luis de la, 405.  
 Cuba, 154, 155, 400-414, 442-459, 483.  
 Cuevas, Rev. Mariano, S.J., 232.  
 Culemana, J. B., 157-67.  
 Cunningham, 430.  
 Cusack, Rt. Rev. Thomas F., 141.  
 Cuzco, Bishop of, 163, 166; Cathedral of,  
 165; taken by Spaniards, 163.  
 Cyril de Barcelona, O.M.Cap., 127-28.  
 "Cristo Redentor" covenant of peace, 267.  
 Dallas, Diocese of, 128, 134, 137.  
 David, Bishop of Bardstown, 77, 227,  
 228, 229-230, 284.  
 Davila, Gil Gonzales, 235.  
 De Almagro, Diego, 160.  
 Deane, Silas, 54, 55.  
 De Arancivia, Rt. Rev. Joseph Ignatius,  
 134.  
 De Barth, 227.  
 De Castaniza, Marquis, on Catholic  
 education in Mexico, 175.  
 Decorme, Gerardo, S.J., 168-81.  
 De Dios, Nombre, 411.  
 De Fonseca, Juan, 152.  
 De Gante, Brother Pedro, established  
 first school in Mexico, 170.  
 De Goesbriand, 429.  
 De Hoeffren, Lady, 359-361.  
 Delaney, Rt. Rev. John Bernard, 301.

- De la Torre, Juan, 158.  
 Delaware, 29.  
 De Leon, Ponce, 400.  
 De Lisle, map of, 4.  
 De Lorenzano, Most Rev. Francisco Antonio, 235.  
 Deluol, Very Rev. Dr., S.S., and German Catholics, 185.  
 De Luque, Fernando, 160, 161.  
 De Maistre, Joseph, 165.  
 Demarcation, Line of (Alexander VI), 151.  
 Demers, 428.  
 De Mendizabal, Dr. Luis, letters from, 175.  
 De Neckere, 428.  
 Denmark, immigrants from, 382.  
*Denver Catholic Register*, 115.  
 De Porras, Bishop, 134.  
 Deppen, Father Louis, on centennial of Bardstown's Cathedral, 112, 352-53.  
 De Revillagigedo, Conde, 173.  
 De Rogers, John, 238.  
 De Roo, Father, 236.  
 De San Buenaventura Tejada, Bishop Francis, 133.  
 De Smedt, Charles, S.J., 116.  
 D'Esprémesnil, M. du Val, and the Scioto Company, 195, 196, 197.  
 D'Estaing, 195.  
 De Propaganda Fide, Congregation of, 393.  
 Detroit, diocese of, 285-286; English denomination of; jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll in; Quebec priests recalled from, 286; missions near; missionary driven away from, 283.  
 De Torres, Archbishop Cristobal, 261.  
 De Trespacios, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 128.  
 De Valverde, Bishop Vincente, O.P., 163.  
 De Vargas, Fray Juan, 162.  
 De Valasco, Bishop Rivas, 134, 175.  
 Devlin, Rev. Francis, 418-419.  
 De Warville, 198.  
 Diary of Father Marie Joseph Dunand, 236.  
 Diaz, Porfirio, 176, 180; Anti-Catholic laws of reform, 178.  
 Didier, appointment of, 196, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204.  
 Dickson, Lieutenant Colonel, 58, 61, 63.  
*Die Amerika*, 117.  
*Die Amerika*, Editor of, on Gallitzin, 110.  
 Diego, Francisco Garcia, O.F.M., first Bishop of California, 292, 394.  
 Diego de Deza, and Columbus, 406.  
 Digges, Sir Dudley, 277; Ignatius, of Melwood; Mary, Daughter of, 279-280; Father Thomas, first Mass at Washington, 278, 280; Mother Mary Appolonia, 68; William, defender of St. Mary's City against Cooe; guardian of Benedict Leonard, 277-278.  
 Diocesan Historical Societies, 386-400.  
 Diocesan, Organization in the Spanish colonies, 146-156, 235.  
*Directory, Catholic*, 136, 137, 143; complete set of, 111; 383.  
*Directory, The Laity's*, 118.  
 Documents, 24, 31, 39, 195-204; the Jesuit Missions in 1773, 316-320; on the election of the first Bishop of New York, 73-82.  
 Dominic de Mendoza, 407.  
 Dominican Order; Constitutions; books for students, 232; Seventh Centenary of the, 116; historians, 232; Missionaries, 400-414 *passim*.  
*Dove*, the *Ark* and the, 271.  
 Doniol, 50.  
 Douai, Franciscan College of, St. Bonaventure's, 307; St. Gregory's, English Benedictines of, 307.  
 Dougherty, Rt. Rev. Dennis J., 142.  
 Dougherty, Felix, first American student sent to Rome, 108.  
 Douglass, Stephen A., 3.  
 Downside Abbey, and the American Hierarchy, 307, 315.  
 Dubourg, Bishop, 128, 129, 131, 227, 428, 431, 432.  
 Dubois, Rt. Rev. John, 140.  
 Du Boisanter, Bruté Papers on, 197, 198; and Didier, 198; appointed to See of Gallipolis, 197, 203.  
 Dubuis, Rt. Rev. C. M., 135, 429.  
 Duchesne, 483.  
 Duddington, 272; Daniel Carroll of, 270; Sir Francis, 273-274; Duddington Manor, 270; Duddington Pasture, 270.  
 Dufal, Rt. Rev. Peter, 135, 429.  
 Duffy, Capt. Peter, 189; Lieuts. Patrick and Thomas, 189.  
 Dufraine, Capt. Henry, 189.  
 Dunand, Father Marie Joseph, Diary of, 236.  
 Dunne, Rt. Rev. Edward Joseph, 138, 430.  
 Durango, 128; Bishop of, 175; California originally in diocese of, 291-292.  
 Durier, Rt. Rev. Anthony, 135, 429.  
 Durnford, Capt., 58, 62.  
 Dutch colonists, 380.  
 Dwenger, Rt. Rev. Joseph, second Bishop of Fort Wayne, 290.  
 Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries, 184; Spanish exploration in the Southwest, 355-356; days in Oregon, 486.  
*Ecclesiastica, Monumenta*, 399.  
 Eccleston, Archbishop, 417.  
 Ecuador, Bishop and priests of, 111.  
 Eden, Richard, 355.  
 Education, of Mexican Clergy, 175-176; obstacles to, in Mexico, 176; Catholic

- secondary, first attempt in United States, 231.  
 Educators, Catholic, 177.  
 Egan, Rt. Rev. Michael, 25, 26-27, 77, 431.  
 Elder, Most Rev. William Henry, 132, 284, 432.  
 El Paso, Diocese of, 137.  
 Emery, Rev. Father, S.S., 39, 40, 41.  
*Encyclopedia, Catholic*, 116, 137, 138, 183, 354; *Reading Lists of*, 115.  
 Enemies of Books, 109.  
 Engelhardt, Father Z., O.F.M., 291, 350; Prof. Francis, 438.  
 England and her colonies, 50.  
 England, New, 379; Historical Society of, 389.  
 England, Rt. Rev. John, 117, 415, 426, 428.  
 English Benedictine Congregation, 314, 427.  
 English colonies, missions in, 316.  
 English, at Jamestown, 156; privateers, 402, 407.  
 Episcopal succession in the United States, 127-145, 283-302, 485-486.  
 Espogasche, 411.  
 Esser, 479.  
 Europe, our ancestors in, 485.  
 Eusebius, ecclesiastical history of, 114.  
 Examination, into Loss and Gain Problem, 377-400.  
 Fairbanks, Msgr. Hiram Francis, 69.  
 Fairfax, Mrs. John Wheeler, 68.  
 Fall River, Diocese of, 301.  
 Farley, Cardinal, 140; *Reminiscences of Cardinal McCloskey*, 237, 304.  
 Farnese, 49.  
 Farrelly, Patrick and Stephen, 304.  
 Farrelly, Rt. Rev. John P., 289.  
 Feehan, Rt. Rev. Daniel Francis, bishop of Fall River, 301.  
 Feehan, Rt. Rev. Patrick A., third bishop of Nashville, Archbishop of Chicago, 288.  
 Feldkirchen, 189.  
 Fenwick, Bishop Benedict Joseph, 37, 183, 185, 296.  
 Fenwick, Rt. Rev. Edward, O.P., 283.  
 Ferdinand VI, 433.  
 Fesch, Cardinal, 40.  
 Fielding, Mary Imogen, Green, 67.  
 Filicchi, 33, 36, 40, 41; and Mrs. Seton's conversion, 40; Finotti, 109.  
 Fink, 429.  
 First episcopal visitation in the United States (1606), 442-459.  
 Fish, Carl Russell, 478.  
 Fitzgerald, Rt. Rev. Edward, 133.  
 Fitzmaurice, 430.  
 Fitzpatrick, Rt. Rev. John Bernard, third bishop of Boston, 297.  
 Flaget, Bishop, 21, 25, 27, 29, 36, 40, 77, 227, 228, 283, 284-5, 491.  
 Flick, Ella M., 236.  
 Florida, 51, 52, 55, 57, 63, 64, 129, 147, 155, 156, 380, 400-411, 442-459.  
 Floyd, Benjamin Rush, 417; George Rogers, 417; William Preston, 417.  
 Foley, Rt. Rev. John Samuel, third Bishop of Detroit, 286.  
 Fordham, 183.  
 Foreign-born population, in the U. S., 377-400.  
 Forest, Rt. Rev. John Anthony, 136.  
 Forge, Valley, 389.  
 Fort St. Anne, chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in, 298.  
 Fort St. Joseph, 285.  
 Fort Washington, 277.  
 Fort Wayne, Diocese of, 289.  
*Fortnightly Review*, as an historical source, 238.  
 France, 21, 28, 32, 39, 40, 51, 52, 55, 57, 149, 260, 382.  
 Frances, the, 41, 42.  
 Franciscans, 37, 38, 166, 169, 170.  
 Frank, word about South America, 433-436.  
 Franklin, 53, 55.  
 Fransoni, Cardinal, 293.  
 Frederick, Md., 189.  
 Fredericksburg, 423.  
 Freeman, Edward, 386.  
 French émigré colony in the United States (1789-1793), a, 195; in America, the, 195, 380; archives, 393; pirates, 407.  
 Foley, Rt. Rev. John Samuel, 286, 429.  
 Friars Preacher, 400-411.  
 Fritz, Padre, 435.  
 Gabriels, Rt. Rev. Henry, 144, 183.  
 Gachard, 479.  
 Gaddi and Concanen, 31, 78-82.  
 Gaertner, Father Maximilian, letters of, 186, 188.  
 Galberry, Rt. Rev. Thomas, O.S.A., 297-298.  
 Galindo, Rt. Rev. Philip Joseph, 133.  
 Gallagher, Rt. Rev. Nicholas A., 135.  
 Gallagher, Rt. Rev. Michael J., 291.  
 Gallipolis and Marietta, settlers of, 195.  
 Gallipolis colony, collapse of, 204.  
 Gallitzin, 227.  
 Gallitzin, Demetrius, biographies, mother of, 110.  
 Galveston, 128, 133, 136.  
 Galvez, 58, 59, 60-64.  
 Gams, 235.  
 Garcia, Rev. D. S., O.F.M., 482.  
 Gardar, prelates of, 152, 154.  
 Gardoqui, 50, 54.  
 Garretto, 486.



- Georgetown, 17, 183.  
 Georgetown College, 231; Felix Dougherty and, 109.  
 Georgia, 29.  
 Germans, in America, 380.  
 Germany, proposed American Seminary in, 185; immigration from, 382; archives, 393.  
 Gerrard, Thomas, 270, 271, 272.  
 Gibault, Father Pierre, 112, 461.  
 Gibbons, James Cardinal, 236.  
 Gibraltar, 52, 55, 64.  
 Gilmour, Rt. Rev. Richard, 288.  
 Giron, Gilbert, 408.  
 Glass, Rt. Rev. Joseph Sarsfield, C.M., 295-296.  
 Glennon, 431.  
 Goesbriand, Rt. Rev. Louis de, 298.  
 Goessman, 438.  
 Goldsmith, Peter H., 113.  
 Görresgesellschaft, 479.  
 Goupil, René, 141.  
 Grace, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 295, 430.  
 Grandpre, 61.  
 Grand Rapids, Diocese of, 290.  
 Grant, Ulusses S., convert relatives of, 72.  
 Grass Valley—Sacramento, Diocese of, 295.  
 Greenland, Diocese in, 152.  
 Gregorian University at Rome, 180.  
 Gregory XVI, 292; and the Church in America, 133, 134, 286, 287, 288, 292, 297.  
 Griffin, Martin I. J., 231, 232.  
 Grimaldi, 50.  
 Grimes, Rt. Rev. John, 145.  
 Gross, 429.  
 Grudgefield, Katherine, 270.  
 Guadalaajara, 133, 136, 171, 175, 179.  
 Guatemala, 169; church in, 412, 414.  
 Guertin, Rt. Rev. George Albert, 301.  
 Guides, to Vatican Archives, 478.  
 Guinea, 159.  
 Gunn, Rt. Rev. John Edward, S.M., 132.  
 Haillandière, Rt. Rev. Celestine de la, 287, 428.  
 Haldimand, Gen., 60.  
 Hanna, Most Rev. Edward J., 294.  
 Harahey, 17.  
 Haraszthy, Count, copy of letter from, 187; family of, 187.  
 Hariot, 355.  
 Harkins, Rt. Rev. Matthew, 300.  
 Harold, Rev. Father, 227, 228.  
 Hartford, Diocese of, 297; Bishop Tyler of, 183.  
 Hartley, Rt. Rev. James J., 290.  
 Harvard University, 261; Americana in, Widener Library of, 166, 361.  
 Haskell, Capt., 41.  
 Haskins, Prof. Charles, of Harvard, 479.  
 Hasque, Urban de, 114.  
 Havana, 54, 62, 63, 402, 442-459.  
 Hawkins, John, 159.  
 Hayes, Rt. Rev. Patrick J., 140.  
 Hayes, Father, O.F.M., 38.  
 Hayti, 153, 186.  
 Healy, Rt. Rev. James Augustine, 299.  
 Heimbucher, 116, 232.  
 Helps, 354.  
 Hendricken, Rt. Rev. Thomas Francis, 300.  
 Hennessy, 429.  
 Henni, Rt. Rev. J. M., 183, 186, 187, 188.  
 Herbermann, Charles G., 195, 196, 306, 347; Louise, 347; life of, 436-441.  
 Hernaez, Francis Xavier, S.J., 111, 236.  
 Heslin, Rt. Rev. Thomas, 132.  
 Heuser, Rev. Herman J., D.D., 236, 485.  
 Heyden, Rev. Thomas, 132.  
 Hibernia, Regiment, 56.  
 Hickey, Rt. Rev. Thomas Francis, 143-144.  
 Hierarchy, Rise of the American, 150, 154, 235; ancestry of, 307-315, 427-433.  
 Higgins, Rev. Doctor, 349.  
 Hill, David J., 355.  
 Hinojosa, 479.  
 Hispaniola, 405.  
*L'Histoire des missions Catholiques de l'Amerique du Nord jusqu'en 1763*, 238.  
*Historia, Boletín de la Real Academia de la*, 350.  
*Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Provincia del Paraguay*, 355.  
*Historia de las Indias*, 232.  
*Historiadores Primitivos*, 160.  
 Historians, Catholic, 166.  
 Historical Association, *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley*, papers and addresses on Catholic subjects, 350, 365; need for, 357; American Catholic, 347-348; at University College, London, England, 357; National Catholic, 398-400.  
*Historical Magazine, The Catholic*, 303.  
*Historical Magazine, United States Catholic*, 184.  
*Historical Records and Studies*, 184, 186, 194, 195, 306.  
*Historical Review, American*, 349, 355.  
*Historical Review, Catholic*, 115, 305.  
 Historical Seminary of Brown University, Papers from, 348.  
 Historical Society, American Catholic, 232.  
 Historical Society, American Irish, *Journal of the*, 117, 358.  
 Historical Society, Diocesan, 113, 186-400.  
 Historical Society, *Records of the American Catholic*, 236.  
 Historical Society, *Researches of the American Catholic*, 201.

- Historical Society, United States Catholic, 183, 195, 303, 304.  
 Historical Societies, concerning, 386-400.  
 History, American Catholic, 166, 109; Seminar of American Church, 109, 112, 115, 117, 166, 239; Spanish American, 49; History and Biography, *Pennsylvania Magazine of*, 364; Catholic in the future, 305; fourteen scholarships for, 364-365; *Journal of Negro*, 113, 365; *Guides to American*, 478-479; *Prolegomena* to, 482-483.  
*History, Magazine of Western*, 351.  
*History Teacher's Magazine*, 487.  
 Hoban, 430.  
 Hodge, F. W., 119.  
 Hogan, 429.  
 Holland, 54, 66; immigration from, 382; School of Research, 478.  
 Horstmann, Rt. Rev. Ignatius F., 289.  
 Howard, Francis, 68.  
 Howlett, Rev. William J., 304.  
 Hudleston, G. Roger, O.S.B., 315.  
 Hudson, 165.  
 Hughes, Archbishop, 139, 140, 183, 189, 415.  
 Hughes, Thomas, S.J., History of the Society of Jesus in North America, 26, 216.  
 Hurley, Rev. M., O.S.A., 227.  
 Hyaguata, 153.  
 Iberville, 131.  
 Icazbalceta, 172.  
 Illinois, 3, 63, 64, 167.  
 Immigrants, 185, 377-380.  
 Inama, Rev. Adalbert, Canon Regular, letters of, 186, 187.  
 Inca, Athahualpa, 163.  
 Independence, War of, 156; French noblemen in, 195.  
 Index of the baptisms, marriages and deaths of St. Michael's Church, Loretto, Pa., 350-351.  
 Indians, the Northern, cruelties on, 158; in South America, 435; conversion and civilization of, 163, 377-380; in Mexico, 481; Missioners, 152; girls, academy for, 170; Territory, 4, 132, 134, 138; Missions—Franciscans, 134; Kansas, 17; Kaws, 17; Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, 141; Oneidas, Onondagas, 145; Quans, 17.  
*Indian Sentinel, The*, 365.  
*Indiana, Catholic and Record, The*, 112.  
 Indies, Council of the, president of, 57, 413.  
 Institution, Carnegie, of Washington, 478.  
 Institutes, historical, in Rome, 479.  
 Ireland, Archbishop, 183, 302, 429, 430, 431.  
 Irish, immigrants, 299; Missions, burse for, 48; officers in Spanish Army, 54.  
 Irving, 47, 48, 49.  
 Isabella, 151.  
 Islands, Antillae and Lucayan, Apostolic delegate for, 27; Bahama, 139.  
 Isle La Motte, 289.  
 Italy, 23, 25, 28, 39, 40, 182, 188.  
 Jackson, Andrew, convert relatives of, 70.  
 Jamaica, 52.  
 Jameson, Dr. J. F., 49, 348.  
 Jamestown, 156, 165.  
 Janssens, Most Rev. Francis, 130, 132.  
 Jaramillo, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17.  
 Jean, Rt. Rev. Ignatius, O.S.B., 138.  
 Jefferson, Thomas, convert relatives of, 69.  
 Jenkins Heights, 280.  
 Jesuits, 132, 141, 169; College at Bohemia Manor, Md., and secondary Catholic Education, 231; Colleges, secular teachers in, 174; expulsion of, from South America, 262; from Mexico, 172; Jesuit Missions in 1773, 316-320; Missions in Louisiana, document for the history of, 351; *Ratio Studiorum*, 171; *Relations*, 305; and secondary education in Mexico, 171; suppression of, in California, 291.  
 Jeunger, 429.  
 Johnson, Andrew, convert relatives of, 71.  
 Jagues, 141, 285; cause of beatification introduced, 362.  
 Jolliet, Louis, 127.  
 Jonson, 48.  
 Journalism in United States, German Catholic, 238.  
 Juarez, 174.  
 Julius II, Bull of, *Illius fulciti*, 152.  
 Jurisdiction, episcopal and parochial, in United States, 146.  
 Kain, 425.  
 Kansas, 3-18 *passim*; list of books for history of, 481.  
*Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 184, 186, 188.  
 Keane, 431.  
 Kehr, 479.  
 Keiley, Judge, 420.  
 Kelly, Rt. Rev. Edward, 286; Patrick, 428.  
 Kenrick, Bishop Francis Patrick, 183, 428, 430.  
 Kentucky, Church in, 29, 30, 44, 45, 77, 237, 284.  
 Ketcham, Rev. William H., 122, 365.  
 Kiowas, 5.  
 Kip, 305.  
 Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, 230.  
 Kirsch, on History, 116.  
 Kittell, Rev. F., D.D., 350-351.  
 Knights of Columbus, investigations being made by, 349.

- Knownothingism in Rhode Island, 348;**  
**in Virginia, 416-426.**  
**Kohlman, Rev. Anthony J., Centurial**  
**Jubilee, 37, 118.**  
**Kolping, 110.**  
**Koudelka, Rt. Rev. Joseph M., 289.**  
**Kunze, Rev. Father, O.S.F., 187.**  
  
**Lactare medal, 441.**  
**Lafayette, 195.**  
**La Grange, 232.**  
**Lalaja, 411.**  
**Lancaster, 59.**  
**Langlois, 116.**  
**La Plata, 260.**  
**Larrabure y Unanue, 158.**  
**La Salle, 127, 131.**  
**Las Casas, Bartholomew de, 153, 232,**  
**353, 354.**  
**Las Vegas, N. M., 181.**  
**Latin America, 433-436.**  
**Laval, Madame de, 196; Rt. Rev. John**  
**M., 130.**  
**Lavialle, Rt. Rev. Peter Joseph, 285.**  
**Lee, Arthur, 54, 55.**  
**Lefevre, Rt. Rev. Peter Paul, 286.**  
**Leghorn, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 38, 41, 42.**  
**Leland, Waldo G., 114; on Catholic**  
**Historical Societies, 386-400.**  
**Lemmens, 430.**  
**L'Enfant, Maj. Pierre Charles, 278, 280,**  
**281; and the Rt. Rev. D. J. O'Connell,**  
**281.**  
**Lenihan, 430.**  
**Leo X, and Church in Cuba, 155.**  
**Leo XII, and Bishop Dubourg, 129.**  
**Leo XIII, 137, 144, 145, 287, 290, 300,**  
**301; and the Vatican Archives, 113,**  
**478-479.**  
**Leopoldine Society of Vienna, 306.**  
**Le Quien, 232.**  
**Leray, 429.**  
**Leroy, Most Rev. F. X., 129-130, 135.**  
**Lewis, Betty Washington, 67.**  
**Lewis family, the, 67; Fielding, 67;**  
**Lucy B., 67; of Marmion, Catholic**  
**branch, 67.**  
**Library, Diocesan Catholic, 392-400;**  
**proposed National Catholic, 109, 348.**  
**Life, of Richard Luke Concanen, O.P.,**  
**first Bishop of New York, 235; of**  
**Cardinal McCloskey, 237.**  
**Lima, 165.**  
**Linares, 128, 134.**  
**Lincoln, President and Mrs., convert**  
**relatives of, 71, 422.**  
**Lindsay, Canon, 351.**  
**Literature, Catholic History of, 118.**  
**Little Rock, Diocese of, 123, 132, 138,**  
**183.**  
**Lombardi, Rev. Thomas, O.P., 42, 43.**  
**Lootens, 429.**  
**Lopez, Diego, 8, 9, 13, 14.**  
  
**Lonas, 428.**  
**Loss and Gain Problem, 377-385.**  
**Lost Catholic cities of the Potomac**  
**Valley, 238-239.**  
**Loughlin, Rt. Rev. John, 142, 429.**  
**Louis XIV, 127.**  
**Louisiana, acting governor of, 58;**  
**Bishop of, 128; and the Floridas,**  
**Diocese of, boundaries of, 128; reli-**  
**gious history of, 127; Spaniards of,**  
**important part played by, 64, 427, 432.**  
**Louisville, 189; Diocese of, 284.**  
**Louvain, American College, 185.**  
**Lowe, Jane, Lady Baltimore, Catholic**  
**ancestry of, 275.**  
**Lowery, Transcripts, 450, 453.**  
**Loyalists, Maryland, Pennsylvania, 58.**  
**Lucayan Islands, Apostolic delegate for,**  
**27, 30.**  
**Ludden, Rt. Rev. Patrick A., 145.**  
**Ludwigs Missionsverein, 306.**  
**Luers, Rt. Rev. John Henry, 289.**  
**Lulworth Castle, 307.**  
**Lutz, Rev. Joseph Anthony, 185, 186.**  
**Lynch, Dr. Edmund, 189.**  
**Lynch, Rt. Rev. Joseph Patrick, 138.**  
**Lyons, Collection taken up in, for Con-**  
**canen, 39; Seminary at, Rector of, 37.**  
  
**McCarthy, Charles H., 65.**  
**McCloskey, Cardinal, 140, 141, 183, 302.**  
**McCloskey, Rt. Rev. William George,**  
**first Rector of American College,**  
**Rome; sixth Bishop of Louisville,**  
**285, 429.**  
**McDonnell, Rt. Rev. Charles E., 142.**  
**McFarland, Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick,**  
**297.**  
**McFaul, Rt. Rev. James Augustine, 145.**  
**McGavick, 430.**  
**McGill, Rt. Rev. John, 415-426.**  
**McHenry, Sir Daniel, 32.**  
**McKinley, William, convert relatives of,**  
**72.**  
**McLaughlin, Wm. F., 45.**  
**McMahon, Rt. Rev. Lawrence S., 298.**  
**McMullen, 429.**  
**McNeirny, Rt. Rev. Francis, 141.**  
**McQuaid, Rt. Rev. Bernard J., 143, 487.**  
**Macaulay, 49.**  
**MacDonald, Professor William, 112, 357.**  
**Macksey, Rev. Charles, S.J., 362.**  
**Madison, Dolly, 66; convert relatives of,**  
**69.**  
**Maes, Rt. Rev. Camillus Paul, third**  
**Bishop of Covington, 289, 429, 433.**  
**Magazine, Catholic, 111.**  
**Magri, Rev. Joseph, D.D., 415-426.**  
**Magua, 153, 154.**  
**Maine, Jesuit and Capuchin Mission-**  
**aries in, 299.**  
**Malartic, Viscount de, 196.**  
**Maldonado, Rodrigo, 10.**

- Maler, Rev. Mariano, C.M., 183, 184.**  
**Manchester, Diocese of, 299, 300.**  
**Mandonnet, 232.**  
**Manning, Cardinal, 313, 314.**  
**Manogue, Rt. Rev. Patrick, 295.**  
**Manor, Carne Abbey, 269.**  
**Manso, Canon Alonso, 154.**  
**Manucy, Rt. Rev. Dominic, 131, 137.**  
**Map, De Lisle's, 4.**  
**Maréchal, Archbishop, 130.**  
**Maréchal, Archbishop of Baltimore, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 230, 353; Cardinal Litta to, 227, 228-229; appointment to Philadelphia, 227-228, 229, 230.**  
**Margil, Ven. Anthony, 133, 135.**  
**Marnesia, at Asylum, 196.**  
**Marquette, 127, 131, 482.**  
**Marist Brothers, schools of, 179.**  
**Martin, Rt. Rev. Augustus M., 135, 429.**  
**Marty, 429.**  
**Maryland, 108, 266, 270, 274; pioneer Catholics of, 269; Provincial Records of, 269.**  
**Massachusetts, foundation of Church in, by Irish immigrants, 299; Legislature of, 238.**  
**Mattingly, Father John, S.J., 317-318.**  
**Matz, 430.**  
**Maubranche, De, 196.**  
**Mayflower, the, 165.**  
**Mazzuchelli, Father S., O.P., 187.**  
**Mechilimackinac, 60.**  
**Meehan, Thomas F., 304.**  
**Meerschaert, Rt. Rev. Theophile, 138.**  
**Melcher, 429.**  
**Membre, Father Zenobius, O.F.M., 127.**  
**Menendez, 403-404.**  
**Messmer, Most Rev. S. G., 182, 188; on Episcopal Succession, 427-433.**  
**Mexican wars—Civil, French Intervention, Mexican Independence, with United States, 173.**  
**Mexicans, characteristics of, 169.**  
**Mexico, 14, 15, 128, 134, 165, 170, 179; Catholic Church in, 168; Catholic Education in, 169-181; Seminary of, 175; University of, 174; civilization of, low level of, 180, 181; Dioceses of, 146; education of women in, 180; Gulf of, 52, 155; Religious ignorance in, 176; civilization of, 169; public instruction, three epochs in: I, from Conquest to 1767; II, from expulsion of Society of Jesus to fall of Empire, 1867; III, from 1867 to Revolution of Madero, 168-182; ruins of missions in, 292; Viceroy of, 57; immigration from, 382, 404, 481.**  
**Michaud, Rt. Rev. John S., 298.**  
**Michigan, Lake, 51; Father Jogues and Raynbaut in, 235.**  
**Melanges, d'Histoire offerts à Charles Moeller, 235.**  
**Miles, Rt. Rev. Richard Pius, O.P., 183, 185, 288, 428.**  
**Milner, Rt. Rev. John, 44; letters to Carroll, 30, 36.**  
**Milwaukee, 182, 187, 188; Bishop Henni of, 183; new Cathedral at, 188.**  
**Miollis, 41-42.**  
**Miscellany, 66-72, 182-194, 302-315.**  
**Missionaries, early French, Spanish, 377; in California, ecclesiastical government in hands of, 291, 292.**  
**Missions, Catholic Indian, organization of, publications of, 122, 185; of California, 291, 484.**  
**Mississippi, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 128, 182.**  
**Mobile, 58, 62-63, 130-131.**  
**Moeller, Most Rev. Henry, 284, 290.**  
**Moline, 167.**  
**Monod, 113.**  
**Monogue, 429.**  
**Moravian, Museum, at Winston-Salem, 396.**  
**Monroe doctrine, peaceful purpose of, 268.**  
**Monroe, James, convert relatives of, 70.**  
**Monterey, 179, Diocese of, 294.**  
**Monterey and Los Angeles, titular Bishop of Osino, 294.**  
**Montgomery, Rev. Charles Pius, O.P., 293-294, 430.**  
**Monumenta Ecclesiastica Americana, 399.**  
**Mora, Rt. Rev. Francis, 294, 429.**  
**Moreau, Raty, 115.**  
**Morelia, seminary of, 171, 175.**  
**Morgan, Edwin V., 166.**  
**Morris, Rt. Rev. Placid, O.S.B., 313.**  
**Morris, Rt. Rev. John B., 133.**  
**Mortier, 232.**  
**Mota Padilla, 3-19 *passim*.**  
**Motolinia, 481.**  
**Mothe, Sieur de la, 298.**  
**Movement, Knownothing, 420.**  
**Mt. St. Joseph on-the-Ohio, 110, 111.**  
**Mt. Vernon, 277.**  
**Mundelein, Most Rev. George William, 143.**  
**Munier, Jean, St. Louis Trader, 4.**  
**Muisca language, study of, 261.**  
**Murillo, 267.**  
**Museum, National Catholic, 348; Diocesan, 386-400; Moravian, 396.**  
**Nagot, Father, 228.**  
**Naples, 41, 42, 43.**  
**Narvaez, 155, 401.**  
**Nash, Father, S.J., Army Chaplain (1825-1895), 188-194.**  
**Nashville, Bishop Miles of, 183-185; Diocese of, 288.**  
**Natchez, 61, 131, 132; Diocese of, 128; Sioux attack on, 60.**  
**Natchitoches, 128, 135-136.**  
**Native Americanism, 348.**

- Navoo, New Jerusalem of the Mormons, 187.  
 Neale, 430-431; successor, difficulties of, 228.  
 Nebraska, 3-18 *passim*; Historical Society, 18.  
 Neckere, Rt. Rev. Leo de, 129.  
 Newfoundland, 25, 27, 30.  
 Negro, cruelties on, 158; influence of Catholic Church, 185; *Journal of N. History*, 322.  
 Neraz, Rt. Rev. John C., 136.  
 Nerinckx, Rev. Charles, New Orleans, 25, 27, 29.  
*Neue Welt Bott*, 304.  
 Newark, Diocese of, 143; Rt. Rev. Winand Wigger of, 184.  
 New England, 29, 165, 266, 379; Historical Societies, 389.  
 New Hampshire, intolerance in, 299.  
 New Ireland Plantation, 204.  
 New Jersey, 29.  
 New Mexico, 8, 9, 147, 173.  
 New Orleans, 54, 58, 60, 62, 127-136 *passim*, 195, 204; Diocese of, 128.  
 New Troy, 270.  
 New World, colonists in, furnished supplies, 65; Spanish conquest of, 160.  
 New York, 29, 57, 58, 165, 188; Archdiocese of, 138, 145, 183; Missions of, 186.  
 Nibthaska, 3.  
 Nicaragua, 64.  
 Nicolas de Leon, 172.  
 Nilan, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 298.  
 Niñas and of Vizcainas, college of, 170.  
 Nolan, Rev. Louis, O.P., 34.  
 Noll, Father, 348.  
*Nominations épiscopales aux premiers temps de l'épiscopat Américain*, 235.  
 Norfolk, Church in, 418.  
 North America, Church of, 26, 291.  
 North America, Dominicans of, 30.  
 Notes and Comment, 108, 118, 227-239, 347-366.  
 Notes on some convert relatives of the presidents, 66-72.  
*Notices, Secret, of Peru*, 434.  
*Noticias Secretas*, 435-434.  
 Notley Hall, 278; Thomas, 273-276; will of, 269.  
 Nueva Leon, or Linares, See of, 134.  
 Nussbaum, Rt. Rev. Paul Joseph, 137.  
 Oaxaca, 171, 175.  
 Oblate Fathers, 137.  
 O'Brien, Michael J., 117.  
 O'Brien, Monsignor, 304; Rev. William, 32; Rev. Timothy, 416.  
 O'Carrolls of Ely, 279.  
 O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J., 281, 293-294.  
 O'Connell, Rt. Rev. Eugene, 295, 429.  
 O'Connell, William Cardinal, 247-258, 297, 299, 431.  
 O'Connor, (Mrs.) Elizabeth Pascal, 68.  
 O'Connor, R. P., 235.  
 O'Connor, Rt. Rev. John Joseph, 143, 428, 429.  
 O'Daniel, Rev. Victor, O.P., 19-46, 258, 400-414.  
 O'Dea, 430.  
 Odin, Rt. Rev. J. M., 129, 134-135, 428.  
 O'Donaghue, Rt. Rev. Denis, 285, 287.  
 O'Farrell, Rt. Rev. Michael Joseph, 145.  
 Odgensburg, 141; Diocese of, 144.  
 O'Gorman, 429.  
 O'Hagan, Thomas, 258-268.  
 O'Hara, Rev. Edwin, 486, 487.  
 O'Hara, John F., C.S.C., 433-436.  
 Ohio, 29, 60, 283.  
 Ohio Land Company, 195.  
 O'Keefe, Father Matthew, 418, 422.  
 Oklahoma, 129; Diocese of, 138.  
 Omahas, 4.  
 Ofiate, 4.  
 O'Neill, Scannell, 66-72.  
 Ootsandooskie (Sandusky), 283.  
 O'Regan, 429.  
 Oregon, 427.  
 O'Reilly, Rt. Rev. Bernard, 183, 297; Rt. Rev. Patrick Thomas, 300.  
 Orfañel, 232.  
 Organization, Spanish Diocesan (1504-1565), 156.  
 Orinoco, 260, 434.  
*Oriens Christianus*, 232.  
 Orvilliers, 52, 55.  
 O'Shea, John J., 235.  
 O'Sullivan, Rt. Rev. Jeremiah, 131.  
 Otoes, 4.  
 Our Country, enthusiasm for, 247; liberty the heart and core of our love for, 248-249; the need of religion in, 250-253; principles and strength of Catholic Church in, 254; rights of Catholics in, 255; safeguards of, 255.  
 Oxford, 232.  
 Pace, Rev. E. A., 440.  
 Pachacomac, expedition to, 163.  
 Pacific coast, 155.  
 Padilla, Juan de, O.F.M., America's first Christian Martyr, 18.  
 Padouchas, or Comanche Indians, 4.  
 Paine, Clarence S., death of, 350.  
 Palermo, 25.  
 Palos, 151.  
 Panama, 160, 161, 162.  
 Paraguay, Reductions of, 435.  
 Paris, 26, 108, 127, 171, 232, 261.  
 Parkman, 305.  
 Parliament, English-slave trade encouraged by, 159.  
 Party, loyalist, in the American Revolution, 349.  
 Pastells, Rev. Pablo, S.J., 355.  
 Patagonia, 266.  
 Pawnee, Confederacy, 17.  
 Pecos, 5, 6, 7.

- Pellicier, Rt. Rev. Anthony Domine, 136.  
 Penalver y Cardenas, Rt. Rev. Louis, 128, 129.  
 Penco, Rev. Anthony, C.M., 183-184.  
 Pennsylvania, 108, 227.  
 Pensacola, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63.  
 Perche, Most Rev. Napoleon Joseph, 129.  
 Peru, 147, 157, 159, 165-166, 166, 167, 259.  
 Peter Comestor, 232.  
 Peter Lombard, 232.  
 Peter Martyr d'Anghera, ecclesiastical historian, 354, 355.  
 Phelan, 429.  
 Philadelphia, 29, 108, 183, 185, 227, 230.  
 Philip II, 47, 48.  
 Philosophy, of anti-Catholicism, 348.  
 Pierz, Rev. Francis, 188.  
 Pietro, Cardinal de, 25, 26.  
 "Pine, M. S.," 117.  
 Pioneer priests of America, 358.  
 Pirenne, 113.  
 Pittsburgh, Bishop O'Connor of, 183.  
 Pius VI, 108.  
 Pius VII, 19-45 *passim*; 138, 230; Brief, *Apostolatus Officium*, 22; exile, 79.  
 Pius VIII, 131.  
 Pius IX, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 283, 289, 293, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300.  
 Pius X, 135, 291, 301.  
 Pizarro, de Almagro, 158-162.  
 Playfair, William, 196.  
 Plessis, Rt. Rev., 40.  
 Plowden, Rev. Charles, 26.  
 Plunkett, Rev. Peter, 38, 40, 42.  
 Plymouth and St. Mary's City, contrast, 363.  
 Poland, immigration from, 382.  
 Polk, James K., convert relatives of, 71.  
 Pollock, Oliver, 58, 61, 65.  
 Poncas, 4.  
 Ponce de Leon, 155, 400.  
 Popery judged by its fruits, 434.  
 Population, American, 185.  
 Potomac Southwest, the, 271.  
 Port Orient, 29.  
 Porro y Peñado, Rt. Rev. Francis, 129.  
 Portier, Rt. Rev. Michael, 131, 428.  
 Portland, Diocese of, 298, 299.  
 Porto Rico, Bishops of, 128.  
 Portugal, 53, 149.  
 Portuguese, missionaries, 459.  
 Poulton, Father Thomas, S.J., 231.  
 Prendergast, Most Rev. Edmond F., dedication of Cathedral; golden jubilee, installation and investiture, 114; consecration of, 430-433.  
 Prescott, 47, 48, 49, 147, 157, 158, 159, 164, 166, 183.  
 Preuss, Arthur, 117; Edward, 117.  
 Priests, secular, missionaries, 169.  
 Propaganda, 19-45 *passim*, 43, 77-82, 201, 307.  
 Propagation de la Foi, 305.  
 Proast, Very Rev. Joseph, 185, 188.  
 Providence, Diocese of, 300.  
 Pueblo, 170, 171, 175, 179.  
 Puerto Rico, 154.  
 Purcell, Archbishop, 183; and the proposed American Seminary, 185-87, 283.  
 Purviance, Messrs., 40.  
 Pyrenees, 147.  
 Quarter, Bishop, 183, 429.  
 Quebec, 127; Quebec Act, 51, 349; Bishop of, 127, 131.  
 Querechos, 7, 8, 9.  
 Quigley, Most Rev. James Edward, 142.  
 Quincy, (Miss) Mary, 69.  
 Quétfif, 232.  
 Quito, Second Provincial Council of, 111; University of, 263.  
 Quivira, 3-18.  
 Race suicide in, Europe and United States, 260.  
 Rademacher, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 288, 290.  
 Raffener, Rev. A., 187.  
 Ramirez, Father Pedro, 134.  
 Rappe, Rt. Rev. Amadeus, 288.  
 Ravine, Buffalo, 8, 9, 10, 11.  
 Raynbaut, Father Charles, S.J., 285.  
 Recollects, Franciscans, 145, 285.  
 Record, Louisville, 112, 352.  
 Records, American Catholic Historical Society, 19, 40.  
 Records and Studies, 45.  
 Rediscovery of Ultima Thule, 235.  
 Rehrl, Rev. Caspar, 188.  
 Relacion del Suceso, 7-17 *passim*.  
 Republics, South American, 258.  
 Rese, Rt. Rev. Frederick, 286.  
 Researches, American Catholic Historical, 24, 28, 30, 32.  
 Reservation, Sac and Fox, 5.  
 Review, American Catholic Quarterly, 235.  
 Review, Baltimore Catholic, 352.  
 Review, Ecclesiastical, 114.  
 Review, Fortnightly, 117.  
 Revista Catholica, 181.  
 Revolution, American, 49, 50, 64; Daughters of the, 67; Attitude of American Loyalists in, 349.  
 Rhode Island, 51, 300.  
 Rice, Rt. Rev. Joseph John, 298.  
 Richard, Rev. Gabriel, 286.  
 Richardie, Father Armand de la, S.J., 283.  
 Richmond, Bishop Whelan of, 67, 183; Catholic Church in (1850-72), 415, 426.  
 Richter, Rt. Rev. Henry Joseph, 291.  
 Rigby, Father, S.J., 231.  
 Rigge, William F., S.J., 356-357.  
 Rio de Janeiro, press of, 265.  
 Rio Grande, 153, 136.  
 Riordan, Most Rev. Patrick, 293, 429.  
 Rise of the Hierarchy of the United States, 283-301.

- Rivard, Rev. E. L., 483.  
 Rivers—Arkansas, 18; Bernalillo, Big Nemaha, 3; Canadian, 10, 11; Cicuique, 6; Cicuye, 6, 13; Des Moines, 4; Elkhorn, 17; Espiritu Sancto, 16; Gallinas, 7; Holy Spirit, 61; Kansas, 3; Loup, 3; Mississippi, 16; Missouri, 2, 4, 16; Nebraska, 4; Olcot Fork, 10, 12; Osage, 3; Pecos, 6, 7, 14; SS. Peter and Paul, 17; Platte, 3, 5, 15, 18; Purgatoire, 18; Red, 10, 12, 15, 17; Tiguex, White, 4; Wolf, 17.  
 Roadte, Rev. Charles A., C.M., 183.  
 Robot, Rt. Rev. Isadore, O.S.B., 138.  
 Robambeau, 195, 488-491.  
 Rochester, Diocese of, 143, 144.  
 Rock, Starved, 482.  
 Rome, 127, 146, 148, 151, 233; American College, 185; Gregorian University, 180; Archives of, 386-400, 478; Historical Institutes in, 479-480.  
 Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, 259, 267; convert relatives of, 72.  
 Rosati, Bishop, 129, 131, 132, 181, 186, 428.  
 Rosecrans, Rt. Rev. Sylvester, 290.  
 Rose Hill Manor House, 189.  
 Rotterdam, 66.  
 Rouxel, Rt. Rev. G. A., 130.  
 Rozier, Ann, married Daniel Carroll, 277, 278; Anne (Sewall), 275; Benjamin, 276; Notley, 270, 276-277.  
 Rubio, Rev. Gonzales, O.F.M., 292.  
 Ruffin, Francis Gildard, 69.  
 Rumpler, Rev., C.S.S.R., 186.  
 Russia, immigration from, 382.  
 Ryan, Dr. Edwin, 146-156, 235, 353; Father John, S.J., 189; Rt. Rev. Stephen V., C.M., 142, 184; Archbishop Patrick John, 428-431.  
 Sac and Fox Reservation, 5.  
 Sac Prairie, Wis., 187.  
 Sacramento, 298.  
 Salamanca, University of, 165, 172, 406.  
 Salem, 41.  
 Salesians, Schools of, 179.  
 Salpointe, 429.  
 Salt Lake, Diocese of, 295-296.  
 Saltillo, 179.  
 Salzmann, Rev. Dr., 188.  
 San Antonio, 129, 133, 134; Diocese of, 136.  
 San Carlos, Academy of Beaux Arts of, 172.  
 Sanchez, Diego, 408; Dr. Manuel S., 113.  
 San Diego, See of, 292.  
 San Domingo, See of, 154.  
 San Francisco, Archdiocese of, 293.  
 San Francisco el Grande, Mexico City, 170.  
 San Juan, 64, 154.  
 San Luis de la Paz, 170.  
 San Luis Potosí, 175.  
 San Marcos, University of, 165, 166, 263.  
 San Martin, 267.  
 San Miguel, first colony, 162.  
 San Pablo, Brazil, 260.  
 San Pedro, San Pablo and San Ildefonso, college of, 171.  
 Santa Fe, Province of, 134.  
 Santa Hermandad, money furnished to Columbus, by, 151.  
 Santiago, Archbishop of, 264; Father Cyril de Barcelona of, 128; Diocese of, divided, 128; 154, 155, 156; University of, 263; Diocese of, 406-414; de Guatemala, 414.  
 Scanlan, Rt. Rev. Lawrence, 295, 429.  
 Scannell, 430.  
 Schmettau, Countess Amalie von, 110.  
 School Sisters of Notre Dame, 306.  
 Schools, primary, of Mexico, 170; Historical, of Rome, 478.  
 Schrems, Rt. Rev. Joseph, 291.  
 Scioto Company, failure of, 195-204.  
*Secret Notices of Peru*, 434.  
 Sees, Episcopal—Conception de la Vega, San Domingo, San Juan, 154; Bardstown, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, 21; Metropolitan—Lima, Mexico, San Domingo, 155; Seville, 154.  
 Seghers, 429.  
 Seminar Library, American Church History, 112, 117.  
 Seminaries, Mexican, 171; plan of studies in, 180; splendid work of, 175; Chiapas, 171; Guadalajara, 172; Mexico City, 172; Palafoxiano, 172; San Camilo, suppression of, 176; San Nicolas, 172. American, St. Charles Boromeo, 183; St. Joseph's, 183; St. Mary's, 109; Bardstown, 415.  
 Serra, Father Junipero, 291.  
 Seton, Mother, 40, 110.  
 Seville, 152-155.  
 Sewall, Rev. Charles, 278; Nicholas, 276; The, 278.  
 Shahan, Rt. Rev. T. J., 440.  
 Shanahan, Rt. Rev. J. W., 430.  
 Shaw, Rt. Rev. John William, 136.  
 Shea, John Gilmory, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 45, 131, 132, 183, 204, 233, 302, 303, 305, 347, 401, 432.  
 Shine, Rev. Michael, 3-18.  
 Shipman, Andrew, Memorial volume of, 351-352.  
 Sinaloa, 170.  
 Sinclair, Lieutenant, Governor, 60.  
 Sinsinawa, Wis., founder of, 187.  
 Sioux, 5, 60.  
 Sisters, Carmelite (Mexican), 180.  
 Sisters of St. Dominic, 306.  
 Sisters of the Incarnate Word, 180.  
 Sisters of the Sacred Heart, 180.  
 Sistene Chapel, 108.  
 Skidi, 4, 17.  
 Smet, Rev. Louis, 238.

- Smet, de, Father, 487.  
 Smith, Father Augustine (Gallitzin), 110.  
 Smith, Ralph, 106.  
 Smith, Gen. Thomas Kilby, 69.  
 Smyth, 429.  
 Society, Diocesan Historical, 386-400.  
 Society of Jesus, 37; expulsion of, 169, 173, 316.  
 Societies, concerning Catholic Historical, 386-400.  
 Sonora, Diocese of, 292.  
 Sorie, Jacques, 402.  
 South America, 165; early missionary labors in, 267; ethnology of, 266; press of, 265; education, 265; descriptions of, 258; political status, 267; Catholic investigators of, 166; a frank word about, 433-436.  
 South Dakota, 3.  
 Spain, 47-65 *passim*, 151, 156; internal development of during middle ages, 148-149.  
 Spalding, Rt. Rev. Martin John, 285.  
 Spanish colonization in the New World, studies on, 354; Catholics, 18; Conquistadores, 157; conquest, characteristics of, 164; missionaries, courage and devotion of, 164; empire builders, 165; mines, 133; libraries, 166; adventurers, 401-414.  
 Spillane, Father E. P., S.J., 304.  
 Springfield, Diocese of, 290-300.  
 Stang, Rt. Rev. William, 261.  
 Starved Rock, 482.  
 State, growth of American, 484.  
 Stein, Henri, 115.  
 Stickney, C., 348.  
 Stuarts, Catholic, 272.  
 Studia Generalia, Dominican—Bologna, Cologne, Montpellier, Oxford, Paris, 232; in America, 406.  
 Suarez, Juan, 155.  
 Succession, Episcopal, in America, 485.  
*Suceso, Relacion del*, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17.  
 Swedes, in America, 380.  
 Switzerland, immigration from, 382.  
 Syracuse, Diocese of, 139, 141, 145.  
 St. Anne, Church of, 285-286.  
 St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, 227.  
 St. Augustine, Diocese of, 130, 442-459 *passim*.  
 St. Augustine (United States), first parish in, 156.  
 St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana and the Floridas, new bishopric of, 128.  
 St. Clair, Gen., 196.  
 St. Clement's Manor, 272.  
 St. Elizabeth's, 270-271.  
 St. Francis Xavier's College, 189.  
 St. Francis, Wis., Seminary Library of, 186.  
 St. Gall, 188.  
 St. Gregory's, Douai, monks of, 311.  
 St. James Church, 189.  
 St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y., 193.  
 St. John's College and Seminary, Kentucky Jesuits take charge of, 189.  
 St. Joseph, British Post, seized, 51.  
 St. Joseph's Church, Fort Madison, Iowa, 114.  
 St. Joseph's, Troy, N. Y., 193.  
 St. Lawrence's Church, N. Y., 193.  
 St. Louis, 60, 64, 110, 182, 195, 204; Bishop of, 129, 132; Bishop Rosati of, 185; Spanish forces in, 51; Diocese of, 128.  
 St. Mary's City and Plymouth—contrast, 363.  
 St. Mary's Seminary, 193, 228, 229.  
 St. Michael's, Buffalo, N. Y., 193.  
 St. Palais, Bishop de, ordered Vincennes Diocese papers destroyed, 233, 287; 428.  
 St. Paul, Archbishop Ireland of, 183.  
 St. Rose's Priory, Ohio, 44, 45.  
 St. Vallier, Bishop, 127, 130, 131.  
 St. Victor and Victorians, in the U. S., 483.  
 Tabb, John Bannister, 117.  
 Taft, William Howard, convert relatives of, 72.  
 Tanagra, Bishop of, 129.  
 Tareque (Harahey, Ariki-ra), 17.  
 Taylor, Zachary, convert relatives of, 71.  
*Teatro ecclesiastico*, 235.  
 Teeling Law, 419.  
 Tegakwitha, Catherine, 119, 141.  
 Teggart, Dr. F. J., 482-483.  
*Telegraph Catholic*, 111.  
 Tessier, Father, 228.  
 Texas, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 134, 135, 137, 292.  
 Teyas, 10, 11, 12, 14.  
 Thayer, Rev. John, 108.  
 Theatines, 79.  
 Thebaud, Father Augustus J., S.J., 189.  
 Thiebaut, 196.  
 Thompson, George, 270, 271.  
 Ticknor, George, 48.  
 Tierney, Rt. Rev. Michael, 298.  
 Tierney, Rev. Father, S.J., Editor of *America*, 349.  
 Tiguex, 5-18 *passim*.  
 Timon, Rt. Rev. John, C.M., 142.  
 Tlaltelolco, Franciscan College of, 170.  
 Toebbe, Rt. Rev. Augustus Maria, 289.  
 Toledo, Diocese of, 291.  
 Tolton, Rev. Augustine, 112.  
 Tonti, founder of Arkansas, 132.  
 Tories, in Maryland, Pennsylvania, 58, 62.  
 Trenton, Diocese of, 139, 143, 144-145.  
 Tristan de Arellano, 11, 13.  
 Trobec, 430.



- Troy, Most Rev. Dr., 44; Carroll and Concanen, friend of both, 24-25, 26, 27, 27-28, 30, 42.
- Tyler, John, convert relatives of, 70.
- Tyler, Rt. Rev. William, first Bishop of Hartford, 183, 297.
- Trade, between Spain and the Indies, 354-355.
- Ulloa, Don de, 55, 433-436.
- United States, 51, 56, 64, 179, 293.
- United States Capitol, 269.
- United States, Carroll, Prefect Apostolic of, 108.
- United States Catholic Historical Society, 303, 306.
- United States, Catholic Church of, 28, 238, 316; leakage problem of Church in, 117; ecclesiastical history of, 154; ecclesiastical Provinces of New Boston, Philadelphia, 296; episcopal succession in, 127-145; and Europe, 263; missions of the Society of Jesus in, 317-320; new Sees in, 22, 25; Presidents of, 66; Spanish assistance to, 49.
- Universities, American, North and South, difference, 262.
- Unterthiner, Father, O.S.F., 188.
- Uruguay, 259, 267.
- Utah, Vicariate Apostolic of, 295-296.
- Vallette, Marc F., 235.
- Valley, Mississippi, 60, 64.
- Valverde, Father, 166.
- Van Buren, Martin, convert relatives of, 70.
- Van de Velde, Rt. Rev. James Oliver, 132, 428.
- Van de Ven, Rt. Rev. Cornelius, 136.
- Van de Vyver, Rt. Rev. A., 425.
- Vatican, Archives, 478.
- Vaughan, Cardinal, 314.
- Velasquez, Diego, 154.
- Venezuela, 259.
- Veracruz, 175.
- Verdager, Rt. Rev. Peter, 137.
- Vergennes, 50, 52.
- Vermont, first chapel erected in, 298.
- Viaje d la America Meridional*, 433.
- Villanis, Rev. Felix, D.D., C.M., 183.
- Vincennes, Diocese, papers of, destroyed, 233, 234, 287.
- Virginia, 66, 196, 266; Catholic Church in (1850-72), 415-426.
- Vizcainos, College of girls, 170.
- Wallach, (Mrs.) Alice, 68.
- Walmesley, Bishop Charles, consecrator of Carroll, 307-311, 431-433.
- Walpole, Horace, 64.
- Walsh, Rt. Rev. Louis Sebastian, 216.
- War, Revolutionary, 49.
- Warburton Manor, 277, 279.
- Warren, Rev. William and Henry, S.J., 275.
- Washington, Augustine, 67; Betty, 67; Eugenia, 66; George, 27, 269; George Steptoe, 66; collateral convert relatives of, 66; Jacob, founder of Bavarian Army, 66; James R. (St. Louis), 68; Lucy Payne, 66; Lund, 68; Mary Ball, 67; Peter Grayson, 68; Richard Blackburn, descent of, 67; Sallie Vail (Mother Anna), 68; Samuel, 66; William Temple, 66; Mother Mary Juliana, 68; Mrs., 277; Commissioners appointed by, 270.
- Washingtons, the, Andrew, Jacob, James, John, Peter, George, 66.
- Watterson, Rt. Rev. John Ambrose, 290; Henry A., 491-492.
- Webb, 236.
- Wehrle, Bishop A., O.S.B., 183.
- Weld, Thomas, of Lulworth, 310.
- West Indies, Church in, 400-414 *passim*.
- Whelan, Rt. Rev. James, O.P., 288.
- Whelan, Bishop, 429-430.
- White, Rev. Andrew, S.J., 231, 271.
- White, (Mrs.) S. M. B., 66.
- Whitfield, Most Rev. James, 40.
- Wigger, Rt. Rev. Winand Michael, 143, 184.
- Williams, Eunice, story of, 238.
- Williams, Rev. John and family, captured by the Indians, 238.
- Williams, Most Rev. John Joseph, 297 432.
- Williamsburgh, parish at, 187.
- Willing, James, 58, 59.
- Wilson, President and Mrs., convert relatives of, 72.
- Wilson, Woodrow, and monument to Adolph Bandelier, 238.
- Wiltan, Premonstratensian convent of, 186.
- Winnebagoes, 5.
- Winship, George Parker, 5.
- Wiseman, Cardinal, death of, 314.
- Wisconsin, German missions in, 186.
- Worcester, first church at, 299.
- Wynne, Rev. John J., S.J., 362, 440.
- Wyoming, 3.
- Ybarra, Pedro de, 400-414 *passim*; 442-459 *passim*.
- Yguez, 411.
- Young, Edward, 273.
- Young, Father Lambert, 236-237.
- Young, Notley, 270; home of, first Mass in home of, 280.
- Yucatan, 175.
- Zahm, Rev. Dr. (C.S.C.), works in South America, 258-269; 433-436.
- Zaplotnik, Rev. J. L., 305, 359-361.
- Zuloaga, 174.
- Zwierlein, Rev. F. J., 235.

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